THE JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

1935 1935

THE
JOURNAL
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

FOR

1935

QUOT RAMI TOT ARBORES
J. COOPER
A.D. MDCCCXXIII INST.

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
74 GROSVENOR STREET, LONDON, W. 1.

M DCCCC XXXV

Autres livres à télécharger sur le site
https://abbassa.wordpress.com

DS1
R71
1935

STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS, LIMITED

PRINTERS, HERTFORD

CONTENTS FOR 1935

ARTICLES

PAGE

The Combat of ’Aleyân-Ba‘al and Mōt—A Proto-Hebrew Epic from Ras-Shamra. By Theodor Herzl Gaster . . . 1

Notes on “ The Birth of the Gracious and Beautiful Gods”. By H. L. Ginsberg 45

The New Śaktipur Grant of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva and Geographical Divisions of Ancient Bengal. By N. K. Bhaṭṭaśālī 73

New Coin Evidence from Sīstān. By J. Walker. (Plate I) 115

A Fragment on Pharmacy from the Cairo Genizah. By R. Gottheil. (Plates II–V) 123

Some Ethical Ideals of the *Tso-chuan*. By Arthur Morley (*continued*) 273

Two Questions in Moslem Art. By Nicholas N. Martinovitch 285

Bu-ston’s History of Buddhism and the Mañjuśrī-mūlatantra. By E. Obermiller 299

The Punch-marked Coins : A Survival of the Indus Civilization. By C. L. Fábri 307

Notes on Costume from Arabic Sources. By Reuben Levy 319

A Maghribī Work on Musical Instruments. By Henry George Farmer 339

Some Ethical Ideals of the *Tso-chuan*. By Arthur Morley. (*Continued from p.* 284) 449

A Bilingual Text Concerning Etana. By Oliver R. Gurney 459

Recent Finds near An-yang. By W. Perceval Yetts . 467

The Date of Bhūti Vikramakēsari. By K. A. Nilakantha Sastri 475

The Eastern Relations of Early Hungarian Folk-music. By Benedict Szabolcsi 483

Junayd. By A. J. Arberry 499

A Specimen of the Thūlung Dialect. By Stuart N. Wolfenden 629

920783

PAGE
Chola Invasion of Bengal. By A. C. Banerji 655
Tokharian Elements in the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan. By T. Burrow 667
A propos the Legend of Nāropā. By Giuseppe Tucci . 677
The Gāndhāra grāma. By A. H. Fox Strangways . 689
A Note on the Allahabad Pillar of Aśoka. By C. S. Krishnaswamy Rao Sahib and Amalananda Ghosh. (Plates VI and VII) 697
The Cas-chrom v. the Lei-ssŭ. By L. C. Hopkins. (Plate VIII) 707

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

A Note on the Tribal Name *Mes* (*Mech*). By Stuart N. Wolfenden 145
On the Form of the Bhagavadgītā contained in the Kashmirian Mahabhārata. By F. Otto Schrader . . 146
A Collection of the Literary Remains of Ignace Goldziher. By Joseph de Somogyi 149
Psalm XXXV, v. 16. The Meaning of מָעוֹג. By Samuel Daiches 355
A Curious Drehem Tablet. By S. Langdon 358
A Note on the Maneless Horse in Ancient China. By L. C. Hopkins 360
The "Round Dates" in the "Narrative about Sanjān". By C. Inostrantsev 509
The Illustration to the Doctrine of the "Leap". By A. S. Tritton 514
An Important Interpretation in the *Rāma-Carita-Mānasa* regarding its Date. By Mata Prasad Gupta . . 717
The Punch-marked Coins: A Survival of the Indus Civilization. By J. P. Jayaswal 720
Curious Omissions in Pali Canonical Lists. By C. A. F. Rhys Davids 721

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Richards, J. A. Mencius on the Mind. By W. E. Soothill 155
Baud, Marcelle, and Drioton, Étienne. Tombes Thébaines. By H. W. Fairman 157

PAGE
Levy, R. An Introduction to the Sociology of Islam. By H. A. R. Gibb 158

Selections from the Peshwa Daftar, by P. R. Cadell

29. Affairs of Northern India: Peshwa Madhavrao I . 161
30. Miscellaneous Papers of Shahu and his first two Peshwas 161
31. Selected Papers from the Jamav Section 161
32. Private Life of the Later Peshwas 161
33. Shahu's Campaign against the Sidis of Janjira . . 161
All edited by G. S. Sardesai.
Bhuyan, S. K. (compiled, edited, and translated by). Tung Khungia Buranji, or a History of Assam, A.D. 1681–1826. By E. A. Gait 162
Luce, G. H., and Tin, Pe Maung. Inscriptions of Burma. By J. A. Stewart 163
Morison, J. L. Lawrence of Lucknow, 1806–1857. By E. D. Maclagan 165
Waxman, Meyer. A History of Jewish Literature. By Maurice A. Canney. 167
Études d'Orientalisme. By A. J. Bernet Kempers . . 168
Mudiraj, K. Krishnaswamy. Pictorial Hyderabad. By H. E. Stapleton. 169
✓Law, B. C. A History of Pali Literature. By W. Stede . 170
Hutchison, J., and Vogel, J. Ph. History of the Panjab Hill States. By P. R. Cadell 171
Thakur, Amareswar Thakur. Hindu Law of Evidence. By B. Lindsay 171
Olmstead, A. T. History of Palestine and Syria to the Macedonian Conquest. By J. Leveen 176
✓ Chamberlain, Basil Hall (with annotations by the late W. G. Aston). Translation of "Ko-ji-ki" or "Records of Ancient Matters". By G. F. Hudson 178
Spinner, S. Herkunft Entstehung und antike Umwelt des hebräischen Volkes. By D. S. Margoliouth . . 180
Schechter, Rabbi Abraham I. Lectures on Jewish Liturgy. By H. Hirschfeld 181
Haenisch, Erich (edited by). Monggo Han Sai Da Sekiyen. By G. L. M. Clauson. 183

PAGE

Csillik, Dr. Barthélemy. Les Manuscrits mineurs des Rubâ'iyât de 'Omar Khayyâm dans la bibliothèque nationale. By M. L. Ferrar 183

Adatrechtbundels. By C. O. Blagden 184

Nau, François. Les Arabes Chrétiens de Mésopotamie et de Syrie du vii^{e} au viii^{e} Siècle. By A. Mingana . . 185

Weiss, Theodor. Zur Ostsyrischen Laut- und Akzentlehre. By A. Mingana 186

Nykl, A. R. (edited by, in collaboration with Ibrahim Tuqan). Kitāb al-Zahrah (The Book of the Flower). By D. S. Margoliouth 188

Fischer, A. Beiträge zum Verständnis Religiöser Muslimischer Texte. By R. Levy 189

Britton, Roswell S. The Chinese Periodical Press, 1800–1912. By J. H. Stewart Lockhart 189

v Hart, Henry H. The Hundred Names. By A. C. Moule 190

Aanwisten op ethnografisch en anthropologisch gebied van de afdeeling Volkenkunde van het Koloniaal Instituut. By C. O. Blagden 191

Korn, Dr. V. E. De Dorpsrepubliek Tnganan Pagringsingan. By C. O. Blagden 192

Breloer, Bernhard. Alexanders Kampf gegen Porus. By C. E. A. W. Oldham 192

Schuurman, Dr. B. M. Mystik und Glaube im Zusammenhang mit der Mission auf Java. By H. G. Quaritch Wales 195

Chatterjee, Bijan Raj. India and Java. By H. G. Quaritch Wales 195

Tafrali, O. Arta şi Archeologia. By M. Gaster . . 196

Dharampur, Maharana Vijayadevi of. Sangit Bhāva [I, Rāg Bhairav]. By H. G. Farmer 196

Dougherty, Raymond Philip. Archives from Erech. By C. J. Gadd 198

Herzfeld, E. Iranische Denkmäler. By C. J. Gadd . 198

Kahle, Paul, and Mustafa, Muhammed (herausgegeben von) Die Chronik des Ibn Ijās in Gemeinschaft mit Moritz Sobernheim. By D. S. Margoliouth . . 200

Hackin, J. (avec la collaboration de J. Carl). Nouvelles

PAGE
Recherches Archéologiques à Bāmiyān. By C. E. A. W. Oldham 202
Hackin, J. L'Œuvre de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan (1922–1932). By C. E. A. W. Oldham 203
Yazdani, G. Annual Report of the Archæological Department of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions for the Year 1929–30. By C. E. A. W. Oldham 205
Ivanow, W. A Guide to Ismaili Literature. By Alfred Guillaume 206
Torrey, Charles Cutter. The Jewish Foundation of Islam. By A. Guillaume. 206
Sewell, Robert (edited by S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar). The Historical Inscriptions of South India Collected till 1923 and Outlines of Political History. By J. Allan 207
Kempers, Dr. A. J. Bernet. The Bronzes of Nalanda and Hindu-Javanese Art. By C. O. Blagden . . . 208
Jubiläumsband herausgegeben von der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens anlässlich ihres 60 jährigen Bestehens 1873–1933. By C. O. Blagden 209

Catalogue du Musée Arabe du Caire, by R. Guest

1. Weill, M. Jean David. Les bois à épigraphes jusqu'à l'époque Mamlouke. 211
2. Pauty, M. Edmond. Les bois sculptées jusqu'à l'époque Ayyoubid 211
Kapadia, H. R. (critically edited with introductions, indices, and appendices by). Padmānanda Mahakavya by Amaracandra Sūri. By E. H. Johnston . . . 213
Bhattacharyya, Benoytosh critically edited with a preface by). Śaktisaṅgama Tantra. By E. H. Johnston 213
Tucci, Giuseppe (edited with introduction and indices by). The Commentaries on the Prajñāpāramitās. By E. H. Johnston 214
Weir, C. J. Mullo. A Lexicon of Accadian Prayers in the Rituals of Expiation. By C. J. Gadd . . . 217
Buren, E. Douglas van. The Flowing Vase and the God with the Streams. By E. Burrows 219

PAGE
KRISHNAMACHARYA, EMBAR (critically edited with an introduction in Sanskrit, indices, etc., by; with a foreword by the General Editor). Jayākhyasaṃhitā. By E. J. Thomas 221
TĪRTHA, SWĀMĪ TRIVIKRAMA (critically edited with an introduction and index by; with a foreword by B. BHATTĀCHĀRYYA). Paranandа Sutra. By E. J. Thomas 221
Les Mosquées du Caire. By Louis Hautecœur and Gaston Wiet 223
—— By K. A. C. Creswell 225
DODWELL, H. H. (edited by). The Cambridge Shorter History of India. By L. F. Rushbrook Williams . 363
YETTS, W. PERCEVAL. The Horse: A Factor in Early Chinese History. By L. C. Hopkins . . . 365
HSIUNG, S. I. (with a preface by LASCELLES ABERCROMBIE). Lady Precious Stream. By J. H. Pratt . . . 366
Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology for the Year 1932. By Jarl Charpentier 368
The Quarterly of the Department on Antiquities in Palestine. By E. B. W. Chappelow 373
C̲handrakānta Abhidān, a Dictionary of the Assamese Language. By E. A. Gait 382
ROSS, Sir E. DENISON, and WINGATE, RACHEL O. (collected and edited by). Dialogues in the Eastern Türki Dialect on Subjects of Interest to Travellers. By G. L. M. Clauson. 383
JARRING, GUNNAR. Studien zu einer Osttürkischen Lautlehre. By G. L. M. Clauson 383
PAYNE, ERNEST A. The Sāktas. An Introductory and Comparative Study. By John Woodroffe. . . . 385
ANDERSSON, J. GUNNAR. Children of the Yellow Earth: Studies in Prehistoric China. By L. H. D. Buxton . 388
O'LEARY, DE LACY (edited by). The Difnar (Antiphonarium) of the Coptic Church. Part III. By O. H. E. Burmester 390
SOLOMON, W. E. GLADSTONE. Essays on Mogul Art. By J. V. S. Wilkinson 392

PAGE

Kohli, Sita Ram (edited by). Trial of Diwan Mul Raj (Governor of Multan). By R. Burn 393

Osten, Hans Henning von der, Martin, Richard A., and **Morrison, John A.** Discoveries in Anatolia, 1930–31. By J. L. Myres 393

Ishaque, M. Sukhanvarān-i-Īrān dar ‘asr-i-hazir (Poets and Poetry of Modern Persia). Vol. I. By R. A. Nicholson 395

Allen, Bernard M. The Rt. Hon. Sir Ernest Satow, G.C.M.G. A Memoir. By J. H. Stewart Lockhart . 395

Trenckner, V. (begun by; revised, continued, and edited by **Dines Andersen** and **Helmer Smith**). A Critical Pali Dictionary. By Sten Konow 396

Sastri, Dr. Hirananda. Shitāb Khān of Warangal. By E. J. Thomas 397

Breasted, J. H. The Dawn of Conscience. By John Laird 397

Kramrisch, St. Indian Sculpture. By A. J. Bernet Kempers 399

Frankfort, Henry. Tell Asmar, Khafaje and Khorsabad. By Sidney Smith 399

Feghali, Michel. Textes Libanais (en Arabe Oriental). By A. S. Tritton 400

Baynes, Charlotte A. A Coptic Gnostic Treatise contained in the Codex Brucianus. By †E. A. Wallis Budge 401

Notton, M. Camille. Annales du Siam. By H. G. Quaritch Wales 404

Goitein, S. D. F. Jemenica: Sprichwörter und Redensarten aus Zentral-Jemen mit zahlreichen Sach- und Wörtererläuterungen. By D. S. Margoliouth . . 405

Iqbal, Sir Mohammad. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam. By D. S. Margoliouth . . . 406

Ricard, Robert (traduction française avec introduction et commentaires par). Un Document portugais sur la Place de Mazagan au Débout du XVIIe Siècle. By Joseph de Somogyi 407

Iqbal, Abbas. Tārīkh-i Mufaṣṣal-i Īrān az Istīlā-i Mughul ta I‘lāni Mashrūṭiyat. By R. Levy 408

PAGE
FARIDABADI, S. HASHIMI (edited by). Tughluqnāma, by Amīr Khusraw of Dihlī. By R. Levy 409
PRESTAGE, EDGAR. The Portuguese Pioneers. By W. H. Moreland 409
CHANG, T'IEN-TSÊ. Sino-Portuguese Trade from 1514 to 1644. By W. H. Moreland 410
FURLANI, G. Il Poema della Creazione (*enūma eliš*). By C. J. Gadd 410
CHASSINAT, ÉMILE. Le Temple d'Edfou. By M. F. Laming Macadam 411
ROQUE, F. BISSON DE LA. Medamoud. By M. F. Laming Macadam 413
SEN, S. N., and RAYCHAUDHURI, H. C. The Groundwork of Indian History. By C. E. A. W. Oldham 414
PIRES, E. A. The Maukharis. By C. E. A. W. Oldham . 415
HENDERSON, HAROLD GOULD. The Bamboo Broom: An introduction to Japanese Haiku. By H. Parlett. . 416
GOWEN, HERBERT H. A History of Religion. By Margaret Smith 417
GROUSSET, RENÉ (translated from the French by CATHERINE ALISON GROUSSET). India. By R. E. Enthoven. . 419
JOHNSTONE, Sir REGINALD (with a preface by the Emperor). Twilight in the Forbidden City. By Dorothea Hosie . 420
ENGBERG, ROBERT M., and SHIPTON, GEOFFREY M. Notes on the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age Pottery of Megiddo. By J. Garstang 424
ATIYA, A. S. The Crusade of Nicopolis. By C. Waddy . 426
LALOU, MARCELLE. Bibliographie Bouddhique, IV–V, Mai, 1931–33. By C. A. F. Rhys Davids 428
KANE, P. V. (text (reconstructed), translation, notes, and introduction by). कात्यायनस्मृति सारोद्धार or Kātyāyanasmṛti on Vyavahāra (Law and Procedure). By S. Vesey FitzGerald 428
Iraq. Vol. I, Part 1, April, 1934. By Giuseppe Furlani . 429
HOFFMANN, Rev. J., in collaboration with Rev. A. VAN EMELEN. Encyclopædia Mundarica. By S. C. Roy . 430
SPITTEL, R. L. Far-off Things: treating of the history, aborigines, myths and jungle mysteries of Ceylon. By M. D. Ratnasuriya 432

PAGE

The Handbook of Palestine and Trans-Jordan . . . 433

Robinson, A. E. Rock Pictures 434

Masson-Oursel, P., Willman-Grabowska, H., and Stern, Philippe. Ancient India and Indian Civilization 434

Religion: The Journal of the Transactions of the Society for Promoting the Study of Religions 434

The Proceedings of the Scottish Anthropological Society. By the Editor 434

Thompson, Edward, and Garratt, G. T. Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India. By R. Burn . 515

Karlgren, Bernhard. The Poetical Parts in Lao-Tsï. By E. Edwards 519

—— Shih King Researches. By E. Edwards 519

Combe, Ét., Sauvaget, J., and Wiet, G. (published under the direction of). Répertoire Chronologique d'Épigraphie Arab. By D. S. Margoliouth . . . 520

Magali-Boisnard, Mme. Sultans de Touggourt. By D. S. Margoliouth 521

Palacios, Miguel Asin. La Espiritualidad de al-Gazel y su sentido Cristiano. By D. S. Margoliouth . . . 522

Johnson, Helen M. (translated into English by). Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra. By E. J. Thomas . . 523

Jain, Hiralal (critically edited by). Ṇāyakumāracariu of Puṣpadanta. By E. J. Thomas 523

Liebenthal, Walther. Satkārya in der Darstellung seiner buddhistischen Gegner. By E. H. Johnston . 524

Nykl, A. R. El Cancionero de Aben Guzman (Ibn Quzmān). By A. Guillaume 525

Ghosh, Baṭakrishna. Les formations nominales et verbales en p du sanskrit. By H. W. Bailey . . . 526

Macler, Frédéric (traduits ou adaptés de l'arménien). Contes, Légendes et Épopées populaires d'Arménie. By H. W. Bailey 527

Sastri, K. A. Nilakanta Studies in Cōla History and Administration. By J. Allan 527

Misra, Pandit Binayak. Orissa under the Bhauma Kings. By E. H. C. Walsh 528

PAGE
✓ Jacobi, Hermann (übersetzt von). Trimśikāvijñapti des Vasubandhu mit Bhāṣya des Ācārya Sthiramati. By E. H. Johnston 529
Chintamani, T. R. (edited by). Sahitya-ratnakara. By E. J. Thomas 531
✓ Takakusu, M. (rendered from the French into English by S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri). The Samkhya Karika, Studied in the Light of the Chinese Version. By E. J. Thomas 531
Kian, Gholam-Reza. Introduction à l'Histoire de la Monnaie et Histoire monétaire de la Perse des Origines à la Fin de la Période Parthe. By J. Walker . . 532
Krishna, Lajwanti Rama. Les Sikhs, origine et développement de la Communauté jusqu'à nos Jours (1469–1930). By E. D. Maclagan 532
Goichon, A.-M. (préface de Miguel Asín Palacios). Introduction à Avicenne. By Alfred Guillaume . 533
Elgood, C. Persian Medicine. By Arnold Wilson . . 534
Sinha, Jadunath. Indian Psychology; Perception. By A. Berriedale Keith 536
Deshmukh, P. S. The Origin and Development of Religion in Vedic Literature. By A. Berriedale Keith . . 537
Brahma, Nalini Kanta. Philosophy of Hindu Sādhanā. By E. H. Johnston 537
Buisson, Comte du Mesnil du. La Technique des Fouilles Archéologiques. By R. Campbell Thompson .. . 538
Watzinger, Carl. Denkmäler Palästinas. By T. H. Robinson 539
Sassoon, David S. Ohel Dawid. By M. Gaster . . 542
Davids, Mrs. Rhys. Outlines of Buddhism (A Historical Sketch). By W. Stede 543
Kumarappa, Bharatan. The Hindu Conception of the Deity as culminating in Ramanuja. By Margaret Smith 545
Waldschmidt, Dr. Ernst, and Lentz, Dr. Wolfgang. Manichäische Dogmatik aus chinesischen und iranischen Texten. By G. L. M. Clauson . . . 546
Gabain, Dr. A. von und Rachmati, Dr. G. R. (in

PAGE

Verbindung mit; herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. W. Bang). Türkische Turfantexte. VI. Das Buddhistische Sūtra Säkiz Yükmäk. By G. L. M. Clauson . 548

Paravitana, S. (edited and translated by). Epigraphia Zeylanica, being lithic and other inscriptions of Ceylon. By C. O. Blagden 550

Chintamani, T. R. (edited by). The Uṇādisūtras in Various Recensions. By W. Stede 551

Gómez, Emiloi García (traducción española por). Elogio del Islam Español by Al-Saqundi. By A. Guillaume . 552

Wensinck, A. J. Concordance et Indices de la Tradition Musulmane. By Alfred Guillaume 553

Combe, Et., Sauvaget, J., et Wiet, G. (publié sous la direction de). Répertoire Chronologique d'Epigraphie Arabe. By R. Guest 554

Margoliouth, D. S. Catalogue of the Arabic Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester. By R. Guest 554

Stein, Otto, and Gampert, Wilhelm (edited by). Festschrift Moriz Winternitz. 1863—23. Dezember—1933. By A. Berriedale Keith. 555

Mingana, A. (edited and translated with a critical apparatus by). Woodbrooke Studies. By Maurice A. Canney 560

Zulay, Menahem. Zur Liturgie der babylonischen Juden. By Maurice A. Canney 562

'Alī, M. Turāb (edition of the Texts by). Excursus on the Writings and Date of Ibn Umail with Edition of the Latin Rendering of the Mā' al-Waraqī by H. E. Stapleton and M. Hidāyat Ḥusain, S͟hams al-'Ulamā'. Three Arabic Treatises on Alchemy by Muḥammad bin Umail (10th century A.D.). By E. J. Holmyard . . 564

Woodward, F. L. (vol. ii translated by; vol. iii translated by E. M. Hare; with introductions by Mrs. Rhys Davids). The Book of the Gradual Sayings (Añguttaranikāya) or More Numbered Suttas. E. H. Johnston 566

Bose, M. M. (edited by). Paramattha-Dīpanī: Iti-Vuttakaṭṭhakathā of Dhammapālâcariya. By E. H. Johnston 566

PAGE

Finke, Junker, and **Schnürer** (edited by; Die Ägypter by **Herman Junker**; Die Babylonier, Assyrer, Perser und Phöniker by **Louis Delaporte**). Die Völker des Antiken Orients. By S. Langdon 567

Osten, Hans Henning von der. Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mr. Edward T. Newell. By S. Langdon 568

Pillai, K. N. S. The Chronology of the Early Tamils. By F. J. Richards 571

Selections from the Peshwa's Daftar, by P. R. Cadell

34. Bassein Campaign (supplementary) 572

35. Capture of Salsette by the English 572

36. The First Maratha War 572

All edited by G. S. **Sardesai.**

Miscellaneous (Persian) Papers. Edited by Dr. M. **Nazim** 572

37. Karnatak Expeditions of Madhavrao I 574

38. Madhavrao Ballal and the Nizam 574

39. Administrative Papers of Madhavrao I . . . 574

40. Miscellaneous Papers of Peshwa Balaji Rao . . . 574

All edited by G. S. **Sardesai.**

Sarkar, Sir Jadunath. Fall of the Mughal Empire. By C. E. A. W. Oldham 575

Waterman, Leroy. Second Preliminary Report upon the Excavations at Tel Umar, Iraq, conducted by the University of Michigan, etc. By C. J. Gadd . . 725

Smedt, A. de, and **Mostaert, A.** Le Dialecte monguor parlé par les Mongols du Kansu Occidental : III^{e} Partie. Dictionnaire Monguor-Français. By G. L. M. Clauson 726

Väth, Alfons. Die India. By † Jarl Charpentier . . 726

Seeger, Elizabeth, The Pageant of Chinese History. By J. H. Pratt 727

Cumming, Charles Gordon. The Assyrian and Hebrew Hymns of Praise. By M. Gaster 728

Assaf, S. The Book of Shetaroth (Formulary) of R. Hai Gaon (Supplement to Tarbiz. I, III). By A. Marmorstein 729

PAGE
Iyangār, Yogī Śrīnivāsa (text and English translation by). Haṭha-yoga-pradīpikā of Svātmārāma Svāmin. By Betty Heimann 731
Yahuda, A. S. The Accuracy of the Bible. By John Robert Towers 734
Garstang, John. The Heritage of Solomon. By Maurice A. Canney 737
✓ Grousset, René (translated from the French by Catherine Alison Phillips). The Civilizations of the East, Vol. IV. Japan. By H. G. Parlett 738
Iqbal, Abbas. Khanadan-i Nawbakhti. By R. Levy . 739
Mamour, Prince P. H. Polemics on the Origin of the Fatimi Caliphs. By R. Levy 740
✓ Dainelli, Giotto. Buddhists and Glaciers of Western Tibet. By E. G. Carpani 741
MacMichael, Sir Harold. The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. By S. Hillelson 742
Wales, H. G. Quaritch. Ancient Siamese Government and Administration. By C. O. Blagden 743
Helfricht, O. L. Bijdragen tot de kennis van het Midden. Maleisch (Besemahsch en Sĕrawajsch Dialect). By C. O. Blagden 744
Vogel, J. Ph. Op het voetspoor van Boeddha. By C. O. Blagden 744
Embree, Edwin R., Simon, Margaret Sargent, and Mumford, W. Bryant. Island India goes to School. By C. O. Blagden 745
Chiera, Edward. Joint Expedition with the Iraq Museum at Nuzi. By Giuseppe Furlani 746
Pfeiffer, Robert H. (selected and copied by). Excavations at Nuzi. Vol. II: The Archives of Shilwateshub, Son of the King. By Giuseppe Furlani 747
Saunders, Kenneth. The Ideals of East and West. By Margaret Smith 747
Cenival, Pierre de (text Portugais du xvi^e Siècle traduit et annoté par). Chronique de Santa-Cruz du Cap de Gué (Agadir). By D. S. Margoliouth 749
Rosenbaum, Rev. M., and Silvermann, Dr. A. M. (translated into English and annotated by, in collaboration

PAGE

with A. Blashki and L. Joseph). Pentateuch with Targum Onkelos, Haphtaroth and Prayers for Sabbath and Rashi's Commentary. By D. S. Margoliouth . 750

Jacob, B. Das Erste Buch der Tora: Genesis. By Theodore H. Robinson 750

Contenau, Dr. G. Monuments Mésopotamiens. By C. J. Mullo Weir 752

Andrae, W. Die jüngeren Ischtar-Tempel in Assur. By C. J. Gadd 753

Jhaveri, Divan Bahadur Krishnalal M. The Present State of Gujarati Literature. By C. N. Seddon . . 755

Macnicol, Nicol. The Living Religions of the Indian People. By R. Burn 756

Meriggi, Piero. Die Längsten Bauinschriften in "Hethitischen" Hieroglyphen nebst Glossar zu sämtlichen Texten. By G. L. M. Clauson 759

Whitehouse, Wilfred (translated from the Japanese by). Ochikubo Monogatari or The Tale of the Lady Ochikubo. By E. D. Edwards 759

Giles, Herbert A., and Waley, Arthur (translated by). 英譯中國歌詩選. Select Chinese Verses. By A. C. Moule 761

Aiyer, K. V. Subrahmanya (edited by). South-Indian Inscriptions (Texts). By F. J. Richards 762

Belloni-Filippi, Prof. Ferdinando (traduzione dal sanscrito con Introduzione e Note del). Due Upaniṣad. By E. G. Carpani 763

Carri, Jean Marie. Voyageurs et écrivains français en Égypte. By A. Creswell 765

Gray, Louis H. Introduction to Semitic Comparative Linguistics. By A. S. Tritton 766

Davidson, Israel. The Book of the Wars of the Lord. By A. Marmorstein 767

Emeneau, M. B. Jambhaladatta's Version of the Vetālapañçaviṃśati. By R. E. Enthoven 770

Yoshitake, S. The Phonetic System of Ancient Japanese. By A. Waley 771

Jain, Banarsi Das. A Phonology of Panjabi and A Ludhiani Phonetic Reader. By T. Grahame Bailey . 772

PAGE
Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology for the Year 1933. By † Jarl Charpentier 774
Acharya, Dr. P. K. Mānasāra on Architecture and Sculpture. By H. Hargreaves 777
—— (translated from the original Sanskrit by). Architecture of Mānasāra. By H. Hargreaves 777
Grousset, René (translated from the French by Catherine Alison Phillips). The Civilizations of the East, Vol. III. China. By G. F. Hudson 779
Buiskool, H. E. Pūrvatrāsiddham. By E. J. Thomas . 781

OBITUARY NOTICES

Dr. Hartwig Hirschfeld. By M. Gaster 229
Berthold Laufer. By R. L. Hobson 230
Ernest A. Wallis Budge. By Alan W. Shorter 436
Herbert Allen Giles. By A. C. Moule 577
Eleanor Henrietta Hull. By F. W. Thomas 579
Zoltán Gombocz. By Alan S. C. Ross. 580
Professor W. E. Soothill. By D. S. Margoliouth . . . 783
Ignazio Guidi. By D. S. Margoliouth 785
Sir John Thompson. By E. D. Maclagan 786

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Alexander Csoma de Kőrös. By Joseph de Somogyi. . . 233
Firdausi : The Poet and his Work 238
The Millenary of Firdausi 240
Burton Memorial Lecture : Luristan 241
Fondation de Goeje 252
Proposed Museum of Asiatic Art 439
Anniversary Meeting 583
Presentation of the Triennial Gold Medal 609
Some Coins of the Mauryas and Śuṅgas 788
Dr. Yahuda on Life of Maimonides 792
Lantern Slides of Assyriological and Babylonian Subjects . 795
Conference 796
Notices 251, 440, 619, 796

PAGE
PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS 253, 442, 620, 797
PRESENTATIONS AND ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY 256, 444, 622, 799
TRANSLITERATION OF THE SANSKRIT, ARABIC, AND ALLIED ALPHABETS 267
INDEX 805
CONTENTS FOR 1935.
LIST OF MEMBERS.

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

1935

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF AUTHORS

PAGE
Arberry, A. J. Junayd 499
Banerji, A. C. Chola Invasion of Bengal . . . 655
Bhaṭṭaśālī, N. K. The New Śaktipur Grant of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva and Geographical Divisions of Ancient Bengal 73
Burrow, T. Tokharian Elements in the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan 667
Daiches, Samuel. Psalm XXXV, v. 16. The Meaning of מָעוֹג 355
Davids, C. A. F. Rhys. Curious Omissions in Pali Canonical Lists 721
Fábri, C. L. The Punch-marked Coins: A Survival of Indus Civilization 307
Farmer, Henry George. A Maghribī Work on Musical Instruments 339
Gaster, Theodor Herzl. The Combat of 'Aleyân-Ba'al and Mōt—a Proto-Hebrew Epic from Ras-Shamra 1
Ghosh, Amalananda, and Krishnaswamy, Rao Sahib, C. S. A Note on the Allahabad Pillar of Aśoka. (Plates VI and VII) 697
Ginsberg, Dr. H. L. Notes on "The Birth of the Gracious and Beautiful Gods". 45
Gottheil, R. A Fragment on Pharmacy from the Cairo Genizah 123
Gupta, Mata Prasad. An Important Interpretation in the *Rāma-Carita-Mānasa* regarding its Date . 717
Gurney, Oliver R. A Bilingual Text concerning Etana 459

PAGE

Hopkins, L. C. A Note on the Maneless Horse in Ancient China 360

—— The Cas-chrom v. the Lei-ssŭ 707

Inostrantsev, C. The "Round Dates" in the "Narrative about Sanjān" 509

Jayaswal, J. P. The Punch-marked Coins: A Survival of the Indus Civilization 720

Krishnaswamy, Rao Sahib C. S., and Ghosh, A. A Note on the Allahabad Pillar of Aśoka. (Plates VI and VII) 697

Langdon, S. A Curious Drehem Tablet . . . 358

Levy, Reuben. Notes on Costume from Arabic Sources 319

Martinovitch, Nicholas N. Two Questions in Moslem 285
Art 285

Morley, Arthur. Some Ethical Ideals of the Tso-chuan 273, 449

Obermiller, E. Bu-ston's History of Buddhism and the Mañjuśrī-mūla-tantra 299

Sastri, K. A. Nilakantha. The Date of Bhūti Vikramakēsari 475

Schrader, F. Otto. On the Form of the Bhagavadgītā contained in the Kashmirian Mahabhārata . . 146

Somogyi, Joseph de. A Collection of Literary Remains of Ignace Goldziher 149

Strangways, A. H. Fox. The Gāndhāra grāma . 689

Szabolcsi, Benedict. The Eastern Relations of Early Hungarian Folk-music 483

Tritton, A. S. The Illustration to the Doctrine of the "Leap" 514

Tucci, Giuseppi. *A propos* the Legend of Nāropā . 677

Walker, J. New Coin Evidence from Sīstān . . 115

Wolfenden, Stuart N. A Note on the Tribal Name *Mes* (*Mech*) 145

—— A Specimen of the Thūlung Dialect . . 629

Yetts, W. Perceval. Recent Finds near An-yang . 467

T QUARTER JANUARY, 1935.

FEB 12 1935

THE
JOURNAL
OF THE
OYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

With which are incorporated the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology

January **1935**

QUOT RAMI TOT ARBORES
A.D. MDCCCXXIII. INST.
J. COOPER

January 15

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
74 GROSVENOR STREET, LONDON, W.1

Price Fifteen Shillings

Indexes to the Transactions and Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society

FOR THE YEARS 1827–1888. *Price Four Shillings and Sixpence.*
FOR THE YEARS 1889–1903. *Price Four Shillings and Sixpence.*

Centenary Volume of the Royal Asiatic Society, containing a brief history of the Society from 1823 to 1923, together with indexes of authors, their contributions to the Journal and of the regions and countries dealt with, 1827–1922. Compiled and edited by F. E. PARGITER. 1923. Price 7*s.* 6*d.*

The Centenary Supplement of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1924. Being a selection of papers read to the Society during the celebrations of July, 1923. Price 7*s.* 6*d.*

Decade Index of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1920–29. Paper Covers similar to JOURNAL, each 1*s.*; Bound in paper boards, each 1*s.* 6*d.*; Bound in paper boards and interleaved, each 2*s.*

Members are asked to present the following numbers of the R.A.S. Journal:—

OLD SERIES.

1842.	**Vol. VII, No. 13.**	**1849.**	**Vol. XI.**
1861.	**Vol. XIX, Pt. II.**	**1863.**	**Vol. XX, Pt. I.**

NEW SERIES.

1870.	**Vol. IV, Pt. II.**	**1881.**	**Vol. XIII, Pts. I, II, III.**
1873.	**Vol. VI.**	**1882.**	**Vol. XIV, Pts. III, IV.**
1876.	**Vol. VIII, Pt. II.**	**1883.**	**Vol. XV, Pts. I, II.**
1879.	**Vol. XI, Pt. III.**	**1885.**	**Vol. XVII, Pt. IV.**

PRESENT SERIES.

1903.	**Pts. I, III.**	**1909.**	**Pt. II.**
1904.	**Pts. I, II, III.**	**1920.**	**Pts. I, IV.**
1906.	**Pt. II.**	**1921.**	**Pt. I.**
1907.	**Pt. I.**	**1929.**	**Pt. I.**

Also any complete volumes of the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology.

LONDON:
THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,
74 GROSVENOR STREET, W.1.

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY 1935

PART I.—JANUARY

The Combat of 'Aleyân-Ba'al and Mōt

A Proto-Hebrew Epic from Ras-Shamra

THE SECOND TABLET

Transliterated from the Cuneiform Original with Introduction, Provisional Translation, Argument, and Commentary

BY THEODOR HERZL GASTER, B.A.

(Continued from 1934, p. 714.)

ARGUMENT

THE original tablet contained about 527 lines; of these only 367 remain, excluding unintelligible fragments. Large gaps, involving fifteen lines and more, occur in Cols. I, II, III, and VIII; Cols. IV, V, VI, and VII (in the centre of the tablet) are less damaged, though everywhere minor breaks affect the text. In view of this it is very difficult to recover the sequence, and the following summary must be regarded as partially conjectural, though in the main reasonably certain.

Column I

A gap of some thirty lines. Complaint is lodged in the court of the gods to the effect that whilst all the other deities, such as El, his bride Asherah, and the gods of the soil, have each their own sanctuary and "covert", the resurrected god of the rains—Ba'al—has as yet no shrine. (ll. 13–19.)

Thereupon, Hiyân, the divine smith, fashions out of gold and silver the required furniture for such a shrine, including the typical "throne for the god" and the sacrificial table. (ll. 24–30.)

Orders are then given for the sacrifice of a ram (el), probably as an inauguration offering, and for dedicatory libations of flowing honey (as in Assyrian cult). The golden throne is set upon its platform, and the plank (dpr) is removed from the sacrificial refuse-pit, the regular cultus being thereby instituted. (ll. 31–7.)

Special "extraordinary gifts" (mnm dbbm) are placed upon the table, consisting of fruits of the earth, as well as the regularly prescribed offerings. The sacristan (rb bt) receives wild oxen (remm). (ll. 37*b*–44.)

Column II

Lacuna of some twenty lines. The text opens in the middle of a description of how the "Virgin 'Anath" attacks Môt (cf. I.AB, col. II), tearing from him the disc (plk) and robe (md) of sovereignty, stabbing at his flesh and finally pursuing him into the streams. She burns his royal garments. (ll. 3–9.)

What follows is not clear. Apparently she commissions Šr-el-Dped to fetch Ba'al and then sings a pæan, celebrating her triumph. The pæan is evidently sung in the presence of Queen Asherah of the Sea. (ll. 10–24.)

A very broken passage: the children of the gods are invited to join in the rejoicing (?) and a golden bowl (ṣl kṡp) together with a golden [goblet] is placed before Asherah. The interpretation is, however, uncertain. (ll. 25–8.)

Asherah, whilst duly gratified at the conquest of Môt, nevertheless decides to be merciful and "to open an eye of favour". She, therefore, commands her attendant, "Sir Fish" (dg)—the fish being her sacred animal—to commence dragging operations and to recover Môt in a net from the sea. (ll. 28–35.)

Her subsequent purpose is declared in a passage of which only a few isolated words and letters remain. (ll. 36–48.)

Alternatively, ll. 36–48 contain the comments of Ba'al and 'Anath on this exhibition of mercy. The names "Ba'al the Puissant" and "Virgin 'Anath" figure in the fragments.

Column III

This column is the most obscure of all; there are many gaps, and three entire lines (ll. 20–2) where all but one word (ltbṭ) are quite unknown.

Lacuna of some seventeen lines. The text opens with some fragments which may be rendered :—

". . . . . let him not escape! . . . . . thy foundation [shall be stablish]ed for generation upon generation; he shall . . . . thee and a spirit of . . . . of kingship."

The words are addressed to "Ba'al the Puissant" and probably contain an assurance that dominion shall be his, and that Môt will be kept in check. (ll. 5–9.)

Ba'al the Puissant sends his envoys Rkb-'rpt "Charioteer of the Clouds" and Idd-El-Ḫzr as an advance-guard into the parliament of the gods (pḫr bn elm). They are to be his ambassadors to the goddess Asherah, whom he desires to ingratiate and to whom he therefore offers the food and drink which have been set before him on the sacrificial table of his own shrine. He also sends sacrifices to her, which are enumerated, himself offering two and Rkb-'rpt three, with the prayer that the goddess may look favourably (ltbṭ) upon them. (ll. 10–22.)

Subsequently (aḫr) "Ba'al the Puissant" and "Virgin 'Anath" themselves sally forth (mḫi) and receive the favour of Asherah, "Mistress of the gods" (Qnt-elm), just as aforetime Šr-el-Dped and Bni-bnwt (= Lṭpn) have received it. (ll. 23–32.)

A very fragmentary passage follows: it contains a speech by "Virgin 'Anath" (cf. ll. 32–3: wt'n Btlt-'nt), in which she gratefully acknowledges the favour and protection of

Asherah and gives orders for food and drink to be set (as an offering of gratitude ?) before the assembled gods. A "fatted beast" (mre) is to be cut up with a sharp sword (bḥrb mlḥt), whilst wine and "blood of trees" (? "manna") is to be placed also before them. (ll. 32*b*–44.)

A lacuna of some ten lines.

Columns IV–V

Lacuna of some twelve lines. Instructions are given for a mount to be prepared for "the Queen, Asherah of the Sea". Its bridle and halter are to be of silver and gold. (ll. 3–7.)

Qdš-Amrr (= Qadeš "god of Kadesh" + Amurru) obeys the instructions ; seats the goddess upon a foal and leads her to the abode of the supreme El in the north, at the horizon where the celestial and subterranean oceans meet (apq thmtm ; cf. I AB., i, 4–10). She prostrates herself before him and does homage. (ll. 8–26.)

El welcomes her cordially, and profers food and drink to the wandering party, remarking that their blind wayfaring must have made them very hungry. (ll. 27–39.)

Asherah then pleads with him to let Ba'al have a shrine of his own, as have the other gods, arguing that it is El himself who set him to be lord, judge, and liege (?). [This passage largely duplicates Col. I, ll. 13–19.] (ll. 40–57.)

Lṭpn-el-Dped orders to build the shrine, enjoining that Amt-Ašrt, "the Handmaids of Asherah"—a goddess elsewhere mentioned in Ugaritian texts—assist in the laying (or conveying) of the bricks. (ll. 58–63.)

[Here begins Col. V.]

Asherah blesses him for his beneficence : "May thine hoary old age be coupled with wisdom" (lḥkmt sbt dgnk ltṡrk), and prays that Ba'al may "ever afford (him) the luxuriance of his rain, the luxuriance of irrigation upon grazed meadows" (wn ap 'dn mṭrh B'l i'dn-'dn šrt bglš). She urges that the news be at once conveyed to Ba'al that a house is being built for him, remarking that (ll. 67–74) the very soil, which so long has remained stony and parched (ḥrn : ‘sbt), will now burst forth in his praises in the midst of the newly-built shrine, and that the equipment of it is already being assembled, so that it may be a veritably glorious sanctuary. (ll. 75–81.)

The “Virgin ‘Anath” rejoices at this news, dances for joy (td‘ṣ p‘nm), and conveys it to Ba‘al. (ll. 87–97.)

Ba‘al is delighted; he orders Kšr-Ḫṡṡ (cf. As. kešêru “repair a building”)—the divine “foreman”—to set the work in progress. (ll. 98–105.)

Kšr-Ḫṡṡ arrives upon the scene, and tries to make an easy job of things: (the Ugaritian workman is evidently first-cousin to the proverbial plumber!). He tries to discharge his obligations by a sacrifice and by setting Ba‘al upon a throne of honour at the right hand [of El ?], ordering his workmen to do this. (ll. 106–110.)

Ba‘al tells him to “get a move on” and to build sanctuaries, urging him straightway to lay the foundations (trmm = As. ramú) and to slaughter the foundation-sacrifices. (ll. 111–119.)

Kšr-Ḫṡṡ begins to bargain; he will build sanctuaries, but without undertaking the complicated work of cutting out windows in them. Ba‘al asks if he is serious. (ll. 126–7 must be understood as an incredulous repetition of Kšr-Ḫṡṡ’ statement.) (ll. 120–127.)

Column VI

Kšr-Ḫṡṡ repeats his statement, and Ba‘al is apparently forced to agree, though stipulating that the building be on a grand scale (?). [The text is very much broken and the interpretation therefore tentative.] (ll. 1–14.)

Kšr-Ḫṡṡ issues instructions to Ba‘al—distinct from “Ba‘al the Puissant”—to procure cedar-wood from the Lebanôn. (ll. 14*b*–21.)

Kšr-Ḫṡṡ continues his instructions: fires are to be lit in all shrines for six days (note the seven-day week in Ugarit ?), silver is to be brought for overlaying the tiles (rqm = Ass. riqqu) and gold for overlaying the bricks (lbnt). (ll. 22–35.)

"Ba'al the Puissant" rejoices at the progress of the work. The masonry is completed and initial sacrifices offered. The acolytes sing hymns of praise and the "seventy sons of Asherah" join in. (ll. 35*b*–46.)

Wine is poured out as libation before the leading classes of gods and goddesses. These are: "Gods of wells, goddesses of pits: gods of bulls, goddesses of cows: gods of thrones, goddesses of royal cathedrae: gods of highways, goddesses of paths:" A fatted beast is cut up with a sharp sword and wine is poured. (ll. 47–58.)

Lacuna of some seven lines.

Column VII

This column, though comparatively well-preserved except for minor breaks, is almost completely unintelligible. Most phrases can be translated, but the general drift eludes me. Apparently the domain of "Ba'al the Puissant" is prescribed, and he takes his royal seat in the sanctuary. (ll. 1–14; fragmentary.)

The sanctuary being now open for use, the question of the windows crops up again. There is some discussion about it, the subject-matter of which is most obscure. (ll. 14–27 ?)

The question of what to do with Môt also arises. Ba'al the Puissant urges the high-god Ba'al to go out and attack him "for his hand shivereth the cedars; with his right hand he breaks them down". (ll. ? 28–42.)

Ba'al, however, decides to give Môt sovereignty over the underworld (arṣ = As. erṣitum syn. bit muti) and not to attack him. (ll. 42*b*–47.)

Môt, closeted in his cavern (gngnh = As. gigunu < Sum. GI(N).GUN), accepts this decision rebelliously, and is not prepared to leave the fructification of the earth to his erstwhile antagonist. (ll. 47*b*–52.)

The high god Ba'al addresses the god Gpn-Égr (god of

Ugarit ?), but the substance of his discourse is not clear. Apparently he defines the domain of Môt, saying that “ his portion (ḥbl) is ’mid the dark places (ṣlmt), the uplands (rmt), the mountain-tops (pr‘t), being prince of the deserts ”. But the interpretation is very dubious. (ll. 52*b* ff.)

Lacuna of about eight lines.

Column VIII

Môt is instructed not to go seeking fresh pastures, which he will only ravage, but to confine himself to the Netherworld. (ll. 1–9.)

Aleyan-Ba‘al is instructed to leave him alone, and not to usurp his domain. (ll. 10–20.) A fragmentary passage follows.

Lacuna of some eighteen lines.

COMMENTARY

Construction of a Sanctuary for Aleyan-Ba‘al.

The construction of the sanctuary is part of the new-year ritual in connection with which the present poem was recited. See fully my article, “ The Ritual Pattern of a Ras-Šamra Epic,” in *Archiv Orientální*, iv, 1.

[1] מֹשָׁב lit. “ dwelling-place ” is here used in the specific sense of “ sanctuary ” as in Sabean 𐩣𐩥𐩻𐩨 (Lidzbarski, *Ephem.* i, 194 ; Glaser, *Die Abessinier*, p. 48 ; Landberg, *Ḥadram.*, p. 339 ; Hommel, *AA.*, p. 197) and Assyrian mušabu (e.g. Pensylv. Gilgamesh Text, ed. Clay and Jastrow, ii, 55 : bit ilim, mušabi ša AN-im).

מִצְלָל is the Ethiopic ጸለለት : Arabic مظلل, Aramaic מטלל (= BH סֻכָּה, Targ. Jon. Is. 4^{6} : ψ 10^{9}, etc.) “ tabernacle ”. Cf. the use of BH סֹךְ in this sense in ψ 76^{3}, Lam. 2^{6}.

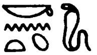
[2] בנה is plural ; cf. שבעת עלמה in I *AB*, vi, 8 ; the hosts of heaven are called בני אלם as in Hebrew mythology : *vide infra ad* iii, 14.

[3] אשׁרת ים : *vide* my note in *JRAS.*, October, 1932, p. 878. In addition to material there cited cf. the title Išḫara tiamat given to the earlier form of this goddess in *Šurpu*, ii. 171 ; *K.* 4195 ; V *Rawl.*, 46, 31*b* : *vide* Zimmern in *KAT.*^{3}, p. 432. The earlier Isḫara was certainly known in the pantheon of Ras-Šamra. Her name occurs, in the form אשׁחרי in *RŠ.*, i, 13, and should probably be restored for אשׁחרת in *RŠ.*, xvii, 9. She was known also to the Hittite world ; 𒀭𒅖𒄩𒊏

(AN) Iš-ḫa-ra occurs in a fragmentary list of deities in *HTBM.*, 92 (a text worthy of closer study); also in the Elamite world; cf. Hüsing, *Olz.*, 1905, pp. 385–390. Albright cites an Egyptian text in which Astarte is described tȝ ’sbt n pȝ ym “ she that is enthroned upon the sea ”. Cf. the allusion in Ezekiel 28^{2}: אֵל אָנִי מוֹשַׁב אֱלֹהִים יָשַׁבְתִּי בְּלֵב יַמִּים.

In earlier Mesopotamian religion the counterpart of Ishtar-Asherat was Nina, i.e. “ Lady of the Waters ” (v. Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. u. Assyr.*, i, 60, 78, 80). The Ægean mother-goddess was similarly associated with the sea: cf. the representations of her on a lentoid from the Idean cave and in the chapel of Minos: v. Nock in *Classical Review*, xxxix, p. 174, n. 1.

[4] כלת כנית is the ritual title of Asherat as “ glorious bride ” of the vegetative force—Ba‘al. Cf. King, *Letters and Inscrr. of Hammurabi*, ii, 66 = Hommel, *AA.*, p. 211: ana Ašrati kallat šar šamú. The title is given to most mother-goddesses: IV^{R}, 52*b*, 41: Tašmetum kallatum rabitum; Strong, *JA.*, ’93, pp. 361–385, rev. 14: Tašmetum kallat E. SAGILLA. *KB.*, iv, 84, No. 1, 28: 35 kallatišu. *KB.*, iii, 88, 51: ^{d}AA kallat naramtišu. V *Rawl.*, 56, ii, 39: ^{d} GULA kallat E. ŠARRA. *ZA.*, v, 59, 16: ^{d} DAMKINA kabtat šarrat, kallat. Scheil, *Réc. des Travaux*, xvii, 83: ^{d} ANNAA kallatu. Even in Sumerian cultus it was customary to call such goddesses “ bride ”. Cf. Langdon, *SLP.*, i, obv. i, 14: dam gašan-bi. *Vide* Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 7 n., for Damu as a title of the goddess.

The word כנית derives from rt. כני = Arabic كني “ be glorious, great ”. As a title of Asherat, cf. King, *Magic*, 1^{29}, 2^{45}, 4^{14}, 5^{11}; *Rm.* 3, 105, 2; *CT.* xxv, 18, rev. 2, 15: Ištar kanûtu. This title is the Egyptian  *Knt*—registered as a Syrian goddess—an identification in which I have been anticipated by Hommel, *Geogr.*, p. 882, n. 1 With this epithet cf. analogously *CIS.*, 255: עשתרת אדרת and *’Ασтάρτη ἡ μεγίστη* in Philo (v. Lagrange, p. 125). Similarly in Greek cult Hera is called *Διὸς κυδρὴ παράκοιτις* (Homer, *Σ* 184); *πότνια ἄλοχος* (Aristoph. Lys. 1286): *ἀρισκυδὴς εὔνις* (Callimachos, fr. 108 Schneider); *Ζηνὸς ἡ κλεινὴ δάμαρ* (Euripides, Herc. Fur. 1303).

[5] פדר, which elsewhere occurs in *RŠ.* ‖ ער “ city ” (Virolleaud, *Syria*, xiii, p. 116), may well be an Anatolian loan-word of official connotation, taken into the language, along with such political terms as בלם and כלני, at a time when Ugarit was under foreign administration (v. my forthcoming article, “ Anatolian Loan-words in Ras-Shamra Texts ”). The word may be equated with Lycian *wedri* “ state, city-state, *πόλις* ” and Chaldic (Vannic) *patari* of the same meaning. In Vannic the word seems indeed to be a borrowed term, for the native word for “ city ” is *šuḫie* (cf. Lehmann, *ZDMG.*, lvi, [1902], p. 115). It may hence have come from Western Asia Minor; cf. the name *Πάταρα* of the Lycian capital.

Developing into the wider sense of “ empire, dominion ” the word came later to be used in conjunction with חט “ sceptre ” to indicate “ sovereignty ”. Cf. analogously how Phœnician ממלכת prim. “ kingdom" came to mean "sovereign" (v. Cooke, *NSI.*, p. 21). Cf. very instructively, Gilbert Murray, *The Rise of the Greek Epic*, p. 56: "The Polis became a sort of Mother-Goddess, binding together all who lived within its circuit."

As the name of a deity פדר would be of Anatolian origin, and would correspond exactly with the Lycian *Παταρεύς*, prim. "God of the City-state". Cf. Greek *Πολιεύς* and (*f.*) *Πολίας*, etc.

[6] בת אר "sunlit mansion". Virolleaud aptly compares the Assyrian bit nûri as the name of a temple. On this *vide ZA.*, iii, 36–7. We may also cf. the Sumerian term Ê. UD. UL, in which Marduk is said to reside in the text DT 15 + 114 + 109 + MNB, 1848; ll. 29, 231, 296, 375. *Vide* on this Pallis, *Babyl. Akitu Festival*, p. 90. "House of Light" may have an even more definite reference. On the site of ancient Gath Macalister excavated a sacred precinct surrounded by a wall, on the eastern side of which was a skewed door so designed as to allow the sun to pour its full light upon the apse at one season of the year. As Macalister says, this must have had a religious meaning. Indeed, it has been observed to be a feature of our own Stonehenge that the sun at midday pours through the dolmens (Garrow-Duncan, *Digging Up Biblical History*, ii, 63). A sanctuary so designed might well be called a "house of light".

[7] The suffixes in פדרי, טלי, and ארצי need not be possessive, but purely adjectival as in BH denomin. such as אכזרי, כנעני, etc., and as in the ordinal numbers, e.g. שני שלישי, etc. This formation is especially favoured in neo-Hebrew, e.g. נִצְחִי "eternal" (cf. Strack-Siegfried, § 64*b*), and in modern Palestinian. Divine names with the ending -î occur elsewhere in *RŠ*, e.g. i, 15, פדרי; i, 13, אֹשׁחרי; 14 [1], אשמני; xiv, 2, צדי; xiv, 3, נקלי, and demand further study. This adjectival suffix is proto-Semitic and occurs already in Egyptian.

The mention of soil, territory, and demesne together is intended to embrace comprehensively all the "vegetation-gods".

[8] מְשַׁנ is Pi'el participle (masc. sg.) of שַׁנִי = Aramaic תני, Syriac ܬܢܐ, Assyr. šanu, Ethiopic ዜነወ ፡ "relate", which occurs also as an Aramean loan-word, in Judges, 5 [11], יְתַנּוּ.

[9] רגמם = As. rigmu, but in the sense "message". Cf. my note in *JRAS.*, October, 1932, p. 888, n. 77. Cf. for the turn of expression *K.*, 168, 23 (*SAL*) *ragînti tartugumu.*

[10] שסכן is an imperative: its meaning will depend upon whether we regard the final -*n* as the emphatic suffix or as part of the root. In the former case, it will be imperat. Šaf'el of נסך in the sense of "instate as king"; cf. *BH.*, Psalm 2 [6] וַאֲנִי נָסַכְתִּי מַלְכִּי; cf. also נָסִיךְ "sheikh, chieftan" = As. nasîku and Minean ከሰነ. (The installation of Aleyan-Ba'al is a cardinal feature of the festival for which the poem

was composed; cf. my remarks in *Archiv Orientální*, v, 1, on the ritual background of the epic.) An alternative, and perhaps better, interpretation of שמכן would be to combine it with שמך "pour libation" in *RŠ*. viii, 6. For the omission of לְ thereafter *vide* n. 137 *infrá*. In the latter case, מכן would probably connect with the noun מכנת, *infrà*, l. 44, and be a variant form of שכן *šakânu*, of which this form would be imperat. Šaf'el "make to dwell."

[11] מע is an imperative particle which recurs in I *AB*, vi, 23: שמע מע (where we all wrongly expunged it as due to dittography!) and again in II *AB*, vi, 4: שמע מע: I cannot yet explain it philologically.

[12] מגן recurs, again || מעצי in III *AB*., 28, 30, 33, and evidently means "protect". Perhaps it is cognate to גנן, Arabic جَنَّ, Assyr. ganânu "surround" in the derived sense of "protect". Cf. especially Syriac ܓܢ and noun ܓܢ̇ "refuge". The form would be passive part. Qal.

[13] מְעַצִי derives from עצי, which occurs || מגן at the passages cited in the preceding note. This verb would evidently mean something like "guarded, minded". Perhaps, on the analogy of גנן, it derives from a rt. originally meaning "shut (in), surround, enclose" = Ethiopic ዐጸወ፡ Arabic عَضَا iv, BH עצה (Pr. 16 [30]).

[14] For קני in this sense cf. Ethiopic ቀነየ፡ "be master".

[15] *The God Hiyân.*

The god named Hiyân (𐎃𐎊𐎐) is the god responsible for the smelting of gold and silver in connection with the sanctuary. In yet unpublished portions of the poem he is described, according to Virolleaud, by the epithet חרש ידם, in which the former word is no doubt the BH. חרש I, Ar. حرث "work in metal". Moreover, he is associated with the god Kašir mentioned again in II *AB*., iv–v *passim*, and especially in II *AB*., vii, 16–17, as the foreman-builder of the sanctuary. These two deities bear a remarkable similarity in function to the two carpenters similarly introduced at the Egyptian Coronation-drama who similarly fashion the sacrificial table (v. Blackman in S. H. Hooke's *Myth and Ritual*). Their names are artificial literary inventions: Kašir is connected with Assyrian kešêru in the specific sense of "repairing" or "trimming-up" a building (cf. NH. כִּשֵּׁר, Syr. ܟܫܰܪ), whilst Hiyân may be plausibly explained as a derivative (with common nunation) from a root identical with Arabic هير of much the same sense and development.

[16] שלח has here the sense "make to flow". Cf. BH. שִׁלֻּחַ "runnel"; As. šiliḫtu; Coptic loan-word šoleḫ, and compare also in BH.,

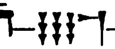
Job 5[10] ושלח מים על פני חֻצות; Job 12[15] הן יעצר במים ויבשו וישלחם ויהפכו ארץ (l. וְיִתְקַשּׁוּ : cf. 28[11]); Ezekiel 31[14]. Cf. analogously, Latin *fundo*; Hebrew יצק; Egypt. *wdḥ*. Assyr. *šapâku*. (K. 232, obv. 17.)

[17] לאלפם and לרבבת go together, meaning literally "unto thousands" and "unto myriads". They are proverbial expressions meaning "innumerably".

For this use of לְ cf. in *RŠ.*, 1929, 3[43] שנ לעשׂרם "twenty-two"; II *AB.*, vii, 9, שׁ̄שׁ לשׁשׁ̄ם "sixty-six."

Assyrian *adi* is also so used: v. Langdon, *EoC.*, p. 95, n. 11.

A similar construction may be detected in BH. in Job 36[1] יתן אכל לְמַכְבִּיר "he giveth food *abundantly*". Comparable also is the common Greek phrasing: *ἐς τὰς τετρακοσίας* (*Thucyd.*, i, 74), and especially in round numbers *εἰς δισχιλίους ξένους* (Xenophon, *Anab.*, I, i, 10). *Vide* Blomfield on Aeschyl. Persae 343.

[18] ח̄ים——may also be read יח̄ם, but the meaning is in either case unknown. Whether the final *-m* is the termination of the plural it is impossible to say. תבשׁ̄ח is evidently a *tiqtal* formation from the root בשׁ̄ח, which cannot yet be identified. It is possible that the initial ב arises from partial assimilation, as in בשׁ̄נם for BH. פְּתָנִים at I *AB.*, vi, 19, in which case the root would appear as פת̄ח̄ in other Semitic languages. Even so, however, no etymon suggests itself.

[19] כת is imperat. Qal of כתת "cut up", the reference being to the sacrificial slicing of animals, called in Hebrew נתח לנתחים and in Hittite marka- and hatta-; cf. my note 8 in *JRAS.*, October, 1932, p. 876. Alternatively, and perhaps better, כת may be imperative of a rt. כתת, which occurs as a sacrificial term in *RŠ.*, 1929, ii, 16, 25, 33.

[20] אׄל here does not mean "god", as Virolleaud takes it, but "ram" (cf. II *AB.*, vi, 42, אׄלם עגלם) = BH. אַיִל, As. ai̯alu, etc. This is probably a dedication-sacrifice or even a foundation-sacrifice.

[21] רבתם is apparently connected with אלף שד ‖ רבת כמן ("wild ox") in these texts, and denotes the name of an animal or class of animals. I would tentatively cf. Arabic رفّ "herd, pack, fold", BH. רֶפֶת in a generic sense of "flock, domestic beast". Cf. very similarly

in Leviticus 5[15] ואיל תמים מן הצאן. Alternatively, רבתם (dual) may be a technical term for an animal roasted whole, like the Ṣafaitic *kabbīr*.

If my interpretation be correct, l. 30 will mean "*Cut up a ram; cut up a ram of the flocks.*"

[22] נבתם is the BH. נֹפֶת, which derives, on the analogy of צוּף from √צוף, from rt. נוף "flow" reappearing in Ethiopic ነፍነፈ፡. This root may be detected in BH. in ψ 68[10] גשם נדבות תָּנִיף אלהים, where emendation is therefore unnecessary. The libation of honey is to be explained by the fact that honey is a symbol of inauguration. It was used especially in Assyrian cultus in connection with the dedication of new images and in the ritual of new year. Cf. Jensen, *KB.*, vi, II, 48, 21: [dišpa] ḫimêta šizba kurunna karana u šamna ṭaba wh. the restoration is plain from v. 8: miris ᵈ dišpi ḫimêti u šamni ḫalṣi. Honey is eaten for the same reason at the Jewish New-Year to this day. It is a regeneration-motif: honey is a sign of the new age: cf. I *AB.*, iii, 6 ff.: Amos, 9[13]: Joel 4[18]: *Oracula Sibyllina*, iii, 774–7: *Slavonic Enoch*, viii, § 5. *Vide* Jeremias, *BNT.*, p. 45, n. 1, and especially Usener, *Rhein. Mus.*, lvii, 177–192: Eitrem, *Opferittus u. Voropfer der Griechen u. Römer*, pp. 101, 457: Guidi, *Revue Biblique*, 1903, pp. 241 ff. This explains honey in the Mithraic ceremony of regeneration (on which v. Headlam-Knox, *Heroudas*, p. 271) and as a libation to the dead: cf. *Iliad*, xxiii, 170, etc.

The ritual background of this incident of the poem is thus, in all probability, the libation of honey in the new-year ceremony during which this aetiological myth was recited. See my article in *Archiv Orientální*, loc. cit.

[Cf. also for honey in new-year rituals, the Assyrian text DT 15 + 114 + 109 + MNB 1848, and *vide infrâ*, n. 29.]

[23] שמר has no connection with the Sem. rt. meaning "keep, guard"—as Virolleaud takes it, with difficulty. It is the imperat. Šafel of a root akin to מרר = Arabic مَرّ "flow", مَرْمَرَ "make to flow", مَهْرٌ "runnel". BH. מַר (Is. 40[15]) = "drop" is from this rt. Cf. also Arabic هُمَرَ "flow" and Sabean 𐩣𐩧𐩠 "seminal flux" (Glaser, 1632: 8).

[24] Indistinct: the meaning is evidently "take" or "place".

[25] חרץ כחש אל. For this manner of construction cf. BH. שֵׁם קָדְשׁוֹ for שְׁמוֹ הַקָּדוֹשׁ, NH. כְּבוֹד מַלְכוּתוֹ for מַלְכוּתוֹ הַנִּכְבֶּדֶת, etc. For the "golden throne" in new-year ritual, cf. in Assyrian cultus AO 6459, 29 (= Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels*, p. 90), where Anu is seated ina muḫḫi šubut ḫuraṣi. Similarly in *VAT*. 7849, 20 Antu sits on a golden throne. The placing of a golden throne in the sanctuary is an element in the θεοξένια, which is fully described in col. vi, 47 ff., and which was a cardinal feature of the festival for which this poem was composed and the ceremonies of which it mythologizes. In the analogous Phrygian festivals of the Ἀττίδεια, we are told in the inscription *CIA.*, ii, 1, 624, it was

the duty of the priestesses *στρωννύειν θρόνους δύο* [*ὡς*] *καλλίστους* for Kybele and Attis. On this v. Hepding, *Attis*, pp. 136–7.

[26] **נחת**. The word is a substantive, as Virolleaud has very conclusively demonstrated, and means "seat, throne". Cf. in the Arabic of Iraq taḫat "throne".

[27] **אד** = "then"; cf. Arabic اذ, Hebrew אָז, etc., and Ugaritian אדן (with demonstr. enclitic), on which v. Gaster, *JRAS.*, loc. cit., p. 875.

[28] **דפר** is something which lies over the mouth of the well and which must be removed as part of the sacrificial rite. Elsewhere דפר is associated with שלחן "table". Clearly, the meaning "plank, board" is fairly approximate. May it perhaps be a metathesis of BH. רפד, NH. רבד "slab, shelf"? There has recently been found at Ur an altar beneath which was a well in which were found large slabs of gypsum big enough to stop its mouth (Jack, *Expository Times*, May, 1933). I venture to hold that such a slab is what is here called the דפר.

[29] **בר נעל** = "closed pit" (BH. בּוֹר נָעוּל): cf. Cant. גַּל נָעוּל. This *bōr*, or "pit", was the hole usually dug beneath Semitic altars to catch the blood and refuse of the sacrifices. The Arabs called this by the name of *ʿabʿab*; particular examples were to be found by the altars at Taif and at Naḫla. At Mecca, significantly enough, it was called ابيارْ ("pits") which conforms with בֹּר of our text. On the whole subject v. Wellhausen, *Reste*, p. 103. The opening up of this pit would be a necessary preliminary to sacrifice. Cf. exactly similarly in the Assyrian New-Year ritual (Thureau-Dangin, *Rituel du Nouvel Au*, 456 ff.):

> ina kisalmaḫḫi *bûra ippettu*^{pl}*ma*
> ina bûri úkan dišpa ḫimêta šamna rê[šta].

[30] **חרץ שלחן אל**. For the "golden table" in new-year ritual cf. in Assyrian cultus in the text DT 15 + 109 + 114 + MNB 1484, 386–410, 412: *paššur ḫuraṣi*.

[31] **מנם** means "tributary gifts" (lit. "portions"); cf. Arabic مَن; Minean 𐩣𐩬 and cf. also *RŠ.*, 1929, i, 2, where divide: מתנת מן כבד (cf. As. mandattu kabittu; Minean 𐩫𐩨𐩥𐩵𐩩).

[32] **דבבם** is perhaps the "proto-Ethiopic" ዲበበ፡ underlying the preposition ዲበ፡ "super, insuper" (Dillmann, *Lexicon Aeth.*, 1104). It would mean "supplementary". Cf. ימגן דבה in v. 44, which then means, "he offers in addition thereto" as in Ethiopic.

[33] **מסדת ארץ**: Virolleaud cps. BH. מוֹסְדוֹת אָרֶץ "foundations of the earth" (cf. ψ 85^{5}; Pr. 8^{29}). This is unsatisfactory because מוסדות

means the *pillars* on which the earth rests ; cf. Isaiah 24¹⁸ וירעשו מוסדי ארץ : ψ 82⁵ ימוטו כל מ' אֶרץ : ψ 104⁵ יסד ארץ על מכוניה. It is ludicrous to speak of offerings (or " portions ") coming from the " pillars of the earth " ! The preposition מִן does not seem to occur in *RŠ.*, so that the initial מ is here a nominal preformative to the root. I have no very plausible suggestion to offer. It has occurred to me that the root may be = Ar. سَادَ in the primitive sense of " be many, much " (cf. سَوَادٌ " plenty ")[1] ; i.e. " —the plenty of the earth." Or read מס דת (tribute of)?

³⁴ צע, if correctly written, may be explained from the Phœnician צועת—a species of sacrifice mentioned in the Marseilles inscription *CIS.*, i, 65, l. 4 (*vide* Cooke, *NSI.*, p. 117, but his explanation from Eth. ጸወዐ፡ is scarcely likely). See on this word H. L. Ginzberg, *AJSL.*, 1930, p. 52.

It should be observed, however, that שׁע דקת is the regular formula in *RŠ.* ritual texts, whence the possibility arises that צע is corrupt. Virolleaud's סע " remove " (from נסע) is impossible, firstly because נסע (prim. " pull up [stakes] ") only means " remove " in the sense of " migrate " ; secondly, because in Ugaritian the word still retained its primitive sense of " pull up " = As. nasaḫu, BH. נסח (cf. I *AB.*, vi, 27) ; and thirdly, because in any case the Šafʻel would be required.

³⁵ דקת occurs regularly in the ritual texts as the counterpart of גדלת and denotes " small animals : German, *Kleinvieh* ". It corresponds exactly to NH. בְּהֵמָה דַקָּה and to the Arabic دقّة used of sheep (v. Kohnt, *Aruch Completum*, iii, 118*a*). The equivalent of גדלת in NH. is בְּהֵמָה גַסָּה, which word I would compare philologically with the Arabic كَشِيَ and BH. כשׂה (Dt. 32¹⁵ ‖ עבה). It is the equivalent of the Ugaritian expression שׁקל.

³⁶ כאמר = " as is prescribed." The word is a noun = BH. אֹמֶר and is parallel to the noun חוּת ; it is not a passive participle = BH. כָּאָמוּר. The word is used here in the sense of Arabic أَمَرَ " command ", and very close in sense to the Ethiopic አመረ፡ " show, indicate " (from prim. sense " be clear " = As. amâru, BH. אור ; cf. Latin de-clar-are).

³⁷ סכנת evidently denotes a class of sacrifices. The meaning is highly dubious and the term does not occur in the ritual texts. I take it as a form of שכן (*vide suprâ*, n. 10), as in Arabic سَكَنَ in the same sense as Assyrian šakânu " place, set "—a term frequently employed in a cultic sense : e.g. IV R², 54, No. 2, 22, etc. [Cf. perhaps the Syriac ܫܟܢ " present ".]

---

[1] The usual meaning is " be great, dominari " ; this would be a development paralleled by Hebrew רבה. Derivative nouns from the root سَادَ meaning " plenty ", " crowd ", etc., going back to the idea of *number*, do indeed occur.

[38] **כחות** is a parallel to כאמר. It is connected with BH. חוה, Syr. ܚܰܘܺܝ, Ar. وحى "announce", and is a fem. noun. The parallelism between חות and אמר is much illustrated by the fact that they are also *etymological synonyms*, for just as אמר primitively means "be clear, bright" (amâru, אור), so חוי had also this meaning (cf. Ethiopic ወሀየ ፡ ወኀየ ፡).

[39] **ימנן** is from rt. מני "apportion", here regarded as a verbum denominativum from מן "sacrificial portion", on which *v. suprâ*, n. 31. So in Minean the sacrificial portion is called 𐩢𐩮𐩥 (connected with √חצץ), and I detect a hitherto unrecognized usage of Greek *μοῖρα* in this sense in Herondas, iv, 95: *μέζων ἁμαρτίης ἠ ὑγίη ’στη τῆς μοίρης* = "bigger must be the cake for a sin-offering than that for a tithe-offering" (cf. *Aeschyl. Choeph.* 519: *τὰ δῶρα μείω δ’ἔστι τῆς ἁμαρτίης*); Lucian, *Deor. Dial.*, i, p. 204 *ad fin.*: *καὶ τὴν ἀμείνω τῶν μοιρῶν σεαυτῷ φυλάττων* (= "and keeping the better of the tithe-offerings for your own sweet self").

[40] **לרבבת** = "in abundance." *Vide suprâ*, n. 17. Alternatively (so Virolleaud) = לְרַב בַּיִת "for the sacristan": cf. Assyr. *bêl biti* in this sense. But it is not very likely that "wild oxen" (in the plural!) would be offered merely for the "levites' portion"!

Môt is discomfited by ‘Anat.

This episode is the ritual *μῦθος* of the new-year ceremony of "Expelling the Death", all its details harmonizing with those of that rite. See my discussion in "The Ritual Character of a Ras-Shamra Epic", *Archiv Orientálni*, loc. cit., where the folkloristic parallels are cited. *Vide* also my [longer] article: "The Earliest Mummer's Play?" in *Folklore*, December, 1933.

[41] **פלך** is the Arabic فَلَكٌ and refers to the disc which was part of the royal insignia. In the "humiliation of the king" at the Assyro-Babylonian New-Year-(Akitu)-feast, this disc was similarly taken away from him as a sign of abasement. *Vide* Langdon, *EoC.*, p. 26.

[42] **תעלת**—if rightly read—must mean "pull off", but no satisfactory etymon suggests itself. Perhaps we should read 𐎖 for 𐎚 𐎓, i.e. קלת "she burned"; cf. what follows.

[43] **נפינה** "she put him to flight, expelled him" = Ar. نفى. The word occurs elsewhere in *RŠ.*, and the identification is due to Dhorme (*RB.*, 1931, p. 38).

[44] **מכם** is the BH. כסס, Ar. كسّى, Assyr. kasâsu "cut in pieces". For the addition of *mêm* to biliteral bases as a means of triliteralizing

them cf. Praetorius, *Amh. Gr.*, § 101*a*, and Marcel Cohen, *Notes*, p. 7. The following are some striking examples in Ethiopic :—

መቅና፡ = קנא	መሰገ፡ = סגב	መዘለ፡ = אזן
መገበ፡ = גבב	መቀለ = קצץ	መለነ = ישן
መርሐ፡ = ורח	መፀወ = בצץ, ناض	

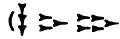
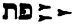
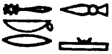
In Assyrian I would quote maṣaru > צר ظَرَ; maṣalu > צל as in ṣalâlu; mašaru II (cut) > שר شَرَ; mašadu > שד as in שדד; maḫaṣu > חץ, etc., and in Hebrew there are also several examples. Alternatively, and perhaps better, מכם may = BH. מִכְסֶה “ covering ”.

45 **תמתע**. The root is the Arabic مَتَعَ “ asportare ”, which really means “ to remove to a distance ”. The identification is due to Virolleaud.

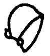
46 **מדה**; cf. BH. מַד “ robe ”, and מַדֵּו (2 Sam. 10⁴). Again due to Virolleaud.

47 **נהרם**. The folkloristic parallels, assembled in *Archiv. Orientální*, loc. cit., in which “ the Death ” is pursued into a neighbouring stream, makes it plain that נהרם in this, the *μῦθος* of the ceremony, cannot mean anything but “ streams ”. Virolleaud’s tentative suggestion that it means the land of “ Naharina ” must therefore be given up as ingenious, but untenable.

Ca[illegible]?

47*a* **חִפתר** (), as read by Virolleaud, is inexplicable either from Semitic or from Anatolian. I suggest that פת  should be read as a single letter, viz. כ , when the word will be חִכר, readily explicable as an Egyptian loanword, like חִכרשׁ = ḫkr  “ ornament, finery ”.

48 **חִברשׁ** is an article of apparel, the burning of which is once more the *μῦθος* of an actual rite. *Vide Archiv Orientální*, loc. cit., for material on this point. It has nothing to do with Hittite ḫupruš-ḫiš, as suggested by Virolleaud, since this denotes a wooden object (? table) on which sacrifices were offered, rather than the object sacrificed. (*Vide* Sommer, *BoSt.*, 10, p. 25.) I equate the word with Hittite ḫupruš in *VAT*. 13061, obv. i, 31, where the divine Innarawantes are described as “ clothing themselves in the ešḫanuwar-garment ” (ešḫanuwar vessantari) and as “ binding on the ḫupruš ” (ḫupruš išḫiyantêš). The use of the word “ bind ” (išḫiya- = Gk. ἔ-σχ-ον, ἰσχαίνω) suggests, on the analogy of BH. חָבַשׁ כּוֹבַע, Fr. “ bandeau ”, Germ. “ Kopfbinde ”, that ḫupruš is a headgear.

In *Ancient Egypt*, 1932, p. 115, I have suggested that this Anatolian word is the real origin of the Egyptian  ḫprš “ crown ”, which has no native etymon. Presumably it would originally have denoted the famous feathered-headdress such as was common in Asia Minor, but was characteristic also of the Egyptian goddess Anuqet. The importation of Anatolian headgear has a parallel in the Semitic קוֹבַע כּוֹבַע, which is simply the Hittite kupaḫi(s) "helmet", as I have shown in *JRAS.*, Oct., 1933.

[49] לצַֿר. Upon this preposition *v. infrâ*, n. 62.

[50] תעפף is of quite uncertain meaning. I doubt whether it has anything to do with עפעפן לפאת in *RŠ.*, 1929, vi, 15. A clue to the meaning may be found in iii, 30 ff., where this sentence is paraphrased: מנגתם שֹׁר אֹל דפאֹד הם עֿצתם בני בנות, which shows that the vb. עפף (or עוף) is a synonym of מגן (*de quo, v. suprâ*, n. 12). Perhaps it has some connection with Arabic عَفَّ "sincerus esse" in a primitive sense, such as "show herself gracious".

[51] דפאֹד. Regular name of Bni-bnwt; cf. I *AB.* פאֹד is a place-name, and ד means "of".

[52] בני בנות. This name also (for which cf. I *AB.*, iii, 5) remains an enigma. Perhaps it is a crude Semiticization of a foreign word.

בנשאׂ ענה (lit. "with the raising of her eye") does not mean ' "in a trice"—*ἐν ῥιπῇ ὀφθάλμου*—as taken by Virolleaud, but corresponds rather to the Assyrian *niš êni* of favour, on which v. Delitzsch, *Babel and Bibel*, Eng. ed., pp. 94–6.

[53] ותפהן derives from (פהי or) פוה, which seems to have the general meaning of "greet" or "address" (Virolleaud). Perhaps it is denom. from פֶּה "mouth", like the Arabic, and thus corresponds exactly with As. *pušu epêšu*.

[54] הלכ. I cannot parse this form, nor quite definitely determine the meaning. According to Virolleaud's interpretation of ותפהן הלך as "elle provoque le départ" it would apparently be an infinitive-noun = BH. הָלוֹךְ. But it is difficult to follow the sequence of events in Virolleaud's construction. Apparently 'Anat calls Ba'al, son of Asherat (!), to her aid in fighting Môt. This, it seems to me, is impossible. Môt is already vanquished, and there would be no point in calling Ba'al to aid in a defeat already achieved. Moreover, where else is Ba'al the *son* of Asherat? We could surmount the difficulty in two ways: (*a*) read הִלְכוּ "Come ye" (cf. Jer. 51[50]), though לְכוּ would be more usual; (*b*) we could read הָלַךְ in the sense "he hath perished", like As. alâku, Arabic هَلَكَ "perish", Nabatean הלך (Lidzbarski, *Ephem.*, iii, 84[4]) [Greek *οἴχεσθαι*, etc.],

referring to Môt, when בעל אשׁרת will be vocative: " He hath perish'd, O Ba'al, O Asherat! " This seems on the whole the more likely; certainly the word is a finite verb and not an infinitive, for otherwise the words כתען הלך in the next line have no sense.

[55] תמט. The restoration is made by Virolleaud from a parallel passage not yet published. The root of this verb is טוט which underlies BH. טִיט, As. ṭiṭu " mire ", and means " trample ", on the analogy of רֶפֶשׁ from רפשׁ and of NH. סֵין from סאן (= סאן). Cognate, no doubt, are Arabic وَطِئَ pede compressit, وَهَطَ valde conculcavit, and وَطَسَ (with postpositive Šin as in e.g. כבשׁ, לבשׁ, etc.) valde impegit pedem solo. As regards the motif, v. my note in *JRAS.*, loc. cit., n. 38.

[56] עדן has nothing to do with As. ėdinu (> Sum. EDIN) " plain ", as suggested by Virolleaud, but links up rather with the Arabic عَدَنَ *malleo mucronato percussit terram* and (noun) مِعْدَن *mucro.*

The story has a parallel in the despatch of Orion by Artemis, Orion being an astral form of the " rebel-giant " here represented by Môt. Cf. Korinna, frag. 5: *'Ωρίωνα ἠφάνισεν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων Ἄρτεμις*: *Pherekydes apud Apollodorum*, i, 4, 3; Horace, *Carm.* iii, 4, 72: notus et integrae Tentator Orion Dianae Virgineâ domitus sagittâ (where an erotic basis is given to the story in the good classical manner). The Sumerians knew a similar story; they called Orion by the name (mul) SIB.ZI.AN.NA | GA.GIS.DAR = ša ina kakki maḫṣu; so, again, K. 250, SITAADDALU = ša ina kakki maḫṣu. See fully Ungnad, *ZDMG.*, lxxiii, pp. 159–161.

[57] תדע is a synonym, or parallel, of תשׁבר. Hence we may combine it with Arabic هَدَخَ and نَدَخَ " shiver, break in pieces ".

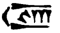
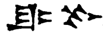
A cognate root √ודע II meaning " hack down, fell " is recognizable in BH. in the following passages: (*a*) Ju. 8^{16} וַיֹּדַע בָּהֶם, LXX *καὶ ἠλόησεν* Targum ותבר, where there is no need for emendation. (*b*) ψ 74^{5} יודע (l. יְדַעוּ) כמבא למעלה בסבך עץ קרדמות ועתָּ פִּתּוּחֶיהָ יחד בכשׁיל וכילפת יהלמון = " They are hacking away as one that lifts up axes in a thicket of trees: yea, even now they are hammering down with axes and crowbars (all) the carved work thereof at one swoop." (*c*) Proverbs 10^{9} הולך בתום ילך בטח ומעקשׁ דרכיו יִדָּע = " he that walks in integrity walks safely, but he that is crooked in his ways is felled down."

[58] תעֵץ is a parallel of תשׁבר and of תדע; hence we may combine it with Arabic عَضًا " dismember, tear limb from limb ".

[59] פנת is scarcely BH. פִּנּוֹת " corners " (!) as suggested by Virolleaud. It is a parallel to אנשׁ (*de quo*, v. next note) and may be

equated with Assyrian panâte "forepart" = BH. פָּנִים, etc. (*vide* Muss-Arnolt, s.v.).

[60] אנשׁ as a parallel to פנת | panâte can hardly be anything but the Arabic إِنْش "pars obversa", on which see Lane s.v.

[61] The noun צר can scarcely be separated from the prepositions לצר and בצר, which mean respectively "into" and "upon". This prepositional usage suggests that the original meaning of צר was analogous to BH. לב or קרב, Arabic كَبِد, etc., similarly employed. This suggestion is supported by associating the word with Assyr. ṣurru || libbu in II Rawl. 36, *e–f*, 52. The sign  (UB) usually employed as an ideograph for ṣurru is listed in the syllabary Ṣ^{b}, l. 255, as equivalent to , i.e. *lib-bu*.

Now in the passage before us צר is a synonym of כֶּסֶל "loin", and must therefore have a wider meaning than "inwards". We expect it to mean something like "back".

This transference of meaning can be exactly paralleled by the case of BH. גֵּו. This word originally meant "the inside"—cf. Syr. ܓܰܘ "belly" Ar. جَوّ "midst"—whence it was used prepositionally לְגֵו, etc. (like לצר, etc.), but it came also to mean "back" (cf. 1 Kings, 14^{9}; Neh. 9^{26}; Is. 38^{17}, etc.).

We can now take a further step. If צר orig. = libbu, לֵב could thus come to mean "back", it might have been used also in a restricted sense to mean "loin, hip, thigh" on the exact analogy of the word יָרֵךְ which strictly means "back" (cf. As. arku, arkâtu), and which then comes to designate "loin, hip", as in BH. יָרֵךְ, Zenjirli ירך, Ar. وَرِك.

צר would then be an excellent parallel to כֶּסֶל in the verse before us.

What is more, the expression תעֶק פנת כסלה | אנש דת צר[ו]ה would then find precise explanation in the proverbial idiom of Judges 15^{8}: וַיַּךְ אוֹתָם שׁוֹק עַל־יָרֵךְ ("he smote them, hip upon thigh").

Yet again, if we can, with Albright, see the word ṣurru again in the differently spelt צררת צפן, we may find therein another proof of the equation צר = ירך, for this expression corresponds exactly with OT ירכתי צפון.

[62] מעי occurs repeatedly in *RŠ*. texts, and quite plainly means something like "come, depart, hie". I equate it with the Assyrian maḫû "go forth, depart" (e.g. Falkenstein, *Uruk*, 53, Rev. ii, 5). KU.DE la imaḫi = V Rawl. 49, viii, 4, sila-al-dib-ba na-an-dib-ba (= sûḳa ba'u la iba'i)

brilliantly detected by Langdon in *JRAS.*, 1932, pp. 391–2. Langdon compares مَخَّى "to remove far off, go forth", etc. ע̄ does not exclusively = غ, but rather a proto-Semitic sound like German *ch* (e.g. *ich*) which variously developed into ح, خ, ع, or غ. So in the present case the original root מע̄ develops not only into مَخَّى, but also (in a secondary development) into مَتَّحَ; Sabean מתע, on which *v. supra*, n. 45.

[63] צ̄ל evidently denotes some kind of vessel. Is the word perhaps derived from the same root as appears in the modern Syriac *miṣwal* "hollow bowl", on which *vide* Wetzstein, *ZPV.* (xiv [1891], p. 3)? The word is connected philologically with BH. מְצוּלָה ("ocean-bed"), which really denotes the bed of the sea conceived of as a concave bowl.

[64] ען מכשׁ̄ר is an interesting antithesis to the "evil eye" (עין רעה), for which cf. in OT., Deut. 15⁹ ורעה עינך באחיך האביון; ibid. 28⁵⁴ תרע עינו באחיו. Cf. somewhat similarly the verb עָיַן in 1 Sam. 18⁹ ויהי שאול עוין את דוד.

[65] A regular name for Môt. Cf. Ezekiel 28², where allusion is made to this piece of ancient mythology.

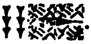
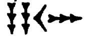
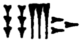
⁎ It is, of course, impossible to say what was contained in the very broken passage ll. 36–48, but there seem to be indications that Ašerat here calls upon Ba'al and 'Anat to do what they are described as doing in col. iii, i.e. bring gifts of thanksgiving to Ašerat of the Sea (cf. in the Argument). Firstly, אלאין [בעל] and בתלת [ענת] are conjoined in vv. 37–8 as performers of something in common; secondly, in v. 43, בל seems to be a fragment of a word meaning "let them bring (or bring ye) tribute"; thirdly, in 46, בט is evidently the relic of the word used in iii, 21 of the acceptance of sacrifices, i.e. "(that) she may have regard to it"; fourthly, יש, in v. 48, may just possibly be ישנא—a sacrificial term in iii, 17.

[66] Evidently part of a speech narrating the fact that Môt has been routed and that consequently 'Aleyan might once more ascend the throne.

אל ינם "let him not escape" must refer to the bounden Môt, as Virolleaud has pointed out.

The words ימדך ··· ן דר דר appear to be part of a formula pronounced at the enthronement of kings. We may restore, e.g. ימדך י<תכ>ן דר דר with which cf. Clay, *Miscell. Texts*, 38, ii, 35–6: *isid* ᵘ̣ *kussišu ana umi ṣâti lišarid-ma*. Cf. in OT. ψ 45⁷: כסאך אלהים עולם ועד = "Thy throne is as God is—everlasting." ψ 72⁵ (LXX) יאריך עם שמש with its complement ולפני ירח דור דורים. The idea of royal immortality is ubiquitous. The basis of this idea is that the king is merely the immediate avatar of the god, who is nothing but the continuous genius of the group. Hence, though as an individual the king may die, the kingship is indesinent.

ורחד = "and a spirit of" . . . This is merely a suggestion in a very obscure passage. It has the drawback that there is, in fact, no word-divider in the text here, and hence it might be better to retain ורחד in one word. Castell quotes an Arabic وَحُودَةٌ "bonorum affluentia", but this would rather require ח̄.

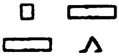
67 ילך The text is damaged: . Virolleaud restores it to read  (יען), but  seems also a possibility. The general drift is, in any case, pretty clear.

68 ערד: restore <י>ערד or even <ית>ערד from a root akin to Arabic عَدّ "get ready". BH. עתד is a secondary formation, like Arabic عَتَدَ.

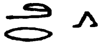
69 רכב ערפת. A regular name for the messenger (As. guzallu) of Ba'al, meaning literally "he that chariots o'er the clouds (As. urpâte: cf. BH. ערפל)". Ginsberg (*Tarbiz*, iv, p. 109) acutely detects the application of this phrase to Yâh in ψ 68^5 רֹכֵב בָּעֲרָבוֹת, where Paul Haupt's בָּעֲבוֹת is thus rendered unnecessary. It is of interest that the rabbinic tradition did, in fact, interpret עֲרָבוֹת to mean the highest heaven.

70 ויקלצן is to be referred to Arabic قَلَصَ "depart". This identification is due to Virolleaud.

71 יקם is not literal, but is a case of קום employed as an auxiliary verb, like Ar. قام and BH., Gen. 21^{18}, Exod. 32^1, Judges 8^{20}, etc. *Vide* Le Page Renouf, *TSBA.*, ix, pp. 292–3, comparing also Egyptian *un.* Cf. in low English: "he *ups* and says," etc.

72 The rt. ופש means "go abroad, fare forth", and is akin to BH. פרש, פשש, Ar. فشا, BH. נפש (as in Nahum 3^{18} נפשו עמך על ההרים). The primitive idea is of spreading out, or making distance, just as Arabic مَخَى "go forth" has this primary sense. The idea of going is primitive, for the Egyptian cognate *pšš* is written  with the hieroglyph indicating "walk".

73 פחר בנ אלם—the Semitic Olympus. Cf. exactly *CT.*, xxv, iii, 4–5. ^{d}ENLIL iltakan puḫuršu, izzakara ana ilâni$^{pl.}$ marê$^{pl.}$šu. *K.*, 3351, 12, Bêlum râšbu ša ina puḫur ilâni rabûti [cf. ψ 89^8 אל נערץ בסוד אלהים רבה (l. ? רבם) —an unnoticed parallel]. Creat. frag. iii, 43, 101, puḫur ilâni. In OT. cf. ψ 82^1 אלהים נצב בעדת אל וגו'. The gods are called, as in Hebrew mythology, בני אלים. The word בנ is here *pl.* and בנ אלם does not mean "Môt" as suggested by Virolleaud. For the word

פחר cf. As. puḫru, Mandean פוהרא "assembly", and, as I think, the Meḫri adverb faḫere "together". The primitive meaning is "encircle" (As. paḫâru: e.g. Virolleaud, Šamas 10, "On the tenth day" ana dannati upaḫar), which appears already in Egypt. pḫr  "surround".

74 קלת from קול = ḳâlu, قول etc.?

75 שנא must, according to the context, denote the offering of a sacrifice. It can scarcely have any connection with שׂנא "hate". Quite provisionally I propose to see in it the Šaf'el of a base נוא, identical with Arabic نَآءَ, etc., "be high," meaning "elevate" and used in a technical sense exactly like BH. הֵרִים (and noun תְּרוּמָה), הֶעֱלָה (and noun עוֹלָה), נשׂא (and noun מַשׂא). The root appears in the form נוה || רום in Exodus 15² אַנְוֵהוּ.

76 שׁלשׁ, sc. שׂנ דבחם || דבחם. Virolleaud thinks שׁלשׁ is the subject, i.e. "three charioteers of the clouds", but this upsets the parallelismus membrorum and seemingly contradicts.

77 לתבט Negative Qal. (3rd sg. f.) from נבט. This is a special expression to denote divine favour, as in the Sabean epithet 𐩬𐩨𐩷 "protector" (God). Cf. Amos 5²²; ψ 84¹⁰, ψ 13⁴. We have here the old connection between light and salvation, because נבט primarily means "shine" as in Assyr. nabaṭu.[1] Hence the Hiph'il in Hebrew = "make a shining", followed by אֶל. Cf. ψ 84¹⁰ הבט פני משיחך = "*Brighten the face* of thine anointed" (wrongly rendered in *RV*.). לא=ל as in old Aramaic.

[75–7: v. Addenda.]

78 מרעשם שׁד, which recurs in vi, 47 ff., is explained by Virolleaud from Arabic وَغَثَ "suck the teat" and שׁד "breast". The combination is decidedly attractive, but at the same time difficult to fit into either context unless we take it to be a proverbial phrase for "lavishly unstintingly, as a mother feeds her suckling". I am at present seeking parallels for such a usage. In the meanwhile v. Tallquist, *Typen der Assyrischen Bildersprache* in *Haḳedem* (St. Petersburg), vol. i, Nos. 1 and 2 (1907).

79 מלחת. This word equates, no doubt, with Ethiopic በሊኅ፡ "sharp", especially used of a sword; cf. Ezekiel, 5¹ ሱርት፡ በሊኃት፡ = חֶרֶב חַדָּה; Ez. 21¹⁴, id. = חֶרֶב הוּחַדָּה.

80 מרא is either the As. *alpu marû*, or more probably the Hebrew

---

[1] Aram. בְּהַט, however, links up rather with ביץ, بَاضَ, pêṣu.

מְרִיא—a sacrificial animal in 2 Sam. 6^{13}; 1 Kings, 1^{9}, ^{19}, ^{25}; Amos, 5^{22}; Isaiah, 1^{11}.

31 כרפנם = As. karpatu "cruse"; NH. גְרָף (Beẓa, fol. 30).

32 דם עצם = "resin", or gum such as "manna" (which comes from the tree *tamarix gallica manifera*). So in Assyrian we read of dâm ^{iṣ} erini "blood of the cedar", *Keil. aus. Assur histor. Inhalts.*, 13, iv, 22; 51, iii, 18; *KAR.*, 56, 10; *CT.*, xxiii, 35, 41. As a medicament: Johns, *Deeds*, 43*b*, rev. 7–8; *vide* Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels*, p. 50, n. 19. Parallel expressions in primitive speech are cited by Frazer, *Golden Bough*, ii, 20, 248. Wine is more specifically דם ענבים Gen. 39^{11}; Deut. 32^{14} = *αἷμα βοτρύων*, *Ach. Tat.*, ii, 2. Cf. for Arabic parallels Jacob, *Studien*, iv, 6 ff. In Latin cf. Statius, *Theb.*, i, 392, "*sanguis . . . baccheus*"; Nemesianus, *Ecl.*, iii, 50: "*Pallas amat turgentes sanguine baccas.*"

33 מדל, which at first sight appears desperate, is surely the BH. פתל; Arabic فَتَلَ; Assyrian patâlu (*Maqlu.*, ii, 153, 164; Zimmern, *Šurpu*, p. 58 (n.), pitiltu); Eth. ፈተለ፡; Syriac ܦܬܠ, in the primitive sense "gird round".

For the interchange of labials: cf. פלט and מלט; רפש and רמס; קפץ and قَفَطَ and v. Barth, *Etym. Studien*, p. 33.

For the interchange of dentals cf. nadânu = נתן; בדק = بَتَقَ, batâḳu. Barth., op. cit., pp. 39–40, § 8. *Vide* Hrozný, *Archiv. Orientální*, iv, 128: "nous avons vu que les inscriptions de Raš-Šamra prefèrent l'explosive sonore à l'explosive sourde." The word is here ‖צמד just as פתל and צמד are conjoined in Num. 19^{5}: וכל כלי פתוח אשר אין פתיל צמיד עליו.

34 פחל. In addition to As. paḫalu, quoted by Virolleaud, cf. Arabic فَحَلَ and Ethiopic ፈሐለ፡. With צמד פחל cf. V Rawl., 63, *b*, 8 (begin.) bitḫalu ṣamid.

35 גפנם has no relation to גְּפָנִים "vines", but is formed from rt. נפף "tie round", which in Aram. נִפְּף has the specific sense "rein, bridle". The word נפף (akin to נבב) often renders BH. חבק in Targum Onqelos (e.g. Gen. 29^{13}, 33^{4}, 48^{10}) and חבק is the word employed *infra*, v. 13, for to "rein".

[An Aramaic כבן "fetter" also exists and might be thought to be related; this is, of course, not impossible (particularly if כבן be taken = כון* whence kanânu "wrap round", etc.), but more probably כבן = כבל by nasalization.]

36 ירק ‖ כסף may be equated with Ethiopic ወርቅ፡ Minean 𐩥𐩧𐩤 "gold". So ירק חָרץ in the unpublished text cited by Virolleaud (*Syria*, xiii, 130, n. 1), with which cf. ψ 68^{14} ירקרק חרוץ again ‖ כסף.

For the order דת ירק נקבנם cf. in Assyr. e.g. I Rawl. 68, i, 14: ša ziggurat šadati . . . . šipiršu ušaklil: Sargon, *Prunkinscr.*, 61: ša malkê . . . . . tamartašunu kabittu amḫur; I Rawl. 68, ii, 24 ff.: ša Belšaruṣṣur sit libbi̯a puluḫti ilutika rabîli libbuš šuškin-ma, etc. *Vide* Kraetschmar, "Relativpronomen u. Relativsatz in Assyrischen," *BA.*, i, pp. 392–3. So also in Ethiopic ዘወርቅ፡ አከበለ፡ (Dillmann, *Gr.*, p. 259).

[87] נקבנם is formed, in exactly the same manner as is נבנם, from the root נקב = נקף, which has the meaning "bind" (developing out of "surround"). Cf. Arabic وقف, Ethiopic መቀፈ፡ "band". It thus signifies "bridles".

[88] קדש ואמרר is a compound name, combining two ancient deities, Qadoš and Amurr(u). The former was identified in Israelitic theology with Yahweh (cf. Isaiah, 40^{25}); the latter is the well-known god of the "West Land" (Amurru), i.e. Syria. It is interesting to notice that Amurru is here introduced as the god who leads the steeds of Ašerat, for in *K.*, 1356, rev. 8–9, it is this very god who figures as *mukil appâti* leading the steed of the god Aššur! [v. Additional Note.]

[89] יחבק goes back to חבק in the primitive sense "gird"; cf. Syriac ܚܒܩ; Arabic حقف; Ethiopic ሐቀፈ; Amharic አቀፈ (Assyr. epêḳu in this sense is doubtful). Cf. also most illuminatingly חַבָּק לחמור in Mishnah, *Kelim*, xxxi, § 1. Hence the word means here "reined".

[90] במת is perhaps used in the literal sense of "belly, stomach" and then loosely "back", as Ass. *bantu* (constr. *bamat*), on which v. fully Holma, *Kt.*, pp. 55 ff. Langdon, *JRAS.* 1927, p. 538, n. 3.

For *bantu* unequivocally in this sense cf. *Asakki Marṣûti*, xi, 48 (= Thompson, *Devils*, ii, 30): amelu šuatum imḫaṣma, bamassu imšid [sûn]išu (or [pê]nišu, cf. *CT.*, xxii, 172–9) imḫaṣma, labanšu itiḳ. (The restoration is my own.)

[91] ליסממת, perhaps akin to Arabic وشم in the developed sense "be comfortable", i.e. "comfortably" *vel simile*, but very doubtful. In I *AB.*, ii, 20, I equate יסמת with Arabic الوَسْمِي "newly-irrigated land". The root is the same as in the Engl. "*jasmine*", lit. "beautiful (flower)".

[92] יאֳחדם. The word has the specific sense of holding the rein and leading along, precisely as in Arabic أخذ *ducere viâ per arenas*—a nuance, of course, of אחד = אחז "hold".

[93] שבער. Šaf‘el of בער: The meaning "to flame" would suit the context excellently, but does not seem any too easy in an early Semitic text, because בער really means "consume" (then used of fire), and is

hardly a synonym of לחם. The Arabic قَمَرَ "to rise (of the Pleiades)" is of such uncertain origin as to be philologically "dangerous" for purposes of comparison.

For the star as a symbol of brightness cf. *K.*, 4898, 10 (= IV Rawl. 27): the horns of Bêl *kima kakkab šamê nabûu malê sihâti*. *Tigl.*, vii, 90, 99: a sanctuary is built which *kima kakkab šamê šupû*. Daniel, xii, 3: והמשכילים יזהירו כזהר הרקיע ומצדיקי הרבים ככוכבים. *Vide* Tallquist, *Haḳedem*, i, pp. 55–6.

[94] מרים צפן. This may denote the assembled gods of the pantheon in the "holy hill" of the North (Ẓaphôn), combining מרים with Syriac ܡܳܪܝܳܐ—the name for "lord" most common in Syria. Cf. Curtiss, pp. 76–7: On Ẓaphōn-motif v. my note in *JRAS.*, loc. cit., p. 880, n. 25. Eissfeldt's identification of Ẓaphon with Mt. Casius near Ras-Šamra does not in any way affect the fact that the hill was endowed with mythological motifs and that its very name was motivated.

[95] אפק has a very special mythological connotation. It is the place where the upper and lower oceans coalesce, i.e. the point of the horizon where heaven and earth appear to meet. In Arabic the horizon is, indeed, called أُفْق, and in Assyrian apiḳtu (Meissner, Suppl. s.v.). The Arabic term was adopted, in the form אוֹפִיק, by rabbinical authors. תהמתים is, of course, dual referring to the heavenly and earthly oceans.

[96] קרש links up with BH. קֶרֶשׁ "board, beam" and is a case of *pars pro toto*. I would compare the exactly similar Sumerian ki.urra "place of beams" in the text published by Pinches, *PSBA.*, 1911, pp. 85 ff., rev. 5.

[97] If שנם (beside regular שנת) really means "years"—as in Hebrew and Nabatean, we may cf. the title אב שנם with the Assyrian Bêl labiru (III R., obv. 5*b*) and with OT. אבי עד in Isaiah 9^5 (following the interpr. of Gesenius, Ewald, and Dillmann), but the pl. of שנה is elsewhere feminine.

[98] יפרק לצב "he brake all restraint". See my explanation in *JRAS.*, loc. cit., n. I can now add material. Cf. the Assyrian expression in *Old Babyl. Gilg. Epic* (ed. Jastrow–Clay), iii, 99: ittapšar kabtatum, inângu | iliṣ libbašwma | panušu ittamir. *ZA.*, v, pp 67, 14: *kabitaki lappašir*. This is the antithesis of *inu' irta*: cf. *CT.*, xv, 49, ii, 32: *lini' irta ša* ^{d} *Nisaba*: Hittite-Sumer.-Assyr. Glossary, ed. Delitzsch, p. 9, ll. 4–7, renders *ša teirtam irtám lá išû* by Hittite *quiš arkwar nâtta yazi* ("who effects not constraint"); cf. BH. קצר נפש.

[99] ישפד. Ginsberg and Albright think שפד = *šapâtu* "place", but why should it be a sign of joy to put the feet on a footstool? I take the word as Šaf'el from √פד, which is akin to the primitive meaning of

BH. פחד, i.e. *thrill*, and is probably akin to פזז قَزَ, going back to an original قَدَّ,* i.e. "set the feet jumping".

100 רעֲב רעֲבת, which Virolleaud leaves unexplained, is clearly BH. רעב "hunger", i.e. "Thou art very hungry".

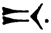
101 ותֿעֲת is BH. תעה "wander", i.e. "and hast been wandering".

102 עמֹאת עמֿא is the Arabic عَمَأَ "wander blindly"; deriving originally from "be dark" = BH. עמם (Lam. 4 [1]) and Aramaic עמא, the word came to mean "wander in the dark".

103 • • • ועמ̣ should be restored וע‍ם<ת> from rt. עסס = Arabic عَسَّ "tramp about, wander aimlessly", akin also to Syriac ܒܨܐ "search out, explore".

104 יד is here regarded as masc. This usage also appears in Ethiopic occasionally (Dillmann, *Lex.* 798) and cf. Exodus 17[12] יָדָיו ··· כְּבֵדִים. The construction ירפו ידים cannot be quoted, because ידים is there not subj. but *accusativum partis*, as in e.g. חלה ראש. An alternative, and perhaps better, explanation is that of Montgomery, who sees in יד ‖ אהבת the Arabic وُدّ "love".

105 אהבת שֿר תעררך. The meaning is: "It is [Great] Bull's love that would (now) rouse thee." שׁר is, of course, the well-known name for the deity: cf. the South Arabian 𐩻𐩥𐩧𐩱 and 𐩻𐩧𐩨𐩲𐩡; the Sumerian GUD . MAḪ; Assyr. alpu rabu and šurru rabu; BH. אַבִּיר (dogmatically altered to אָבִיר), etc. For תעררך (pilpʿel of √עור) in this sense, cf. Cant. 8[5] תחת התפוח עררתיך = "under the apple-tree I stirred thee to passion". Cf. similarly ibid. 2 [7] ואם תעוררו את האהבה עד שתחפץ "stir not up love until it shall please". The complete sense of ll. 38–9 is: "It is the hand of EL that (now) clasps thee; it is [Great] Bull's love that stirs thee." Classical mythology preserved a story telling how Astarte had been wooed by a tauriform Zeus and abducted to Crete (Lucian, De Deâ Syriâ, 4; Achilles Tatius, I, 1; coins from Sidon, Head HN. 673; story survives in Malalas. Chron., p. 31, ed. Dindorf). This myth is in explanation of Astarte's being mated to the Bull-god, and of the existence of an analogous Ægean cult in Crete. A variant is the story of Zeus and Europa, the latter being merely another form of the mother-goddess.

106 חצֿת. So the word must be read in place of Virolleaud's *ḥft*. (The second letter is and not .) The word is doubtless con-

nected with Arabic حَظَّ "receive a portion", Heb. חצץ, on which in the sense "sortiri" v. Eitan, *A Contribution to Semitic Lexicography*.

[107] ואן ד עלנה = "and there is none beside him."

[108] כלנין is probably an Anatolian term ¦ שפט ·מלך, borrowed at a time when Ugarit was under foreign administration (cf. my article, "Anatolian Loan-Words in Ras-Šamra texts"—forthcoming). I have thought of (*a*) Lydian *κόαλλειν* = Carian *γέλα* = Phrygian *βαλήν* "king" (v. Sayce, *TSBA.*, ix,): (*b*) a form associated with Hittite *kuli* "pay fief"; i.e. "our liege": (*c*) Dr. J. Scheftelowitz has suggested an Aryan *karanāya* "leader" which may then be Hittite *kueranas*, and Gk. *κοίρανος*, the interchange of liquids being, of course, no cause for objection.

[109] קשתה נבלן and its counterpart נבל כסה mean "to whom we bring goblets of tribute". The phrase refers to the tribute naturally exacted from his subjects by a king or *klni*. There is also, however, an allusion to the libations offered to Aleyan-Ba‘al at the annual "coronation-ceremony" which formed part of the rite for which this poem was designed. Similarly in Assyrian cultus NIN . IB (= Aleyan-Ba‘al, as I hope shortly to prove), on the day of his enthronement at the annual festival (ina asabišu namriri, ina našešu ina issini, šaknuš ḫadiš rapšaš ina ašabišu) is said similarly to be cheered by his sire, Bêl—"what time he gladdens him with wine" (kurunna ina šatibtišu; K. 133). See on this parallel, *Archiv Orientální*, loc. cit.

[110] דיכננה = "who sets him firm upon his throne." For this sense cf. BH, 1 Kings 2[24]: חי יהוה אשר הכינני ויושיבני על כבא דוד אבי. 2 Sam. 5[12]: כי הֱכִינוֹ יהוה למלך על ישראל: 1 Chron. 14[2].

Cf. in the Assyrian text K. 133 (quoted in the last note), how of NIN.IB it is said that he is *mâru ša ᵈBêl, ramanišu ušatiršu* = "Son of Ba‘al, whom he himself establisheth (cf. NH. אִשֵּׁר)."

[111] וחצ̄ר. In all likelihood this is not = Ar. حصر; Eth. ሐጸረ; BH. חָצֵר I "courtyard", but rather = Ar. حضر, Sabean (pl.) אחדר "abode, dwelling" ‖ בית (cf. *BDB.*, s.v., p. 346). Cf. ψ 92 חצרות ‖ בית, which does, on the other hand, suggest "court", unless indeed חֲצֵרֶת "abode" is there to be read.

Cf. how in the Assyrian hymn to NIN.IB (K. 133) the god, on the day of his enthronement, is made "equal to Anu and Bel" (*itti Ani u Bêl ina šitnanišu*).

[112] ענן is scarcely = BH. עוֹנֵן "soothsayer" as suggested by Virolleaud. May it not more plausibly be referred to a root akin to Arabic عَانٍ, عُنِيَ (n.) "ministrare, occupatio" (BH. עִנְיָן, etc.), by which

indeed *συνεργοῦμεν* and *συνεργοί* are rendered in 2 Corinth. 5 [1]; Colossians 4 [10]. So ענן אשׂרת would mean "ministrant of Ašerat".

113 אֲלשׁ I cannot yet explain; it seems to be a plural of the type إفعل. There is also some doubt as to the actual reading.[1]

114 לחכמת שבת דקנך לתסרך. Virolleaud's שְׁבַת דְּקָנֶךְ "thou whose beard is cut" is utterly impossible and scarcely to be taken seriously. שבת דקנך is surely = BH. שֵׂיבַת זְקָנֶיךָ "thy hoary eld"; cf. Arabic شيب; Ethiopic ሢበ; Assyrian šibu. The word לתסרך derives from the root סרך = NH. סֵרַךְ; Syriac ܣܪܟ; Arabic شَرَكَ; Ethiopic ሢረከ; South Arabian 𐩪𐩧𐩫 "join, unite" (obviously akin to שׂרג). The word is here Hiphiʿl = "May the queen of the gods unite unto wisdom thine hoary old age", i.e. "grant thee length of days and wisdom"—the Semitic ideal. With רבת אֵלם cf. the title Belit ilâni, without further qualification (along with Šamaš and Marduk) in *Asiatic Scy. Monogr.*, xvi, 17 (cf. *JRAS.*, 1920, p. 25), *ḫišiḫti zêri ana* ᵈ *Belit ilâni tarrakas.*

115 לאֵרתך; plural (of form افعل) of רת = Ar. رِئَة, NH. רֵאָה "lung". Assyr. *irtu* "breast", compared by Virolleaud, seems to have a different origin, being connected rather with הרר * behind הר, הרה (prim. "swell"), יהר, etc., on the analogy of tulu from תלל II, etc.

The sense is obviously something like "and may repose lie within you", cf. I *AB.*, ii, ותנח באֵרתי נפש and the Assyrian expression. It is interesting to notice the medical knowledge behind this idiom; *the expansion of the lungs* is a sign of good breathing and health.

116 עדן has here the primitive sense of "luxuriance", as in Arabic عَدَنَ XII. *Vide* Joüon, *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale à Beyrouth*, iv, 6 ff. Cf. exactly Talm. Jer. Kethub. 10*b*: מטר משקה מרוה ומזבל ומעדין.

In Arabic, well-watered soil is indeed called بعل; hence it is the בעל who irrigates it. *Vide* Robertson-Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 99, and my remarks in *Archiv Orientální*, loc. cit.

---

[1] Is it too hazardous to propose אגד for אלשׁ ? The word would then mean "foundations"; cf. Ar. إجد and BH. אֲגֻדָּה in Amos 9 [6].

117 שׂכַת can have no connection with שקי "irrigate", owing to the sibilant. I regard it as corrupt for שׂרת, by a very easy error, viz. 𐎋 for 𐎗. This = BH. שׂרה II; Ar. ثرى; Syriac ܫܪܐ "water, irrigate". The word is an infinitive used adverbially.

118 גלש is explicable from Samaritan ࠂࠋࠔ, which renders BH. גִּבֵּחַ in Targum Sam, Lev. 13 $^{41-2}$. The primitive sense is "shave", as Syriac ܓܠܫ (Castell 564, but not in Brockelmann or Payne-Smith !), and the word may thus be applied also to grazed pastures. Cf. exactly ψ 72 ^{6} ירד כמטר על גֵּז. Vv. 68–9 thus mean: "Moreover, may the ba'al grant the luxuriance of his rain,—the luxuriance of his raining down on the mown grass."

119 שרה. Infinitive Qal + suffix of 3rd sing. masc. possessive from a root akin to Arabic سَرّ, Assyr. *šarâru* "shine"; the word is used in a similar sense in Job 37 ^{3} תחת כל השמים ישרהו, where its presence has been recognized by Eitan, *A Contribution to Semitic Lexicography*.

120 בת ארזם. Cedars were especially favoured in buildings; cf. in Solomon's temple, 1 Kings v, 20 ff., and in the palace of Darius at Susa. (Kent, "Old Persian Inscriptions": *JAOS*., li, p. 200, l. 31). So in *EJ*. iii, 31–2, Nebuchadnezzar records how he decorated Marduk's papaḫu *kua riešaati* ^{iṣ} *erinia ša ištu* ^{iad}. *Laabnanum* ^{iṣ} *kištu ellitum ublam ana zululu Êkua papaḫa.*

121 יכללנה does *not* mean merely "he will complete it", but has the same sense as in Aramaic שכלל used of founding a building; cf. Ezra 4^{12}, 5$^{3, 9, 11}$, 6^{14}. Cf. also Assyr. *ušaklil*, *ZA*. iii, 173.

122 יעמסנה is clearly a building term. I venture to compare Neh. 4^{11} הבונים בחומה נשאים בסבל עֹמְשִׂים, where it appears that עמש (= BH. and Phœnic. עמס "carry") is a synonym for נשאים בסבל (cf. הַסַּבָּל, ib.^{9}) and probably referred originally to carrying the hods or bricks.

123 צח חרן בבהתך וגו'. Here we have a fine piece of poetic imagery. Unfortunately, Virolleaud has missed the essential point when he says that since the verb צח is only used elsewhere in speaking of living beings, the words חרן and עשבת must denote such beings. The very point lies in the personification of חרן and עשבת as two joyful beneficiaries of Ba'al who will sing his praises in the newly-constructed sanctuary.

חרן is the Arabic حَزْوَانٌ "stony soil", whilst עשבת may be either

عَاشِبٌ "grassy territory" (BH. עֶשֶׂב) or—to heighten the effect—عَشَبٌ "arid soil". All the dry lands, being quickened by the ba'al, will unite in a chorus of praise. Cf. ψ יעלץ השדה וכל אשר בו אז ירננו עצי היער.

[124] עָרם. The word עֹר, which occurs in I *AB.* ‖ נבע = BH. נְבִיע plainly equates with Arabic غَر "valley".

[125] אֹדר and אלקצם are both extremely obscure, and we can but hazard guesses. The former may be an internal plural of אדר = Aramaic אדרא, As. adru—a species of cedar. The latter may be an Arabism—with the definite article ال, as in e.g. אלגביש (even in Eg. argabiš), אלמֻגים, etc.—equating with Arabic جِص; Assyr. giṣṣu; Eg. (loan-word) (*ḳd*); Greek *γύψος* "gypsum". In Spanish the word similarly retains the native Arabic form *algez*. The form קץ* might be due to the influence of Egyptian orthography, as when Kadeš is written Kṭš in *RŠ.*, 1929, ii, and Salamis is written Srm(n), and Byblos is written Gpn (rather than Gbl). For gypsum as an Arabian product cf. Philby, *Heart of Arabia*, i, p. 19: "Gypsum occurs in great quantities everywhere in the limestone desert."

For gypsum as specially used in Syrian buildings cf. Theophrastus, *περὶ Λίθων*, § 65: *ἡ δὲ γύψος γίνεται πλείστη μὲν ἐν Κύπρῳ καὶ περιφανεστάτη* . . . . . . *ἐν Φοινίκῃ δὲ καὶ ἐν Συρίᾳ καίοντες, τοὺς λίθους* (bricks) *ποιοῦσιν.* So again § 69. This statement is borne out by the fact that BH. בִּיר "limestone" does indeed derive from a root (akin to جَرّ) primarily meaning "burn"!

[126] טהרם. means "gems" (i.e. אבנים טהרות) or "brilliants" and has the same sense as in BH. Exod. 25 [11] זהב טהור or Job 28 [19] כתם טהור.

The custom of adorning sanctuaries with precious stones survived right down to the Middle Ages; *vide* P. J. Heather in *Folklore*, December, 1931. Dr. Heather suggests that the stones may have been apotropaic, gems being often regarded as a prophylactic against evil spirits.

Cf. in the old hymn, "In Dedicationem Ecclesiae": "Platae et muri ejus ex auro purissimo; | Portae nitent margaritae" (not quoted by Heather!).

[127] אקנאם. From the fact that this word remains unchanged in the oratio obliqua, *infra*, p. 132, it is likely that it is not a verbal form (Virolleaud), but the meaning is altogether obscure.

[128] תדעץ פענם. The word דעץ equates with Eth. ፀሐሰ and ጸሐሰ; Arabic دَحَصَ; BH. דוץ; Syr. ܕܘܨ; Ar. داص, meaning

primarily “leap dance”. Thus תדעץ פעמם (“she sets her feet a-dancing”) corresponds exactly with Eth. ያቀሕን፡ በእገርሆሙ፡ (Is. 3^{16}) = וברגליהם תעכסנה; and ቀሐሱ፡ በእገርሆሙ፡ (Jer. 14^{10}) = כן אהבו לנוע רגליהם לא חשׂכו. A sign of rejoicing.

129 ותר Imperat. Qal. of נתר = Ar. نَتَرَ “leap”, or from the cognate תרר = As. tarâru, on which v. Fried. Delitzsch, *Hiob.*, p. 147: “Make thy feet to dance, and leap upon the ground.”[1]

130 אלף שד means a “wild bull”; cf. OT. חַיַּת־הַשָּׂדֶה and cf. Talmūdic שׁוֹר הַבָּר and תורא דברא. Cf. similarly in the modern Arabic dialects of Iraq and Jerusalem: ḫinzr bĕrri “boar, wild pig”.

131 רבת כמן: On רבת v. *supra*, n. 21. The meaning of כמן is not yet clear.

132 כשׂר וחסם is a compound name like קדש ואמרר (*de quo*, v. *supra*, n. 88). The god is a literary invention, though probably hypostatized from the “carpenter-priest” in the ritual. כשׂר is the Assyrian keššru, especially used of renovating buildings, whilst חסם = ḫasîsu “intelligent, ‘cunning.’” A name such as “Foreman Cunning” will best give the sense.

133 ותך פנה, lit. “and smite thou his face”. According to Virolleaud, the suffix refers to the אלף מרא, and this is a popular circumlocution for “kill”—or perhaps, more precisely, “behead.” But it is also possible that it refers to אלאין בעל, whose face is to be slapped as part of the enthronement-ritual. This interpretation arises from the well-known Babylonian rite, wherein the king, before his re-enthronement at the New-Year (Akitu) festival, is first ceremonially “humiliated” to symbolize the fact that he who at the end of a year becomes decrepit (as representing the group-vigour which waxes and wanes from year to year) is now reinstated to a new year of “life”. Part of this symbolic rite was the ceremonial boxing of the king’s ears! This ritual was similarly accompanied by the introduction of the king before Bêl and by the sacrifice of a bull. (Cf. Langdon, *EoC.*, p. 26.) The “humiliation of the king” survives in very many of the mummers’ plays and was apparently a cardinal element of the ceremonies in many parts.

134 לימן, sc. of Ba‘al (?). Sitting at the right side was a sign of high

---

[1] That my interpretation is here correct is strikingly suggested by the complete parallelism of expression in another Semitic tongue—Mandean, in describing a similar scene. Cf. Qolasta, 31^{6}, Lidzbarski: האדיה סאהקא דאצא גאיא ומיתפארפא = “Thereupon she laughed, exulted, sprang up, and leapt about.”

estate: *a fortiori*, sitting at the right hand of the god was a sign of divine favour and appointment.

Compare ψ 110^1 (addressed to a king): נאם יהוה לאדני שֵׁב לִימִינִי

Josephus, *Antiqu.*, vi, 11, 9: *τῇ δὲ ἐρχομένῃ, νεομηνία δ' ἦν, ἁγνεύσας ὡς ἔθος εἶχεν, ὁ βασιλεὺς ἧκεν ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον καὶ παρακωθεσθέντων αὐτῷ τοῦ μὲν παιδὸς 'Ιωνάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν*. 1 Esdras iv, 29: *ἐθεώρουν αὐτὸν* (i.e. *τὸν βασιλέα*) *καὶ 'Απάμην τὴν θυγάτερα βαρτάκου τοῦ θαυμάστου, τὴν παλλακὴν τοῦ βασιλέως καθημένην ἐν δεξίᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως*: ψ 45^{10} נִצְּבָה שֵׁגַל לִימִינְךָ.

This is to be explained from the fact that in Semitic folklore the right side was the lucky side: cf. Arabic يَمَن; BH. Genesis 35^{18}; cf. Wellhausen, *Reste*, p. 202. Cf. also in Assyrian *limnu* "bad", which is really *la* + *imnu* (Haupt).

In the hymn K. 133, referring to the enthronement of NIN.IB, the idea here represented by לימן is conveyed by the terms: šaknuš ḫadiš rapšiš ina ašabišu (i.e. "when he sits enthroned with stability, joy, and expansiveness").

135 עד means "now, hereupon". An adverbial usage of עוֹד comparable with עַתָּ (originally עֵת without the emphatic suffix ?) from עֵת; Greek *καιρῷ*, etc. This usage appears also in modern Palestinian Arabic.

136 תרמם derives not from רום (Virolleaud), but from a rt. רמם = Arabic رَمْ = Assyr. ramu; BH. רמה "lay foundations" (strictly "throw"; cf. Assyr. nadu, Gk. *κρήπιδα βάλλεσθαι*, Latin fundamenta jacere, and v. Haupt, *AJSL.*, xv, 153). This root may be recognized in BH. in Ezra ix, 9: לרמם את בית אלהינו ולהעמיד את חרבתיו Proverbs xi, 11: בברכת ישרים תרמם קרת ובפי רשעים תהרם (read *Pu'al* ?).[1] If, with Torczyner, we read וְהֵרֶם for וְחֶסֶד in Pr. 14^{34} we should so understand תרומם in the first hemistich.

137 אחדבת is obviously to be read אחד בת, since בת "house" is the parallel to הכל in the next line. בת stands for לְבַיִת just as הכל for לְהֵיכָל. The omission of the preposition after words implying *sacrifice to* is paralleled in Zenjirli, Hadad 16, ויזבח הדד = "and sacrificed to Hadad", and Sabean 𐩡𐩹𐩸𐩨𐩢𐩥𐩱𐩺𐩩𐩧, *CIS.*, iv, 74, 11 f. (Cf. Cooke, *NSI.*, p. 168.) Hence we may here translate: "One wild ox *for* the temple (and) a rbt-kmn *for* the sanctuary."

138 בןל does not mean "build" (Virolleaud), but is a parallel to שמע ל ("hearken unto me"), and hence derives from √בין, בון, Ethiopic በየነ፡, Sabean 𐩨𐩬 "understand".

---

[1] Or read ברכת, which was "emended" when תרמם was wrongly derived from רום. I think this is better.

For the construction בין ל cf. BH. Job. 9[11], 14[21]; Prov. 14[15]; ψ 73[17], 139[3], etc.

[139] חלן בקרב הכלם. It seems advisable to point out that this phrase cannot be brought into relationship with the Hittite bit ḫilâni (Sargon, Cyl. 64: *bit ḫilâni tamšil ekal Ḫatti*) until it is definitely established that this is the Amorite name only for the Hittite structure, as stated in Winckler, *Keelschr. Sargons*, p. 72, l. 423: bit appati tamšil ekalli ^{mat} Ḫatti ša ina lišan Amurri bit ḫilâni išassušu. If this statement be correct ḫilânu might equate with BH. חַלּוֹן "window", and the meaning here, where Kašir-Ḫasis refuses to build a temple with windows (חלן), would be that he refuses to build an elaborate bit ḫilâni in the Hittite style of architecture. But it seems probable that bit ḫilâni is not really in origin Semitic, and has no connection, in fact, with חַלּוֹן "window", being simply an attempt to accommodate to a Semitic word the Hittite term ḫilawwar or perhaps rather the Hittite BIT. ḫalentuwaš (*de quo*, v. Hrozný, "Über die Völker u. Sprachen des Alten Chatti-Landes," *BoSt.*, iii, 2, p. 2, n. 1).

[140] לֹהוּתִי. Baneth ingeniously identifies הות with Assyrian awatu =amatu "speech, word". In Samaritan ࠇࠅࠄ often renders BH. הגיד in 𝔗, but this is probably a softer form of חוה. The verb תָּשֻׁב is from שׁוּב, not from ישׁב, and means "turn thy attention", *animadvertere*, *προστρέπειν*.

[141] לִלְבנן. *Vide suprâ*, n. 120.

[142] נבלאת is a parallel to אִשׁת and may therefore be equated with Ethiopic ነበል፡ and ነበልገል፡ and Assyrian nablu (K. 257, rev. 15–16; *Salm. Monol.*, ii, 68) "flame". The ’alêf perhaps represents the plural formation فِعَال.

[143] תֹאכל is 3rd sing. fem. "Let it consume". Cf. BH. אכל with אִשׁ and Arabic, e.g. أَكَلَتِ النَّارُ الحَطَبَ (Lane, i, p. 71*b*).

[144] בשבע ימם. Note the seven-day week! This is, of course, the *μῦθος* of the seven-day celebration of the festival for which this poem was written. It comports with the seven-day harvest feasts—*Pesaḥ* and *Asif*—of the Hebrews.

[145] תר derives from a root נדר which is the Ethiopic ነደ፡ "burn" and is Hiph‘il, meaning "light". For the form cf. תך from נכה *suprâ*, n. 133.

[146] סב is not from סבב (Virolleaud), but is the Imp. Qal. of נסב

"take" = Aramaic נסב; Syr. ܢܣܰܒ; Samaritan ࠍࠎࠁ, and Arabic نَسَبَ. The word is more common than לקח in Aramaic languages, and though לקח does occur in *RŠ.*, נסב is not extraordinary in a language so imbued with Aramaic traits. (On this question v. Virolleaud, *Comptes Rendues à l'Academie des Inscriptions*, 1930.)

147 לרקם. The word is the Assyrian riḳḳu "thin plate" from rt. רקק = Ar. رَقَّ; Syr. ܪܰܩ (in Pa'el and Aph'el) "make thin"; Ethiopic ረቀቀ; cf. BH. רָקִיק "wafer".

148 עדבת may here have an even more precise meaning than the fairly general "construction" and may link up with Arabic معزب and معازيب; NH. מְעָזִיבָה "masonry, plaster-work".

149 דת שנת. This is the BH. בני שנה "yearlings".

150 קמץ is not an adjective (Virolleaud), but a noun connected with Samaritan ࠒࠌࠑ which renders עוף "fowl" in Targum Genesis 1^{20}, 2^{19}, 6^{7}. For offerings of fowl at the analogous Babylonian akitu-festival cf. Gudea, Stat. E. 5^{1}–7^{21}; Stat. G. 3^{5}–6^{18}; Sargon, *Ann.*, 311–12; K. 2711, rev. 29–32.

151 ללאם is plural of ללא which Epstein has brilliantly identified (*Tarbiz*, iv, 191) with Assyrian lalu "kid". It recurs ‖ אִמַּר in I *AB.*, ii, 23; II *AB.*, viii, 19.

152 שבעם בן אשרת. I think I can identify this divine order. We start with the consideration that שבעים is merely a Semitic round number, and not to be taken too literally.[1] Secondly, בְּנֵי in this phrase need not signify genealogical descent, בְּנֵי אשרת signifying only "the côterie of Asherat", just as in Job 5^{7} the demons of plague and distress are described collectively as בני רשף, i.e. "côterie of Resheph"—the plague-god.[2] We are concerned, therefore, with a group of deities of undetermined number who constitute the côterie of Asherat. I venture to suggest that these are the Anunaki-Igigi of Mesopotamian mythology. They, too,

---

[1] Cf. Genesis 4^{24}, 50^{3}; Is. 23^{15}; Jerem. 25^{11}. See also *KAT*^{3}, p. 634.

[2] I there regard כִּי לֹא = ki lâ "how not?" in the Amarna letters (and again in 2 Sam. 23^{5}) and render: "Springs not anguish from the very dust? and sprouts not trouble from the soil itself? Forsooth, mankind is unto trouble born, and Resheph's hosts do ever wing on high."

are of indefinite number, being variously given as five, seven, fifty, or sixty.[1] Though later divided into two groups of respectively supernal and infernal deities, there is much to suggest that they originally constituted a single host, and Ishtar—the Mesopotamian equivalent of Asherat—is frequently described as their " leader " or " queen ". Cf. *RA.*, xxii, 57 ff., col. i, ll. 5–8: *belit dadmê šakutim Igigi, rubatim* ^{d}*Anunaki*; ib., 172, 2, 4: *rabit Igigi*. K. 3464, 22: ^{d}*Ištar lie'it ilâni rabuti* (= *Anunaki*). Further support for this view lies in the fact that the very name Anunaki means literally " oceanic beings ",[2] which harmonizes with the description of Asherat as רבת אשׁרת ים and of the early Mesopotamian form of Ištar as Išḫara tâmti (*de quo*, v. *suprâ*, n. 3).

153 כרם and חפרת form a perfect parallelism; the former links up with Aram. כִּירָא; BH. מִכְרֶה, etc., " pit," and the latter with NH. חֲפִירָה; Syriac ܚܦܝܪܬܐ; Arabic حَفْرٌ " well ". For the juxtaposition cf. Numbers 21^{18}: באר חֲפָרוּהָ שרים כָּרוּהָ נדיבי העם.

For ח̄ = ح cf. *RŠ.* 1929. v. ח̄ר = Ḥr " Horus ". But v. Additional Note.

154 אר̄חת is an exact parallel to אלפם, pace Virolleaud, who equates it with אֳרָחוֹת " ways ". It is the fem. of אר̄ח which occurs in I *AB*. ii, 1, and which connects with Assyrian arḫu and Arabic إِرْخٌ and means here " wild cows ".

155 להדם פדרם = " upon the daïs of dominion." On the word פדר and its development v. *suprâ*, n. 5. The expression is equivalent to BH. 2 Chr. 23^{20} ויושיבו את המלך על כסא הממלכה.

156 שש לששם, i.e. " six added to sixty " = sixty-six. For a somewhat similar use of לְ v. *suprâ*, n. 17.

157 כשׁ̄ר—an explanation of the name (v. *suprâ*, p. 15) = " foreman."

158 בנם עדת is of doubtful meaning. Seeing that עד occurs

---

[1] Due to varying methods of computation; v. Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. u. Assyr.*, i, 198, n. 2. Five and fifty belong to the decimal system: v. Jensen, *ZKF.*, i, 150, and cf. Greek πέντε " handful " (Headlam-Knox, *Herodas*, p. 133). Seven and seventy belong to the heptad system, on which v. *KAT*^{3}, 621, and (in Greece) Roscher, *ASGW.*, xxi, 4. " Six " and " sixty " belong to the Mesopotamian *sar*-system, based on the complete circle of 360 degrees.

[2] A = *mê* (water); NU = *zikaru* (mighty; cf. NUN = *rubu*): thus A.NU = BH. מים אדירים מים רבים " ocean ". NA is a phonetic complement, actually omitted in early forms of the name. KI is the determinative of location. Being no Sumerologist, I take this from Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. u. Assyr.*, except for the comparison of A.NU with מים רבים which is my own.

in yet unpublished texts in the sense of “house” or “sanctuary” (Virolleaud, *Syria*, xiv, 139), I suggest that בנם = בּוֹנִים “builders”, translating “builders of the shrine”.

159. בדקת ערפת are architectural terms; the word בדקת is the Assyrian butuḳtu (cf. Meissner, *Suppl*. s.v., and Maspero, *Réc*., xvi, 176^{20}, *mêšu ana butuḳti šanitima la ibâtaḳ*), Arabic بثق ; BH. בֶּדֶק ; Aram. בִּדְקָא (on which v. Kohut, *Aruch. Completum*, s.v.), which evidently means “*gutter*”. ערפת denotes the gables from which the rainwater flows down through the gutter or duct. It is the Arabic غُرْفَة and Phœnician ערפת (on which v. Cooke, *NSI*., 3^{6}, 10^{1}, 35^{5}, and Hoffmann, “Über einige Phöniz. Inschr.,” 12 f., in *Abh. Gött. Ges*., xxxvi).

160 · · · עלפ. Obviously the equivalent of BH. עַל פִּי “by the order of”. Restore e.g. על פ<הת>.

161 לך is here used in the specific sense of “go a message” as in Arabic أَلَكَ and Assyrian alâku. Cognate is Ethiopic ለአከ and the rt. לאך behind מלאך.

162 למ תחש. The root חוש is akin to BH. חשה = Ar. سَخِىَ = “Wherefore art thou inactive?”

163 נשק is Imperative Pi‘el of נשק in the primitive sense “encounter”; cf. ψ 85^{11}, where it is ‖ נפגעו, and cf. כְּלֵי נֶשֶׁק “weapons of attack”.

164 דמרן means “him that rushes upon us” = Arabic دَمَرَ, of which this is the primitive meaning (Virrolleaud).

The occurrence of this word in so early a Semitic text invalidates the view of Spiegelberg (*ZDMG*., 1925, p. 61) and others that Arabic دَمَرَ in the sense of “inundation” is a loanword from Coptic ⲧϯⲉⲙⲏⲣⲉ.

Alternatively, נשק may combine with Ar. وثق “have confidence, rely”, and דמר with Ar. غمر, Sabean דמר “protect”, i.e. “we rely (on thee): give protection!”

165 קדם ידה, lit. “confront his hand”, i.e. meet his attack. Perhaps ען בעל means עֲנֵה בַּעַל “Answer, O Ba‘al”.

166 תהם is governed by ידה: it is connected with Arabic هَسَّ and هَاسَ “comminuit, confregit”.

167 בכם is the Arabic بَكَّ (of which a secondary form is بَتَكَ; cf. also Ethiopic በተከ፡ “lacerare”). The suffix refers to ארז treated as a collective as in Ezekiel 27^{5}.

The uprooting of cedars is a sign of assault: cf. Tiglat-Pileser I in II Rawl., 67, *2b*: kirê $^{\text{iṣ}}$ musuḳḳanê ša tiḫ durišu akis-ma. TA. Berl. 193, obv. 4: qabla Šarrugi[en lippuš . . . li]mkut iẓẓi egalim šarru. 2 Kings, 3 [19] והכיתם כל עיר מבצר וכל עיר מבחור וכל עֵץ טוב תַּפִּילוּ. So also in the case of vine-branches; TA. Berl. 193, rev. 9 [ina] šadušu mili duršu iṣṣalitma imkut kala ša GEŠTIN. Nahum 2 [3]: כי בקקום בקקים וּזְמֹרֵיהֶם שִׁחֵתוּ. Vv. 37*b*–42*a*: "Then spake Aleyan-Ba‘al: 'The foeman, behold here he is (?): Why art thou then inactive, yea, why inactive? We rely (on thee); protect us! Give answer, O Ba‘al (?). Confront his hand, for it tears the cedars in twain, yea, with his right hand, he shatters them!'"

168 אבלם (with א of negation) is a parallel to אמלך and and has no Semitic etymon. I suggest that it is an Anatolian term borrowed —along with other political terms — at a time when Ugarit was under Anatolian rule (v. *supra*, n. 5). It equates readily with Lydian *palmus* "king", a word occurring on the inscrr. of Sardis and in the Greek form *παλμύς* (syn. of *βασιλεύς*) in Hipponax, frag. 9: Lycophron 691.

169 ארץ here means "on earth".

170 דרכת is short for כחש דר׳ (I *AB*. v, 6). My note, *JRAS.*, loc. cit., n. 101, can be supplemented.

דרכת can be explained from Samaritan דרג (cf. BH. מדרגה, etc.), which renders כֵּן "pedestal" in the Targūm. The כחש דרכת is thus a throne mounted on a daïs, and corresponds exactly with the Assyrian *kussu nimêdi*. It is significant that the enthronement of the king upon a raised pedestal is similarly a feature of Egyptian coronations (v. A. de Buck, *De Egyptische Voorstellungen bettrefende den Oerheuvel*), for it has been suggested that the Syro-Palestinian rite did indeed derive from Egypt. (*Vide* my discussion of this, in connection with I *AB*. i, 24 ff. and the Eg. terms ’iwn and mrḥ, which may there be detected, in *Ancient Egypt*, 1932, p. 114.) This custom can be illustrated folkloristically from non-Semitic sources; kings were often mounted on special stones when crowned: v. Kuhn, *Indogerm. Studien*, i, 334; Pictet, *Les Origines Indo-européenes ou les Aryas primitifs*, ii, 395. In English custom the throne is mounted upon the celebrated "stone of Scone" around which legend has gathered.

171 דלל cf. Assyr. *dalâlu* "work".

172 עדד cf. *suprâ*, n.

173 אלאך "I run messages." The interpretation of this entire passage is very doubtful. I shall revert to it at a later date, with an alternative suggestion.

174 המלת || נשם (= *niše* "people") is ingeniously identified by Dhorme (*Olz.*, January, 1931) with Assyrian amelutu "mankind". We

should probably vocalize חֻמְלַת, i.e. fem. sing. collective. See, however, an alternative view, following Virolleaud, in *JRAS.*, loc. cit., n. 46.

[175] I am not yet satisfied with my attempts to interpret these verses, and therefore hold over the commentary for the present.

[176] **עֿר** v. *supra*, n. 124.

[177] **תרעֿזז** place-name, with Anat. suffix *-zzi* as in e.g. Ruḫizzi (Speiser, *Mesapot. Origins*, p. 141). The element תרעֿ recurs in RŠ. 1932, ii, 4 תרעֿש = Tarḫu-addaš and equates with the Anatol. god Tarḫu who is the *Τεῦκρος* of Greek tradition. This *Τεῦκρος* was the founder of Salamis in Cyprus (Strabo, c. 682), and it is thus possible that Tarḫu-izzi, standing ‖ שֿרמג (i.e. Salamis ; suffix as in Timaš-gi : Speiser, p. 154, n. 113) denotes this town.

[178] **עֿצר** = Arabic غَضْرًا " terra bona et viridis ". As is well known, ص and ض interchange in Ugaritian.

[179] **שא** = BH. שאה ; Syriac ܣܘܐ, etc.

[179a] **חֿלב** = Assyr. ḫilbu " forest " (Albright). The sense is that Mot, genius of devastation, is not to go seeking fresh pastures, which he will only ravage, but to confine himself to the Netherworld.

[180] **רחתם** (dual) is clearly the Arabic رَاحَة, Syriac ܠܚܬܐ (with interchange of liquids) ; Soqotri *riḫote* ; Tigr. ረሕት ; Ethiopic አረሕ፡ " palm of hand " = Assyr. rittu, which in V Rawl., 28, 23 = kappu (BH. כַּף). *Vide* fully Holma, *Kt.*, p. 119.

[181] **בת חפשֿת** really means " place apart " and is hence used in BH. [and NH.] to denote " lazar-house ". Here it means the Netherworld conceived as a place apart.

With this entire passage, cf. ψ 88 [6] : נחשבתי עם יורדי בור · · · במתים חפשי כמו חללים and cf. Job 3 [19], where the poet plays on this name (interpreting חפשית from the legal שלח לחפשי, i.e. *manumit*, a slave) : קטן וגדול שם הוא ועבד חפשי מאדניו.

My father, Dr. Moses Gaster, suggests that the expression is euphemistic, standing for בֵּית אֲסוּרִים on the analogy of NH. בית חיים (" cemetery ") for בית מתים and the like.

[182] Vv. 12–15 (which contain phrases of which parallels occur elsewhere in *RŠ.*) contain the subject of the complaint which Aleyan-Ba‘al is forbidden to make.

הֿמרי is connected with מור, מהר in the primitive sense " acquire ", and is ‖ נחלה as in BH., Proverbs 3 [35] : כבוד חכמים ינחלו וכסילים

מְרִים קלון (MT. מְרִים: correxit Halper, *ZAW.*, xxxi, 263). Cf. Sabean 𐩨𐩺𐩧𐩩 "goods" and Ethiopic ምህርክ፡ "booty, gain". Cf. also Assyrian tamartu "present".

The translation is: "Set not now thy face amid his domain (saying): 'This is my property, the place of my throne.' It is the land of his inheritance."

133 Variant (? corrupt) of I *AB.*, ii, 23: עדבנג אנכ אמר בפי כללא̆ בשבר נקי ח̄תא̆ה, which I completely misunderstood in *JRAS.*, loc. cit., p. 886. The verbal forms here differ slightly from those in I *AB.*, ii, 23, but this need not be due to corruption. We may parse as follows: כְּלְלֳא̆—like a kid—בְּשֻׁבָר—(which) with bruising—נקנה 3rd pl. pret. Qal of נקי + emphatic *-n* + obj. suffix of 3rd sing. masc.—"they immolate it"—תחתא̆ן 2nd sing. imperf. Pu‘al of חֻתא + emphatic *n* —"thou shalt be smitten."

כללא means "like a kid" = As. lalu ‖ אמר as *supra*, II *AB.*, vi, 43: the identification is due to Epstein (of Jerusalem). The term נקי has no connection with נקה "be innocent", as I all too innocently supposed; it is the Assyrian n i q u "sacrificed animal" from rt. n a q ú "sacrifice"; cf. Sargon, Cyl. 50 (immer) niqa aqqi: Sanḫ. Bar. 33 (immer) niqa ebitti lu aqqi. Cf. also in Syriac ܢܩܝܐ "lamb of sacrifice".

The words בשבר חתאה I would still explain = בְּשֻׁבָר חֲתָאֳהָ connecting the latter word with As. ḫatu "break".

After this the word ותען should be supplied: cf. the similar omission in I *AB.*, ii, 28.

Many passages have been left unexplained in the above notes. These are passages in the interpretation of which the present writer has not yet reached a stage of plausibility where he would care to take the risk of print. It is his intention, however, to publish further annotations when more material is to hand.

Addenda

After completing the above commentary I was able to advance somewhat in the interpretation of passages there left in obscurity. As Virolleaud writes to me "il reste de terribles difficultés", and the following are only to be regarded as provisional guesses.

(*a*) אֵל דג: a compound name "god-fish", constructed in the same manner as Assyrian *ilu-amēlu*, *aḳrabu-amelu*, etc. The gods of any mythos are divine projections of the participants in the rites around which it is written. Hence we may suppose that the "divine fish" is a projection of the fish-clad priest of the Syrian Goddess. On the association of the fish with this goddess cf. Gastang, *The Syrian Goddess*, p. 53; Barton, *Sketch of Semitic Origins*, pp. 242 ff.; Frazer, *Fasti of Ovid*, ii, 291–2.

The sanctity of the fish was also known in Babylon, and the pisciform representations of Ea-Oannes probably go back to the grafting upon the character of this god of a projection of the local priest, just as the Phrygian Attis is a projection of the *attis*-priest. Priests clad in fish-skins are imaged on Sumerian seal-cylinders, but this is a case of parallel development and not of borrowing. Note the Syro-Palaestinian word דג as against Assyr. *nûnu*.

(*b*) If I am right in my argument that this poem is the *μῦθος* of the autumn-harvest-new-year, the construction of the sanctuaries and " coverts " has a special interest, in view of the fact that the construction of *sukkôth* or " wattled coverts, booths " was a feature of this festival even in Israelitic cultus and survives in Jewish practice to this day. *Sukkah*, as I have pointed out above, is regularly rendered in the Aramaic Targum of the Bible by the word מטלל, which is the מצ̄לל of our text. Thus the Israelitic institution is seen to derive from an early Aramean practice, and this disposes of the theory propounded by Oesterley, *Myth and Ritual*, p. 140, that the *sukkôth* derive from the bridal-bower erected for the *ἱερὸς γάμος*, which was celebrated at this season.

(*c*) ארי. My explanation of this term in *JRAS.*, loc. cit., n. 13 as referring to the lions (BH. אֲרִי) associated with the Mother-goddess is invalidated by the material to be found in the present text. Perhaps *arî* as a synonymn of Semitic *âḫ* (properly " neighbour, fellow, associate " and only thence " brother " in a blood-sense) was a terminus technicus originating in Anatolian cultus. Is it perhaps the Hittite *aras* " associate, friend ". This word I derive from √ar- " link together " (then, " comport "), as in Latin artus " joint ", Greek (primitively) *ἀραρίσκω*, *ἄρθμος*, etc. ? Cf. semasiologically Hebrew חָבֵר from √חבר " join ", עָמִית from √עמם " join ", and אַלּוּף from √אלף = Arabic الف, Assyr. alâpu " bind ". In a specifically cultic sense cf. Hebrew לֵוִי, which is probably connected with לוה " unite ".

(*d*) דגי = " Sir Fish." For the form cf. *suprâ*, n. 7. For the matter cf. *suprâ*, n. (*a*).

(*e*) בשת denotes the nature of the sacrifice, but it is not easy to identify it. It should be remarked, however, that the word דבח does not necessarily imply a blood-offering, for its meaning developed in Phœnician, on the same lines as Assyr. naqu and Arabic نسك, into " present ". So in Egyptian the cognate *dbḥ*, which had originally meant " immolate ", came to mean " pray, offer " ; cf. somewhat similarly the history of Aramaic צלי " pray " (originally " roast "). Cf. *CIS.*, i, 165 (the Marseilles inscription), l. 12 זבח שמן, as again in *CIS.*, i, 167, l. 9.

The word בשׁת may be identified with Arabic بُهْثَة " whoredom, licentiousness " ; Albright has already cited cognate BH. בֹּשֶׁת.

(*f*) תדמם is a tiḳtal formation from a rt. דמם which I would identify with Ar. ذَمّ and BH. (noun) זִמָּה II often used of sexual abandon. The word דנת links up with Ar. دَنَا "shameful" (Albright), and we may render: "Two offerings doth Ba'al hate, yea, three He who chariots o'er the clouds,—an offering wherein lies wantonness, an offering wherein lies shamefulness, and an offering wherein lies lechery on the part of handmaids. When wantonness lies therein, then dost thou not regard (it), and so too when there lies therein lechery on the part of handmaids." Ritual prostitution was acceptable, but mere wantonness was abhorrent.

(*g*) ל[שר]ין. Combining the traces ל · · ין in this line with ש·ין in l. 21, it seems to me that this restoration is irresistible. For the juxtaposition of שרין and לבנן cf. ψ 29⁶. It is of interest to note that the Ugaritians called this range by what the archæologist of Deut. 3 ⁹ calls its "Sidonian" name, in preference to the Amoritic שְׂנִיר and the Canaanitic חֶרְמוֹן. This "Sidonian" form also occurs in Hittite, where we have, in *KBO.*, 4, iv, 28–9, Šariana || Lablani (Lebanon); v. Luckenbill, *AJSL.*, 1923, p. 64. [The restoration has been made independently by Bauer in *ZAW.*, 1933, p. 101.] Assyrian records mention a range called *Sirara* which is thought to be identical.

(*h*) שקל "heavy". The former word is the BH. שקל "weigh": cf. Latin *ponderosus* for the development. שֹׁרם is probably = שֹׁר "bull".

(*i*) VI, 40 ff. This passage demands fuller treatment from the standpoint of cultus. (i) What it describes is a *Θεοξένια* and it is therefore clear that this was an essential element of the Ugaritian *asif*-rites. Now, this *θεοξένια* is exactly paralleled in the analogous Babylonian akitu-festival where the divine victor of Tiamat (Marduk in Babylon, Aššur in Ashur, Ninurta in the earlier Sumerian form) is royally entertained along with the other gods, just as is Aleyân-Ba'al in our text. The construction of a shrine for him recorded at the end of *Enuma eliš* is the *μῦθος* of a ritual practice, just as that of a shrine for Aleyân is in our text. Again, the *θεοξένια* was a cardinal element of the analogous Phrygian rites in the cult of Attis (v. Hepding, *Attis*, Index, s.v.). The underlying idea of the *θεοξένια* is not the mere regalement of the gods; rather is it to be considered a rite of communion with them (in the best sense of the word). It is a rite which establishes through commensality the friendly union of god and tribe, and is therefore a rite which has necessarily to take place annually or periodically whenever the tribe is thought to be entering upon a new lease of life. This interpretation is, of course, that put forward by Robertson-Smith in his *Religion of the Semites*, but he did not see why this commensality is a necessary element of those harvest-rites in which the tribe is thought to be reborn. [Moreover, it is scarcely possible any longer to follow Robertson-Smith in positing commensality as universally the basis of sacrifice.]

It is interesting to note—as pointed out by Stanley Cook (*RS.*³, p. 596)—that the commensality-idea survived in Israel, in the phraseology of

Deuteronomy xii, 7, where the “ sacrificial ” animals are to be eaten “ *in the presence of YHVH* ”. Whether the Israelites retained the idea is another matter ; it may be no more than a relic of ancient phraseology.

(ii) There is another feature of this important passage to which attention may be drawn. The powers for whom the wine is poured out are described not as *baʻalim*, but as *ēlim* (and fem. *ʼlahōth*). This touches a fundamental consideration in Semitic religion which is as yet insufficiently recognized—namely, that élim and baʻalim are not interchangeable terms, but represent two distinct concepts. The former—“ the power ”— is the counterpart in religious psychology of what the scientist would call “ a natural force ”. The él brings sickness ; the él declares destinies ; there is an él of sovranty (here called “ él of thrones ”), the whole world is governed by élim (which becomes singular when the concept of the multiverse gives way to that of the universe, and polytheism consequently to monotheism). The baʻal, on the other hand, is not a force but a genius ; he personifies and typifies a place or community ; he is the “ self ” of that place or community, comprehending all the aspects of its being. He is its life and soul and “ atmosphere ”. He is what we would call “ the spirit of the place ”. He transcends the immediate and present and represents rather the total continuity of which past, present, and future are but phases, or stages. Concepts like that of Alma Mater, Britannia, and the like are modern forms of *Baalism*. Moreover, inasmuch as the baʻal represents the life of a place or group, he is the demiurge of the él ; if a field enjoys rain, the baʻal thereof has functioned in a vegetative way, but in so doing he has merely conveyed the product of the él of rain. Hence, in formal mythology Baʻal, the typification of all baʻalim, is regarded as the “ son ” (i.e. dependent) of Él, the typification of all élim, and features as what anthropologists call “ the transformer-god ” beside “ the high god ”. It is not here the place to explore this theme ; I reserve it for my work *Topocosmos*, on which I am now engaged.

(*j*) חק בעֹ̄ר. In view of the uncertainty of the context it is not possible to precise the sense, but if עֹר is the Arabic غو “ prairie ”, then חק may = BH. חֹק = “ boundary ”, and we may cf. Job 38 [10], where the חֹק of the sea is said to have been set by YHWH. The passage, addressed to Aleyan-Baʻal (cf. v. 14: ויען אלאֹין בעל), evidently describes the abode of the vanquished Mōt as being in the desert.

(*k*) גפן ואֹגר is a compound name, like קדש ואמרר or כשׂר וחסס combining two deities. The latter is probably connected with אֹגרת Égrt (Assyr. Ugaritu), the ancient name of Ras-Šamra (Virolleaud). For the former name I accept the suggestion of Hempel that it = Eg. *Kpn* = Semitic גבל *Byblos*.

(*l*) This passage, defective in the tablet, is restored by Virolleaud from a parallel text (v. *Syria*, xiii, p. 158). The phrase מנת ח̄בלה shows that Mōt's domain is the theme. ע̄למת and צ̄למת are synonyms :

the former equates with BH. עלם I "be dark, hide", whilst the latter is Ar. ظَلِم; Ethiopic ጸለመ, etc., "be dark." The reference is to the desert-home of Mōt (for which cf. I *AB.*, ii, 24–5: and the Islamic and Jewish belief that the desert is the home of devils) conceived of as a place of darkness: cf. Jeremiah 2^{6}: הַמּוֹלִיךְ אֹתָנוּ בַּמִּדְבָּר בְּאֶרֶץ עֲרָבָה וְשׁוּחָה בְּאֶרֶץ צִיָּה וְצַלְמָוֶת. The same idea that such soil is the natural domain of Mōt underlies the "folkloristic" vocalization of original צַלְמוּת ("darkness") as צַלְמָוֶת ("shadow of Mōt, Death") in the Old Testament.

The words עמם ים could mean "peoples of the sea" and be explained by the tradition that another abode of Mōt, when vanquished, was the bottom of the sea. *Vide suprâ*, n. (*j*). I have long believed that the phraseology of Micah 7^{19} יִכְבֹּשׁ עֲוֹנֹתֵינוּ וְתַשְׁלִיךְ בִּמְצֻלוֹת יָם כָּל־חַטֹּאתָם harks back to the myth of YHWH as vanquishing the power of Evil (moralized as Sin) and thrusting him beneath the waters. [This would vindicate יִכְבֹּשׁ against Haupt's unidiomatic יְכַבֵּס.][1]

רמת evidently means "uplands" as BH. רָמוֹת. Cf. רָמָה ‖ גבעה in Hos. 5^{8}; Ez. 16 *passim*. In Assyrian remitu is a synonym of talmu = BH. תֶּלֶם. [In Jeremiah 31^{15} רָמָה is not a proper name, but simply means "upland", and רָחֵל means "ewe-lamb", not "Rachel".]

פרעת אבר is difficult; we could follow Virolleaud and identify the former word with BH. פְּרָעֹת "princes", taking it, however, as sing. as in Assyrian pirtu; the latter word would then be BH. אַבִּיר used in the technical sense of "dynast, emperor" and the sense would be: "In dark places, 'mid the peoples of the sea (or, 'mid them whose daylight is obscured), 'mid the gloomy places, 'mid the uplands, as a princely dynast, is the portion of his domain." Alternatively, we may start from the remarkable correspondence between פרע = فَرِعَ "grow shaggy hair" and אבר = وَبَرَ of the same sense (cf. Vollers, *ZA.*, xii, 137). The reference will then be to the uncouth, shaggy-haired inhabitants of the desert, called by the settled Arabs 'ashawūn "the shaggy-haired"—whence, in Israelitic tradition עֵשָׂו the hairy huntsman in distinction to יעקב who "dwelleth in tents". Or again, the reference might be to the hairy demons — Hebrew שְׂעִירִים — who are thought to inhabit the desert and who form the côterie of Mōt.[2]

---

[1] An alternative is to interpret the words as = עַמְמֵי יוֹם "they whose daylight is darkened", comporting with עָלמת and צלמת. For עמם cf. BH. עמם II (Lam. 4^{1}) and Aramaic עמא.

[2] The demon-name צִיִּים has nothing to do with צִיָּה "desert", as stated by Oesterley, *Hebrew Religion*, p. 67. It is the Arabic ضَيْوَن (> ضَرَى cry) "wild cat".

(*m*) אלא֯י קרדם. According to Virolleaud קרדם = BH. קָרְדֹם *qardumu* "axe", and אלא֯י would derive from a verb meaning "brandish". This verb could be associated with BH. לָהַהּ, Syriac ܡܠܗܠܗ in the primitive sense of "whirl". Cf. semasiologically the development of the German word "verwirrt" and the English "in a whirl". Virolleaud would even derive the name אלא֯ין from this root. If this is correct, אלא֯ין would be "the brandisher" of the thunder-weapon, like Adad of the West Semitic pantheon, Zeus of the Greeks, and Thor in the Teutonic pantheon. Baneth, however, has proposed alternatively that קרדם is the Assyrian qarradu(m) "warrior"; then אלא֯י derives from לא֯י = As. *lêu* "puissant". It is difficult, however, to admit mimmation in Ugaritian, and we may therefore suggest that קרדם is, in fact, a plural of quality used adverbially (v. analogously in Hebrew ; *König*, § 264*a* ff.), the sense being "I have the puissance characteristic of warriors". Or again, קרדם may be a plural of the type זְנֻנִים. נְעוּרִים, etc. = TA. *nukurtum . MEŠ* "hostility" (Böhl, § 23*h*). In either case, it is interesting to notice that *qurradu* is the ritual epithet *par excellence* of Ninurta, who is the counterpart of Aleyan-Baʿal.

Additions to Notes

[88] קדש may alternatively be the god of Kadesh on the Orontes.

[133] Alternatively if חֿפר = حفر be thought too violent, the word may = Assyr. ḫaripu "young lamb", as suggested by Speiser. Cf. also Arabic خُرق. Then כרם means "lambs". This is, perhaps, better as harmonizing with אלפם and ארחֿת.

The suggestive Hebrew edition by Ginsberg in *Tarbiz*, v, 75–96, came to hand too late to be utilized, but is here warmly recommended to those interested in Ras-Šamra studies.—T. H. G.

177.

[*Concluded 22nd July, 1933.*]

Notes on "The Birth of the Gracious and Beautiful Gods"

By H. L. GINSBERG

THE new Ras Shamra text published by Virolleaud[1] is, despite better preservation, considerably more difficult to interpret than its two immediate predecessors, and in this regard resembles rather the fragments of 1929.

It should be observed at the outset that those sections which are ruled off both above and below neither articulate with their surroundings nor form complete poems in themselves. They are catchlines from longer poems.

In the matter of transliteration I follow Friedrich[2] in transcribing Virolleaud's *a*, *e*, *é* by *'a*, *'i*, and *'u* respectively. But on the one hand, I wish it to be understood that the exact quality of the vowel may vary considerably from case to case (e.g. *'iy*, I-AB 3–4 : 28, 29, 39, 40, is to be read *'eyyê* < *'ayyê*), and on the other, I cannot agree with Friedrich that the signs in question also have the values *a'*, *i'*, and *u'* respectively; the notation of vowelless hamza being an additional duty consistently assigned to the character *'i*, regardless of what the preceding vowel may be.[3]

I further agree with Albright[4] and Friedrich in writing *ṯ* for Virolleaud's *š*, and *š* for the sign which Virolleaud used formerly to render by *s* and now renders by *ś*. I also retain the use of *ś*, however, as the equivalent of the Canaanite cuneiform 𐎝; for although the latter is not used *wherever* the Hebrew has *ś*, it is employed *only where* the Hebrew has *ś*.[5]

---

[1] Ch. Virolleaud, "La naissance des dieux gracieux et beaux, poème phénicien de Ras Shamra," *Syria*, xiv, 128–151. I have adopted for this text the siglum 'INY (= 'Ilm N'mm wYsmm).

[2] J. Friedrich, "Zu den drei Aleph-Zeichen des Ras-Schamra-Alphabets", *ZA* 1933, 305–313.

[3] See *Tarbiz* (Hebrew), iv, 383; further examples from 'INY and elsewhere will be pointed out below.

[4] W. F. Albright, "The North-Canaanite Epic of 'Al'êyân Ba'al and Môt", *JPOS* xii (1932), 185–208.

[5] *Tarbiz* iv, 380, bottom; *OLZ* 1933, col. 593, n. 1.

In other respects I follow the present system of transliteration of Virolleaud.

l. 1. *'iḳr'a* = *'iḳra'a*, corresponding morphologically to the Arabic subjunctive and the Hebrew cohortative, with the meaning of the latter; cf. the energic *'iḳr'an*, l. 23. The preformative takes the vowel *i* with *a*-imperfects as in Proto-Hebraic (*Tarbiz* iv, 382), so also in the indicative *'iḳn'u* = *'iḳna'u*, l. 21.

l. 2. *wysmm*. Virolleaud rightly renders " et beaux ", invoking the Arabic root *wsm* and the Akkadian *asâmu*. I anticipated him, however, in *Tarbiz* iv, fasc. 4 (July, 1933), 387, ll. 20 ff., on the basis of V.'s statement, *Syria* xiii, 138, that " on rencontre aussi *ismm*, qui parait avoir un sens voisin de *n'mm* ". I there also proposed for I-'AB 2 : 19–20 an interpretation, to which I shall revert further on, based on the observation that *n'my* and *ysmt* are there, too, synonyms (cf. the synonymy and parallelism of *dbr* and *ngš*, *ibid.*, first pointed out by me in *Tarb.* iv, fasc. 1 [Oct., 1932], *ad loc.*), and are employed as variants in parallel clauses.[1] See also *OLZ* 1933, col. 594.

As *n'm* in Phœnician generally means simply " good ", *n'mm wysmm* is perhaps to be compared to καλοί κἀγαθοί.

l. 3. *ytnm ḳrt l'ly*[*nm* ?], as I am inclined to restore the end of the last word, would mean " Glory be given unto the Exalted Ones ". The final *-m* of *ytnm* is not a pronominal suffix either here or anywhere else in these texts. In the two Hebrew articles—*Tarbiz* iv, 380, [1]–390 [11]; v, 75 [1]–96 [22]—which I have written since the publication of II-'AB,

---

[1] In the parallel (*Syria*, xiv, p. 137, n. 2) *bkrk dk n'm 'nt n'mh, km tsm 'aṯrt tsmh*, *dk* is of course not a relative but a demonstrative, like all combinations of the deictic particles *ḏ* and *k* in the cognate languages. As a relative, *ḏ* alone is used in South-Arabian, Ethiopic, Aramaic, Ugaritic, Hebrew (זה), and Phœnician (ז). Translate, therefore: " This thy firstborn's beauty is like the beauty of 'Anat, his goodliness is like the goodliness of 'Aṯirat."

Incidentally, can *ktmsm*, I-'AB 1 : 24, the epithet of Bn-Dgn (whom I consider to be identical with B'l), signify " the Crown of Glory " ? I have already conjectured that *kt*, II-'AB 1 : 31–2, may bear the same relation to Heb.-Aram. *katr-*, *kitr-* as *ḫṭ* to Heb.-Aram. *ḫuṭr-*.

I have treated it as the Akkadian conjunction *-ma*, with the difference that in the language of Ugarit it seemed to attach itself to the second verb instead of the first. I was, however, puzzled by the fact that in II-AB 6 : 37 it is not affixed to a verb at all, but to the quasi-noun *dt*. From the repeated occurrences in 'INY it is now clear that *-m* is not a conjunction but the equivalent of the Akkadian particle *-ma*, South Arabic *-mā*, *-mū*,[1] that may be affixed to any word for emphasis.

NOTE.—Obviously, if this particle is attached to a masculine plural construct the combination will be outwardly identical with the absolute state, and this is what I now conjecture to be the case in *bnm 'umy* (parallel to *'aḫym*), I-AB 6 : 11, 15. But the normal thing is for the *-m* of the plural ending to be dropped in the construct state ; for in *ks ḫrṣ*, II-'AB 3 : 44 ; 4–5 : 37 ; 6 : 59, *ks* must be read as construct *plural*, in view of the parallelism of *krpnm* and the fact that the plural absolute of the corresponding Late Phœnician word is known to have been not *ḳosot* but *ḳosim* (see J. N. Epstein's note to my commentary on II-AB 3 : 40–44, *Tarbiz* v, 82)[2]; and in the recurrent phrases *bht ksp wḫrṣ*, *bht ṯhrm 'iḳn'im*, II-AB 5 : 74–97, *bht* must be construct plural, because the singular never has a *h* between the *b* and the *t*.[3] Similarly, *bn šrm*, 'INY 2 (?), 22, describing *'ilm*, must be plural.[4]

As for *ḳrt*, it is from the root *yḳr* ; cf. Hebrew *de'ah* and *da'at*, *ledah* and *ledet*, *redet*, *šebet*, *'eṣah*, etc., Arabic *ṣifat*, *ṣilat*, etc., all from roots primæ *w*(*y*).

l. 5. *lr'išhm* = *lara'šihum*(*u*) ; an example of the use of *'i* for vowelless hamza (see above), as in *br'iš*, ll. 31–6. In *lr'išhm* the singular is used distributively as in *bphm*, ll. 62

---

[1] K. Conti Rossini, *Chrestomathia Arabica Meridionalis Epigraphica*, pp. 174*a*, 175*b*.

[2] It may yet turn out that the mysterious *ksm*, *RŠ*., 1929, 1 : 9, 3 : 19, is simply the corresponding Ugaritic plural absolute.

[3] Possibly, however, it was an exaggeration on my part to state in my commentary on II-'AB 5 : 72–73, *Tarb.* v, 86, that conversely the plural *never* occurs without *h* : *b'ltbtm*, *RŠ* 1929, 19 : 4 may be identical with *b'lt bhtm*, ibid., 1 : 21 ; although *btm* can equally well be dual, or singular with *-ma*. Incidentally, *ṯhrm 'iḳn'im*, which I formerly left untranslated, means " pure lapis lazuli " : *'iḳn'im* = Akkad. *'uḳnu* ; see C. Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.*², p. 674*b*, *s.v.* ܩܘܢܐ (= " blue ").

[4] Cf. *OLZ* 1933, col. 594, n. 1.

and 64 (on which see my observations below); cf., for example, *rošam*, *rošan*, Lam., 2, 10; *pîhem*, Mi., 3, 5. The plural of *r'iš* (read *ra'š*) is *r'ašm* (= *ra'ašîm*[*a*]), *Syria*, xii, 357; cf. Heb. *råšîm* < *r'ǻšim* as against *rôš* < *ra'š* (*Tarb.* iv, 383 [4], q.v.).

l. 6 is perhaps to be restored: *lḥm blḥm*('*ay*) *wšty bḥmr yn'ay*; we should then have the enigmatic '*ay* at the end of both clauses. For the use of the preposition *b* with the object of the verb "to eat", cf. not only Prov. 9, 7, but also Mishnah, *Berakot*, 1, 1 משעה שהכהנים נכנסין לאכל בתרומתן.

l. 7. '*rbm wṯnnm* would seem to mean "the incomers and the outgoers". We shall discuss more fully below both '*rb* "to go in" and *ṯnn* "to go out".

l. 8. *mt wšr* might mean "commoner and prince"; for, as we shall see, the singular of the Hebrew *mĕtîm* does undoubtedly occur in this remarkable document. It seems best, however, to take the expression, with Virolleaud, as a binomial designation of Môt, and then *Šr* must be from the root *šyr* "to sing". For under his aliases of Ġzr and Ydd (and N'm), Môt figures as a minstrel in two quotations from unedited Ras Shamra Texts, *Syria*, xiv 141: (*a*) *yšr ġzr ṭb ḳl*; (*b*) *ḳm ydd wyšr*, *mṣltm bd n'm*.

With regard to the last couplet, it is necessary here to correct Virolleaud's rendering of "Yadid se leva et il joua des cymbales d'une main gracieuse". To begin with minor objections, if *bd* meant *byd* one would expect *n'mt* instead of *n'm* (cf. below to 'INY 33–4); however, one might dispose of this difficulty by rendering *bd n'm* by "with a hand of grace". To continue, then, *mṣltm* as the object of *yšr* would in itself be metrically possible, for in 'INY 67–8—

ttlkn šd tṣdn *p'at mdbr wngš*,

we have a clear example of a run-on line; but it should be obvious to every one by this time that, for Ugaritic no less than for Hebrew poetry, *parallelismus membrorum* is at least as important as rhythm[1] (cf. the passage just cited), and the above translation of Virolleaud allows for no such parallelism. Added to this is the fact that there is no precedent for the use of *šyr* in the sense of " to play ", and, in any case, we should have expected a verb with this meaning to be followed by *b- instrumenti*, like *zmr*, *ngn*, *ḥṣ*(*ṣ*)*r*, *ry*‘, *ḥll* (and generally *tḳ*‘). The decisive objection, however, is that *bd* never means *byd* ; and as V. claims this signification for it in 'INY as well, I shall treat the whole question again here.[1]

---

[1] The prevailing metre of these texts is 3 + 3, W. F. Albright, *JPOS* 1932, 207 (23).

In one inscription, *RŠ* 1929, 18, 19–22, *bd* seems, as Dhorme suggests, to be the same word as the Hebrew *bad* in Ex. 30, 34, and I would accordingly propose the following translation for the whole passage :—

17.	. . *ht*. *ysm*‘. '*uḫy*	Therefore, let my brother hearken
18.	*lgy wyhbt*. *b'aš*	unto my voice, and cast down evil (?),
19.	*wytn*. '*ilm*. *bdh*.	and let him give to the two gods his two portions :
20.	*bd* '*iḫḳm*. *gṯr*	one portion to 'Iḫḳm-Gṯr
21.	*wbd*. *ytr hd*	and the remaining portion to Hadad-
22.	*b*‘*l*	Baal.[2]

Elsewhere *bd* is clearly a verb having the sense of " to seize ", " to grasp ", " to handle ". Thus in II-AB 1, 24–5, I have rendered :—

hyn. ‘*ly*. *lmpḫm*	by	HYN went up to the bellows ;
bd. *ḫss*. *mṣbṭm*		ḪSS grasped (or wielded) the tongs.

For, that Ḫss is not a verb but only an alias of Hyn is proved beyond a doubt by the following inedita-quotations in *Syria* xiii, 117, n. 2. (The deviations of the renderings given here from those of Virolleaud do not affect the argument.)

(*a*)	*wrgm lkṯr wḫss*	and say unto KṮR and ḪSS,
	ṯny lhyn dḥrš ydm	declare unto HYN the master of handicraft :

---

[1] Cf. *Tarb*. iv, 390, bot ; v, 75, n. 1.

[2] This example of *hd* as a synonym of *b*‘*l* escaped me at the time when I propounded this equation in *Tarb*. iv, 385, bot., as also when I applied it to restore II-AB 6 : 38–9 as follows : *bht*[*h b*]‘*l y*‘*db*, *hd* ‘*db* ‘*dbt hklh*, *Tarb*. v, 90.

(*b*) *tbʻ kṯr lʼahlh*	KṮR betook him to his tents,
hyn tbʻ mšknth	HYN betook him to his tabernacles.

Evidently HYN = ḪSS = KṮR-wḪSS = KṮR.

NOTE.—Of course, *ḫss* is a verb in II-ʼAB 4–5, 38–9: *hm yd ʼilmlk yḫssk, ʼahbt ṯr tʻrrk*; but as *yd* here means not "hand" but "love",[1] *ḫss* could only be rendered "to seize" in a metaphorical sense, and the parallelism with *ʻrr* (to awaken) suggests rather that the verb *ḫss*—like *Ḫss*, the name of the *deus artifex*[2]—is rather connected with the Akkadian *ḫasâsu* "to think", and here means "to stir", "to inspire".

bd has again the meaning of "to seize", "to grasp" in the following ineditum (*Syria*, xii, 350, as corrected by Virolleaud *apud* R. Dussaud, *Rev. de l'Hist. des Religions*, 1932, p. 262, n. 6): *bd bʻl km nšr, bʼuṣbʻth hlm ktp zblym, bn ydm ṯpṭ nhr*. The words *bn ydm* "between the hands", the comparison with a *nšr* "vulture", and common experience to the effect that enemies do not tap each other on the shoulder with their fingers—all point decidedly away from the Biblical *hlm* "to strike" and towards the Talmudic *hlm* "to join, weld, fasten" (cf. references in M. Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 54*a*). The sense of "to seize", therefore, suits the initial word capitally, and the complete quotation means something like this: "Baal seized him like a vulture; with his fingers he grasped the shoulder of Zbl-ym, between his hands the Suffete of the River (or Flood)."

Accordingly, *ḳm ydd wyšr, mṣltm bd nʻm* is to be rendered: "Ydd arose and sang; Nʻm took up the cymbals." That Nʻm is simply a variant of Ydd is proved by the compound designation *Ġzr Nʻm*, ʼINY 17. For *mt*, *ydd*, and *ġzr* no more stand for so many distinct individuals than do *bʻl*, *ʼalʼiyn bʻl*, *bʻl* (*bn*) *ʼaṯrt* or *bʻl ṣpn* (or *rkb ʻrpt*, or *bn dgn*, or *hd*).

---

[1] The vocable *yd* "love" was first recognized by me, *Tarb.* iv, fasc. 1 (October, 1932), 113 [8] and 114 [9], and also extended, *ibid.* 114 [9], l. 22 f., to the quotation *Syria* xii, 354, which has since been republished as II-ʼAB 8: 16–24.

[2] Cf. with James A. Montgomery, *JAOS* 1933, 109 [13], "the Bab. Ḫasīs, genius of personified Intelligence."

Since, then, *bd* does not mean "in the hand" but "he grasped", what is the meaning of *bdh* in *bdh ḫṭ ṯkl, bdh ḫṭ 'ulmn* ('INY 8) ? In my opinion it is the equivalent of Arabic *bdh* and *bdḥ*. It is true that the former has now only the derived sense of "to take by surprise", but the latter has both this and the more original one of "to beat (with a stick)". I, therefore, render our passage: "A rod of bereavement has struck, a rod of widowhood has struck."

ll. 10–11. *yšḳl šdmth km gpn* can hardly mean "He shall clear his vineyard of stones like a grape-vine" (V.). This makes rather strained sense, and, besides, the Hebrew verb invoked for comparison is not *šḳl* but *sḳl*. *šḳl* also occurs in II-AB 6, 41, where it cannot signify "to clear of stones", but must mean something similar to Aram. *šḳl*, Aeth. *sḳl*; viz., "to take," "to lift."

l. 13. I have an intermittent suspicion that *šd* (*passim*), *śd* (1, 61), and *zd* (1, 24) are all, when in juxtaposition with *'Aṯrt wRḥm*(*y*), or *'Aṯrt*, or *Št* (not, however, when in parallelism with *p'at mdbr*, ll. 67–8, further *Syria*, xiv, 149, n. 1), for some reason deliberately miswritten for *ṯd*. For *Rḥm*, or *Rḥmy* (cf. the interchange of *Pdr* and *Pdry* in the 1929 texts), is known to be a synonym of *Btlt* and an alternative epithet of the Virgin 'Anat.[1] Accordingly, *šd 'Aṯrt wRḥm* (1, 13), *šd 'Aṯrt wRḥmy* (28), and especially *YNḲM b'ap ZD 'Atrt* (24), and *YNḲM b'ap ŚD Št* (59, 61) suggest very much *YNḲ* (= יוֹנֵק ?) *ḥlb 'Aṯrt, MṢṢ* (= מוֹצְצֵי ?) *ṮD Btlt 'nt* (*Syria* xiii, 130); particularly in view of the fact that the main theme of our tablet is the birth of the *'ilm n'mm wysmm* by *two* "women" who are seduced by 'Il. Moreover, *mrġṯm ṯd* (cf., with V., Arab *rġṯ*) is merely a circumlocutory repetition of *'ilm* in II-AB 3, 41–2; 6, 55–6.[2]

ll. 14–15. Does the parallelism of *'l 'išt* and *'l 'agn* justify taking the latter, not as the name of a vessel, but as a derivative of the Arabic root *'jj* "to burn fiercely"? And would *mšt‘ltm lr’iš ’agn* (31, 36) mean " two coals upon the fire " (Arab. *š‘l* " to kindle ") ? The *-m* of *šb‘dm* is, of course, the same as that of *ytnm* (l. 3 ; v.s. ad loc.).

---

[1] W. F. Albright, *JPOS* 1932, 194 (9).

[2] On the epithet "Virgin", see Albright, *ibid.*, and now *Tarb.* vi, pp. 102 ff.

ll. 16–17. Now that it is evident from this passage and from ll. 67–8 that *ṣd* is merely a synonym of *ylk*, my previous identification of the former with the Heb.-Aram. *ṣdy* " to lie waste " must, of course, be given up. The general sense of these two catchlines is that *Rḥmy*, i.e. ‘Anat, goes to *Ġzr*, i.e. Môt, or else that she does something to him or like him. (Is *ḥgr* akin to Arab. *hgr* " to migrate " ?) We are reminded of I-’AB, col. 2, and, in connection with the last-named possibility, of *Syria*, xii, 352, bot. : *’ard b’arṣ, ’ap ‘nt ttlk wtṣd kl ġr lkbd ’arṣ, kl gb‘ (lk)bd šdm* ; *tmġ ln‘m[y*[1] *’arṣ] dbr, ysmt, šd šḥlmmt n*[2]*[gš]* ; where ‘Anat is seen doing exactly the same thing as Môt does in I-AB 2 : 15–21. We shall revert to these passages further on.

ll. 21 and 22 are probably complete despite their brevity, in view of the abundant blank space both before and after the break.

l. 23. I should be tempted to take *’agzr* as *’agzarû* " they split ", i.e. " crossed ", and *bn* as *bânû*, the same, on the basis of the Arabic ; and similarly I should translate *’aštm kṯr bnym kṯr*, II-’AB 7, 15–16 : " lay the foundations, O Kṯr ; build, O Kṯr " (taking the *-m* as the emphatic particle we are by now familiar with). I do not, however, regard it as established that this dialect possesses a *h*- or ’-causative by the side of its undoubted *š*-causative.

Every form that might be cited as an example is doubtful. Thus *mbk nhrm*, I-’AB 1, 5 ; II-’AB 4–5, 21, was first connected with the root *nbk* by me,[3] but while I then vocalized it *mabbiku naharîm(a)*, I am now almost convinced that *’il*

---

[1] As the *-y* of I-’AB 2 is not the prenominal suffix, there is no reason why it should have been replaced by *-h* here (against V.).

[2] Virolleaud cites *t*[ ]. The parallel text, however, suggests that the *t* is merely the remainder of a *n* whose last two strokes have been broken off along with the rest of the word *ngš*.

[3] *Tarb.* iv, fasc. 1 (Oct., 1932), ad loc.

mbk nhrm means "'Il of the river-sources"; cf. מִבְּכֵי נהרים (so, to be pointed, with Budde), Jb. 28, 11. *'amlkn*, i, 1, 8, though causative in meaning, may very well be of the intensive conjugation, as also *y'akl*, ii, 4–5: 103. Accordingly, the same may apply to *tmṭrn*, i, 3–4: 6, 12; but this form may also just as well be of the simple conjugation, as I have already shown that *tlk*, *ibid.*, must be in view of Jo. 4, 18; cf. the construction of the Ḳal of *nṭp* in Ju. 5, 4*c*; Pr. 5, 3; Ct. 4, 11; 5: 5, 3, and of the Ḳal of *zwb* in the much favoured phrase ארץ זבת חלב ודבש. The imperfect of *ybl* is everywhere to be vocalized as the simple conjugation in view of the perfect *yblt*, II-'AB 4–5, 89; and *ltsrk*, ibid., i, 66, which might outwardly correspond equally to a Hebrew Hiḳṭîl or a Hebrew Ḳal, is shown to correspond to the latter by the absence of a Hebrew Hiḳṭîl and the presence of a Hebrew Ḳal.[1] As for *hmry*, II-'AB 8, 12, it had best be left out of the discussion until we at least know what part of speech it is.

I would add that if any of the above imperfects can be proved to be either *h*- or '-causatives, they are *a priori* more likely to be the latter, inasmuch as syncope of *h* only takes place here, as in the case of the definite article, in Hebrew. Other branches of Semitic possessing a *h*-causative—Old Aramaic and Sabæan—retain the *h* in the imperfect as well.

l. 25. *špš myprt dlthm* may mean "Špš" (or simply "the sun") increases their branches; cf. Arab. *wfr* and Heb. *dâlîyâh*.

l. 26. *ġnbm*[2] probably means "fruit", like the West-Semitic loanword *ḫanibu*, and the native *enbu*, in Akkadian.

---

[1] According to the masoretic pointing, the Ḳals of *ysr* and *yny* only occur in the participle, but that is because the other forms, whose consonantal orthography suits the Ḳal and the Ḳiṭṭel equally well, were, *in accordance with late Hebrew usage*, uniformly pointed as Ḳiṭṭels. For the same reason, the Ḳal of *dbr*, which must have been fairly frequent in Biblical times, is by the Masoretes only recognized once, viz. in Ps. 51: 6, outside of the participle. This point was brought to my attention in another connection by Dr. D. H. Baneth. Cf. *AJSL.* xlvi, 53–8, 127–138; *Tarb.* v, 208–223.

[2] M. Féghali, *Groupe linguistique d'études chamito-semitiques*, Paris, Résumé de la séance du 25 janvier, 1933, is perhaps right in assuming that the Arab. '*inab* is a North-Semitic loanword, but there still remains South

The Ugarit word for "grapes" is *lrmn*(*m*), l. 50, which V. rightly compares with Akk. *luremêtu*, the same.

l. 30. In the word which V. transcribes *wyṣġd*, the fourth letter is broken, and both for graphic reasons and because the Arabic for "to ascend" is *ṣ‘d*, I prefer to restore *m* and read *wyṣmd*.

ll. 32–5. *hl*, both here and in ll. 41, 44, 47, is certainly a particle with very nearly the same function as the Hebrew *hen* or *hinneh*. Like these, and unlike the Ugaritic *hm* or *hn*, it takes the pronominal suffixes.[1] If the fifth character in l. 32 may be taken as whole and not broken off at the bottom, i.e. as a somewhat narrow *p*, the lines will read :—

32.	*hlh lšpl hlh, trm*	Behold her (sink) downward, behold her rise.
	hlh. tṣḥ. 'ad 'ad	Behold she cries : "Father! Father!"[2]
33.	*whlh. tsh. 'um. 'um*	And behold she cries : "Mother! Mother!"
	t'irkm. yd. 'il. kym	One hand of 'Il's shall be as long as the sea,
34.	*wyd 'il kmdb*	And one hand of 'Il's as the main.[3]
	'ark. yd. 'il. kym	One hand of 'Il's is long as the sea,
35.	*w. yd. 'il. kmdb.*	And one hand of 'Il's as the main.

Arabic ''*nb* "vineyards" to be accounted for. It would seem that we have here two distinct roots, though it may some day be possible to show that one of them is the result of a contamination of the other with a third ; just as Ugaritic and Targumic *dr‘* "to sow" is certainly a blend of *ḏr'* (South Semitic) and *zr‘* (Common Semitic). It is an interesting fact that *ḏr'* (*zr'*) and *zr‘* are employed side by side in Arabic and Ethiopic. Some examples of blending in Arabic will be met with presently.

[1] Contrast *whm 'at* (not **whmk*) *trgmy*, *RŠ.*, 1929, 13, 43 : 5, 15, 19, P. (É.) Dhorme, *RB.*, 1931, 48.

[2] So in Sumerian, but of course derived from the inarticulate babbling of babies, like Heb. *dôd*, Eng. *daddy*, etc. Cf. J. N. Epstein, *Jahrb. d. jued.-lit. Gschft.* (Frankfort), ix, 277. Etymologically, however, if not materially, Virolleaud's suggestion that *'ad* = *'adn* "Adonis" comes near the truth, for אדון "master" is evidently connected with *'ad* "father". See now *OLZ* 1934, col. 473 f.

[3] From rt. *ḏwb*, R. Dussaud, *Rev. de l'Hist. des Religions*, cvii, No. 1 (juillet–août, 1933).

In l. 34 I take *'ark* as a masc. sing. verb before a fem. sing. subject; cf. II-'AB 2, 28; 4–5, 82, 87—all perfect. If it is preferred to take *yd* as *dual* construct, *'ark* had probably still best be read, in accordance with Arabic practice, as a singular; if it is read as a dual (*'arikâ*) it will still disagree with its subject in gender. In the imperfect, such "Arabic" syntax seems to be at least less prevalent in our texts; witness *t'irkm*, l. 33. In this word, of course, *'i* = vowelless hamza and *-m* is a strengthening particle (v.s.).

ll. 37–9. *'il ẖṭh nḥt, 'il ymnn mṭ ydh* means: 'Il put down his rod, 'Il laid down the staff of his hand (מַטֵּה יָדוֹ), *nḥt* being the Aramaic word for "to go down",[1] and *mnn* apparently, as Virolleaud assumes, the Arab. root meaning "to be weak". In *nḥtm* and *mmnnm*, ll. 40, 43–4, 47, the final *m* is again the enclitic *-ma*.

Translate:	As follows:
yš'u yr šmmh	He picks it (his staff) up and throws it heavenwards.
yr bšmm 'ṣr	He shoots in the heavens a bird,
yẖrṭ yšt lpḥm	And plucks it and places it on the coals.

Note A.—The *h* of *šmmh* = שָׁמַיְמָה (V.) is as surprising as that of *ẖmš 'šrh* = חֲמֵשׁ עֶשְׂרֵה, *RŠ* 1929, 1: 9–10. Have we anything here like the breaking of circumflex vowels which is so common in Minæan and modern South Arabian dialects? But this rarely happens in unstressed syllables, and in שָׁמַ֫יְמָה the last syllable is unstressed. Are we then to assume that at this early date *h* was employed finally as a vowel-letter when it was desirable to avoid ambiguity? (In that case the *h* of *mh*—see below—may also be silent: I formerly connected it with the *h* of Arab. مهما, etc.). This would also involve great difficulties.

Note B.—The word *'ṣr*, Akk. *iṣṣûru*, is not contracted from **iṣpûru*. On the contrary, Arab. *'uṣfûr(un)* is a blend of *'iṣṣûr* and **ṣiffur* (cf. Heb. *ṣippōr*, Aram. *ṣippar*), with Classical

---

[1] And *nḥt*, II-'AB 1: 34, must consequently be a derivative or variant of the root *nwḥ* "to rest".

Arabic vowel-harmony (cf. *jumhûr*(*un*), *ẖinzîr*(*un*), etc.). Attention is called to another case of contamination in Arabic below.

In *kypt*, *k* represents the כִּי, i, 1, of the Hebrew lexica, i.e. a particle with purely demonstrative or emphatic force; cf. *k*[*tṣḥ*], II-'AB 2, 29, *ktl'akn*, ibid., 4–5, 104; *kyṣḥ*, ibid., 7, 53. Note that as a rule a *verb* which is strengthened by this sort of *k* generally stands at the end of its clause in the language of Ugarit; and this is always the case in the OT.: Gen. 18, 20; Ps. 49, 16; 118, 10 f. (Thr. 3, 22).

'aṯtm and *btm* are manifestly duals, not plurals (against Virolleaud),[1] and *tṣḥn* is consequently to be read *taṣû*[*î*]*ḥân*(*na*) (see below).

ll. 40–9*a*. Virolleaud is mistaken in saying that the vocative particle *y* only occurs in this column. It is present in I-'AB 3–4: 25, 36, 46, as was first pointed out by me.[2] The thrice repeated stanza is to be scanned and translated as follows:—

y {*mt mt* / *'ad 'ad*} *nḥtm ḫṭk*	O {husband! husband![3] / father! father!} fallen down is thy rod!
mmnnm mṭ ydk	Weakened is the staff of thine hand!
hl 'ṣr tḥrr l'išt	Lo![4] the fowl is being roasted[5] on the fire,
wṣḥrrt lpḥmm {*'aṯtm* / *btm*}	And two {wives / daughters} have been boiled[6] on the coals:

---

[1] The most decisive argument is *kl'at* "two", l. 57. So far as the outward form is concerned, *'aṯtm* might be singular; cf. Punic אשׁתם, J.-B. Chabot, *Punica*, pp. 34, 60, 62.

[2] *Tarb.* iv, fasc. 1 (Oct., 1932), *ad loc.*

[3] Like Akk. *mutu*.

[4] See above.

[5] Or: "a fowl hast thou roasted."

[6] The root *ṣḥrr*, akin to Arabic *ṣḥr* "to boil", is already known to us from I-'AB 2: 24; II, 8: 22, in connection with the sun-goddess *Špš*. As in the preceding line, one might also render "hast thou boiled".

'aṯtm 'aṯt 'il 'aṯt 'il *btm bt 'il bt 'il* } *w'lmh*	The two {wives daughters}; the two {wives daughters} of 'Il, the two {wives daughters} of 'Il and his eternity.[1]

ll. 49–51. Correct Virolleaud's rendering as follows:—

yhbr špthm yš['*u*]	He bends down and kisses [2] their lips.
hm špthm mtḳtm	Ah! their lips are sweet!
mtḳtm klrmn[*m*]	Sweet as grapes!
bm nšḳ whr	By kissing and conception,
bḥbḳ ḥmḥmt tḳtnṣn	By embracing and pregnancy, they are brought to labour (?),
tldn šḥr wšlm	And give birth to Šḥr and Šlm.
rgm l'il ybl	Word is brought to 'Il
'aṯty 'il ylt mh ylt	" 'Il's (two) wives have given birth." "What have they born?"
yldy šḥr wšlm	"They have born Šḥr and Šlm."

mtḳtm is, of course, simply a feminine dual adjective, agreeing with *šapatêhumâ*. Of course, two wives have more than two lips, and the use of the dual is therefore either distributive (cf. above, *ad* l. 5) or analogous to the uniform employment of the dual instead of the plural of paired organs in Hebrew.

ylt = *yalattā* < *yaládatā* feminine dual perfect of *yld*, and *yldy* seems to be an alternative feminine dual perfect (vocalized *yaladay* ?). Similarly read *taḳtanaṣân*(*na*), etc.

'aṯty (also l. 60), a dual construct written with final *-y*, would seem to indicate that the dual construct did not distinguish the nominative from the oblique cases.

---

[1] Alternatively: "Each daughter of 'Il with her '*lm*," supposing we have the well-known Hebrew distributive construction. As *btm* certainly means "two daughters", *'il w'lmh* cannot mean " 'Il and his armour-bearer" (against V.), so that it is no example of ' = Proto-Semitic *ġ*.

[2] See W. F. Albright, *JPOS* 1934, 136. I have, however, hesitated to follow him in emending *yš'u*, l. 55, to *yšḳ* and to restore *yš*(*ḳ*) in l. 49. It is just possible that a root *nš'* existed as a parallel formation to Hebrew *nšḳ*, *nšb*, *nšp*, *nšm*.

ḥmḥmt, being parallel with *hr*, is evidently related to the Arabic and Hebrew verbs *wḥm* and *yḥm* respectively. The former means " to have a craving " (of a pregnant woman), and the latter " to have breeding heat ", " to conceive ".

The gods Šḥr and Šlm are both known from other sources as well; among others from South-Arabian Śḥr and the Punic theophorous proper names עבדשחר[1] and יכנשלם.[2]

ll. 56–7*a*. *y*ṯ*bn* [*w*]*yspr* is reminiscent of *w*ṯ*b lmspr*, II-'AB 4–5, 104; *RŠ.*, 1929, 2, 27.[3] However, I do not know just how to fit it in here.

l. 57*b*. *pḫr kl'at* suggests German " alle beide ".

ll. 61, end – 64*a* seem to me to present the following text:—

61. *špt*
62. *l'arṣ. špt lšmm. wl'rb. bphm. 'ṣr. šmm*
63. *wdg bym. wndd. gz*[*r*] *l*(*g*)*zr. y'db. 'uymn*
64. *'ušm'al. bphm.*

And to require something like the following rendering:—

61. One lip
62. to earth and one to heaven! And into their mouths went the birds of the air,
63. and the fish of the sea. And they wandered from island to island (?) putting both right
64. and left into their mouths.

That is to say, it is not Heaven and Earth, but the newly weaned " gracious and beautiful gods " (who are still *ynḳm* in l. 59; cf. above ad l. 13) who display such amazing voracity. That *špt l'arṣ špt lšmm* cannot possibly mean " The Earth has a lip, the Sky has a lip", but only that the party or parties determined by the context opened their gaping jaws, is proved to the hilt by the singular suffix of *bkbdh* and *bph* in the parallel passage, *Syria*, xiv, n. 1 :—

---

[1] J.-B. Chabot, *Punica*, 159.

[2] *Ibid.*, 153. I take this opportunity of also calling attention to a number of Punic proper names, occurring in the same collection, in which the name of the god *K*ṯ*r*, who plays such a prominent part in II-'AB (cf. above to 'INY, l. 7), figures as a theophorous element: ערכשר (55), עבדכשר (68, 82, 154, 160), עבדכישר (76). Chabot also quotes from *CIS.*, 3261, מתנכישר.

[3] As corrected by H. Bauer, *ZAW* 1933, 101, and apparently confirmed by the photograph of this tablet in *Syria* x.

[*špt. l'a*]*rṣ . špt. lšmm*	One lip to earth and one to heaven
[*šn. lšdm*].[1] *šn. lkbkbm*	[One tooth (= row of teeth ?) to the ground] and one to the stars !
y‘rb [*'al'iyn b‘*]*l. bkbdh*	Into his inward parts went 'Al'iyn B‘l ;
bph. yrd	Down into his mouth went he !

The first guess of 99 per cent of scholars will be that it is Môt, the arch-enemy of Ba‘l and the notorious and avowed cannibal (cf. I-'AB 2: 21–23 ; II 8: 16–20), who swallows this mouthful. But, of course, certainty will only be possible if the context of these lines is sufficiently well preserved.

As regards vocabulary, I have already pointed out that our dialect agrees with Southern, as against Northern, Arabic in having *‘rb* instead of *ġrb* ; but I now no longer believe, as I did before,[2] that it is the *ġ* that is secondary. I now accept the view of Brockelmann[3] that *‘rb* represents a dissimilation of the *ġ* before *r*.[4] Neither do I now ascribe the *ġ* of Arabic *ġmḳ* (also *‘mḳ*) to a spontaneous mutation : *ġmḳ* represents a blend of *‘mḳ* " to be deep " with *ġrḳ* " to sink ". Characteristically enough, *ġarîḳ*, properly " sunken ", is used in colloquial Egyptian Arabic with the same meaning as *ġamîḳ* " deep ".

---

[1] The restoration is mine. All I claim for it is a high degree of probability.

[2] *Tarbiz* iv, 38 (2), n. 3.

[3] C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss d. vergl. Gramm. d. sem. Spr.*, Para. 84*a*.

[4] The same dissimilation is present in South Arabic *ṯ‘rt*, Gl. 1000 A, l. 2, which N. Rhodokanakis, Altsabäische Texte, i, p. 61, renders " canal-outlet " (*Rinnenöffnung*) and connects with Arab. *ṯuġrat*(*un*) " crevice, gap, breach ". In this case Ugaritic does not agree with South Arabic ; for in *Syria* xiv, 143, we find *b'ap ṯġr* " before an opening (שער) ". If, however, Albright, *JPOS* 1934, p. 104, is right in connecting Ugaritic *b‘r* (which in my own opinion never has the sense of " burning " in any of the texts published to date) with Arab. *bġr*, and Ugaritic *‘rẓ* with Arab. *ġalîẓ*, then we have here so many further examples of this dissimilation in our dialect.

The rendering of *gzr* by " island " (Arab. *jazîrat*(*un*), Syr. *gâzarta*) is, of course, uncertain.

The *'u* of *'uymn*, *'ušm'al* now seems to me to represent the Common Semitic *'au* " or ", with *au* monophthongized to *ô*. It apparently retains its primitive signification in *RŠ*., 1929, 2 : in the words *'utḫṭ'in* (read *'ô tiḫṭa'na*, with *'i* again = vowelless hamza), ll. 11, 14, 15 ; *'ubḳṭt*, ll. 14, 23 (*bis*), 31 ; *'ušn ypkm*, l. 20 ; *'ušnypkn*, ll. 28, 31. In our passage, however, *'u* . . . . *'u* seems to mean " both . . . . and ". (Akk. *û*, too, which, in accordance with Akk. sound-laws, corresponds to primitive *'au* rather than *wa*, means " and ".)

l. 64*b*. I find it very difficult to establish a connection between these lines and the foregoing. After so much feeding one would expect to find the root *šb'* " to be sated " in *šb'ny*, but I have not succeeded in working out a coherent sentence in which it could be construed with this sense, and I accordingly feel compelled to take *wl*[*d*] *šb'ny 'aṯt 'itrḫ* to mean " the offspring (cstr. pl. of Heb. ולד) of Šb'ny, the wife of 'Itrḫ ". As this 'Itrḫ is evidently identical with the Trḫ of the quotation reproduced below, and as Trḫ is manifestly connected with *yrḫ*, the moon (hence, as has long been assumed by scholars, the association of the Biblical Teraḥ with Ur and Ḥaran, famous centres of Sin-worship), I incline towards the view of Dussaud [1] that Šb'ny is derived from *šb'*, the lunar number 7. The Trḫ passage cited by Virolleaud is rendered by Dussaud, who comes nearer the truth, as follows :—

---

[1] R. Dussaud, *Revue de l'hist. des religions*, cvii, No. 1 (juillet–août, 1933), 34 [30] ff. For *wld šb'ny aṭt 'itrḫ*, however, he gives the impossible translation " the wife of 'Itrḫ bare Šb'ny ", and equates Šb'ny with the Biblical Ishmael. Apart from the syntactical difficulty of such a rendering, the *w* of *wld* is, despite the well-known North-Semitic sound-shift, retained in the Hebrew noun ולד, but not in the verb, which is *yld*.

wyṣ'i trḫ ḥdṯ	Térah fit se lever la nouvelle lune.
yb'r lṯn 'aṯth	Il chassa Shin, sa femme,
wlnkr mddth	Et Nikkar, sa bien-aimée (disant)
k'irby tškn šd	"Comme les criquets vous habiterez la plaine,
km ḥsn p'at mdbr	Comme les sauterelles (חסיל) les confins du désert."

Dussaud is right, in my opinion, in seeing in this scene a prototype of the banishment of Hagar by Abraham, the son of Terah, in the O.T. But his rendering is obviously jerky, and syntactically even forced. Besides, it assumes that the object is introduced (twice!) by the preposition *l*, a practice that only made its appearance in Aramaic, and to some extent in late Hebrew, centuries later. Moreover, Dussaud, here as elsewhere, makes the mistake of interpreting Canaanite parallel clauses as statements of separate facts. He thus comes to the conclusion that Trḫ in Phœnician tradition, unlike Abraham in Israelitish, banished both his wives. It also seems to me very erroneous to take *ṯn* and *nkr* as proper nouns; for while the Sûjîn inscription mentions a divinity נכר,[1] *ṯn* cannot correspond to Ḥaḍramautish שׁין and to the name which seems to have been pronounced Šin by the Babylonians, though best known in its Assyrian pronunciation of Sin. For only *š*, not *ṯ*, is the equivalent of South-Arabian *š* and Babylonian *š*.

For my part I am provisionally assuming that Ḥudṯu (meaning "new moon") is the name of Tarḫu's wife, and I translate: "Then Tarḫu drove out[2] Ḥudṯu. He drove[1] into exile[2] his wife and into banishment (נֵכָר) his well-beloved. She dwelt like a locust in the field, like a cricket on the borders of the desert."

---

[1] This was brought to my attention by Professor J. N. Epstein.

[2] Taking *wyṣ'i* as a haplology for *wyyṣ'i*, representing the intensive conjugation with causative force; cf. above. Until the existence of a '-causative is proved, the only alternative is to take *wyṣ'i* as the simple conjugation and render the first line "and Trḫ-Ḥdṯ went out". In either case *'i* again represents vowelless hamza, and the form is, as in Hebrew after waw consecutive, jussive.

l. 68. *tṣdn. p'at. mdbr wngš.hm*, etc., was formerly misquoted by Virolleaud, *Syria*, xii, 209, as *tṣdn pat mdbr wngshm*, giving the impression that *hm* was a pronominal suffix. The dividing bar, the metre, and the context now show plainly that *hm* begins a new sentence, *hm nġr mdr‘* "Behold Nġr Mdr‘ ". Accordingly *mdbr wngš* go together and mean something like "desert and steppe"; cf. the parallelism of *dbr* and *ngš* in I-'AB 2, 19–29, and in the quotation reproduced above *ad* ll. 16–17.

l. 76. *ḥbr* may, as Virolleaud suggests, be connected with *rḥbt*, which the quotation *tptḥ rḥbt yn* proves conclusively to be a receptacle of some sort for wine. Professor J. N. Epstein suggests verbally that, whatever the "glottogonic" explanation, *ḥbr* and *rḥbt* are, in all probability, synonymous with Aram. *ruḳba*, Arab. *ḳirbat*(*un*) "skin-bottle" (cf. the root *bḥṯ* = *bḳṯ*, the latter in this form both in Arab. and I-'AB 3–4, 44). Virolleaud also cites *knkn* as a variant of *kknt*, I-'AB 1, 39, and thus arrives at last at the true sense of the hitherto enigmatic lines I-'AB 1, 38–9, II-'AB 6, 54, but it is now possible to go further and translate *špḳ 'ilm rḫbtyn, špk 'ilht dkrt*[*yn*], II-'AB 6, 53–4 : "He sated the gods with bottles of wine, he sated the goddesses with jars of wine." I at first thought that *dkrt* corresponded to Heb. *ḳederah*, Aram. *ḳidra*, but both these words designate cooking-pots rather than wine-containers, and I therefore prefer to compare, with Professor Epstein, Gaonic-Aramaic דקורי (var. ד(י)קורי), by which the Mishnaic פיטסין (*πίθοι*) is glossed, and which is itself explained by דני ; just as راقود, which Jawalîḳî admits to be a foreign word for "wine-jar", is by him equated with دنّ.[1] Cf. also Akkad. *ᶦˢdakiru*, the name of a vessel.

---

[1] Dussaud probably has Heb. *b‘r* "to remove" in mind, but I incline rather to take *yb‘r* here as the same word which I rendered by "guide" in II-'AB 4-5 : 16 and in Virolleaud's ineditum *b‘l mdlh yb‘r* "Baal drives his carriage". In my note *ad loc.* I further compared *ba‘îr*, a Common Semitic word designating in the various dialects various kinds of cattle or beasts of burden which are "driven" or "led".

[2] Cf. above, *‘rbm wṯnnm* "incomers and outgoers". Attention is called, however, to *RŠ.*, 1929, 13 + 43 (to be joined with Bauer and Dhorme as in *Rev. Bibl.*, 1931, p. 48), l. 18, where we read *wmṯnnšmnk*. If *šmnk* means "thine oil", one might connect *ṯnn* with Arab. *nṯṯ* "to ooze, anoint". I am inclined, however, to restore a *t* in the crack between *wmṯnn* in No. 13 and *šmnk* in No. 48, and to render *wmṯnn*[*t*]*šmnk* "and a messenger we have appointed thee"; cf. *whm 'at trgmy* (f.) in the next line and twice elsewhere in the text in question. We should then either take this *ṯnn* as a by-form of *ṯny* (which is employed in this dialect, among others, in the sense of "to repeat", "to tell") or else explain *mṯnnt* "messenger" as "one *sent forth*", or perhaps as "one who *utters*" (i.e. "outers", cf. Germ. *äussern*).

A comparison of the above-mentioned *knkn* or *kknt* with Talm.-Heb. קנקן, of *dkrt* with Aramaic דקור (var. ד(י)קור) and Arab. راقود, of Akk. *kâsu* and its Hebrew, Ugaritic, and Aramaic equivalents with Phœnician *ḳôs*, of Akk. *karpatu*, Ugaritic *krpn* with Talmudic-Hebrew קורפה, Palestinian-Aramaic קורפא (v. J. N. Epstein's note to II-'AB 3 : 40–4, *Tarb.* v, 82), and of some other word-pairs, suggests a question which may some day be answered : Why do the Semitic names of so many vessels, especially earthenware ones, contain a *k*-sound, and why does the latter oscillate so much between *k* and *ḳ* ?

Appendix

At the request of the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society, I append herewith a complete transliteration and (tentative) translation of the text of 'INY, with short footnotes on the renderings of passages which, either because of their great difficulty or because I agree with Virolleaud's interpretation of them (V. in the footnotes), were not dealt with in the foregoing.

Text	*Translation*
1. *'iḳr'a.'ilm.n*[*'mm*]	1. I proclaim the gracious and

---

[1] See *Der Gaonäische Kommentar zur Mischna-Ordnung Teharoth*, herausg. von J. N. Epstein, p. 14.

	Text		*Translation*
2.	*wysmm.bn.šr* (?) [*m* ?]	2.	pleasant gods, sons of princes!
3.	*ytnm.ḳrt.l'ly* (?) [*nm* ?]	3.	Honour be given unto the exalted ones
4.	*bmdbr.špm.yd* [ ]*r*	4.	in the desert of bare hills (?)[1] [ ]
5.	*lr'išhm.wyš* [*t* ?]*m*	5.	upon their heads, and he shall pu[t ?]
6.	*lḥm . blḥm a* (?)*y . wšty .* *bḫmr yn'ay*	6.	Eat of the bread of *'ay* (?) and drink of the wine-ferment of *'ay*.
7.	*šlm* [.] *tmlk . šlm . mlkt .* *'rbm . wṯnnm*	7.	Peace reigneth.[2] May Peace reign[3] over incomers and outgoers!
8.	*mt . wšr . yṯb . bdh . ḫṭ . ṯkl . bdh*	8.	Mt w-Šr hath {returned. sat down.} A rod of bereavement hath struck!
9.	*ḫṭ . 'ulmn . yzbrnn . zbrm* (.)[4] *gpn*	9.	A rod of widowhood hath struck! Pruners do prune[5] the vine.
10.	*yṣmdnn . ṣmdm . gpn . yšḳl . šdmth*	10.	Binders do bind the vine: they hang up[6] his vineyard.
11.	*km gpn*	11.	Like a vine.

---

[1] שְׁפָיִם—V.

[2] The form of the verb shows that *šlm* is here feminine, like Akk. *šalmu*.

[3] Optative use of the perfect as in Arabic; frequent in these texts.

[4] (.) means that two words are apparently divided by a space but not by a vertical bar.

[5] Arab. *zbr* = Heb. *zmr*—V.

[6] i.e. "train"—all this sentence according to Albright, *JPOS* 1934, 134.

	Text		*Translation*
12.	*šb'd . yrḫm . 'l . 'd . w'rbm . t'nyn*	12.	Place the *yrḫm* upon the *'d,* and let the incomers respond.
13.	*wšd . šd'ilm . šd'aṯrt . wrḥm*	13.	The spoil, the spoil of the gods—the breasts of 'Aṯirat and Raḥm![1]
14.	*'l.'išt . šb'd . ḡzrm .*	14.	Upon the fire place abundant water.[2]
	ṭb[ḫg]d . bḥlb . 'a (?) *nnḫ* (.)[3] *bḫm'at*		Coo[k a ki]d in milk, a lamb (?) in butter.[4]
15.	*w'l . 'agn . šb'dm . dḡ[ṣt ?]t*	15.	And upon the blazing fire place fre[sh water].[5]
16.	*tlkm . rḥmy . wtṣd* [ ]	16.	So Raḥmiya goeth and roameth
17.	*tḥgrn . ġzr* (.)[3] *n'm* (?) [*'ilm*]	17.	She ——Ġzr-N'm [gods]
18.	*wnšm . 'rbm . yr[nn ?]*	18.	and men. The incomers [sing (?)].
19.	*mṯbt . 'ilm . ṯmn . ṯ[bt]*	19.	The abodes of the gods—eight[6] se[ats],
20.	*p'amt . šb'*	20.	seven *p'amt.*[7]
21.	*'iḳn'u.šmt*	21.	I am zealous for (?) the names
22.	[*bn*] . *šrm.*	22.	[Of the sons] of the princes (?)

---

[1] There may be a similar play upon words in Isa. 66 : 11.

[2] Cf. Arabic rt. *ġzr.*

[3] (.) means that two words are apparently divided by a space but not by a vertical bar.

[4] Cf. Ex. 23 : 19; 34 : 26; Dt. 14 : 21—V.

[5] Arab. داغصة.

[6] Read *ṯamânê,* as indicated by Arab., Aram. and Heb. forms of the cardinal numeral 8; cf. l. 67.

[7] See V.

Text	*Translation*
23. *iḳr'an* . *'ilm* . *n'mm*	23. I proclaim the gracious gods.
[. *'agzr* . *ym* . *bn*.]*ym*	{They cross a sea, they traverse a main,} *or* {A day goes by, a day passes by[1];}
24. *ynḳm* . *b'apzd* . *'aṯrt* [ ]	24. {Sucking[2] / They suck[3]} upon the face of 'Aṯirat's breasts [ ]
25. *špš* . *myprt* . *dlthm* [ ]	25. *Špš* makes fruitful their branches [ ]
26. *wḡnbm* . *šlm* . *'rbm* . *ṯn*[*nm*]	26. And fruits. Peace, O incomers, outgo[ers].
27. *hlkm* . *bdbḥn'mt*	27. Go with the sacrifice of pleasantness.
28. *šd*[*'i*]*lm* . *šd* . *'aṯrt* . *wrḥmy*	28. The spoil [of the] gods, the breasts of 'Aṯirat and Raḥmiya
29. [ ] . *y*[*ṯ*]*b*	29. [ ] . . . .
30. [ ]*b* (?) *h* (?) . *gpym*. *wyṣ*[*m*]*d* . *gp* . *thm*	30. [ ] . . . the shore of the sea, and he joined (?) the shores of the ocean.
31. [? *by*]*d*(?)*h*(?) . *mšt'ltm* . *mšt'ltm* . *lr'iš* . *agn*	31. [in his] hand (?) two coals, two coals upon the fire.
32. *hlh* . *lšp*(?)*l* *hlh* . *trm* . *hlh* . *tṣḥ* . *'ad'ad*	32. Behold her (sink) downwards, behold her rise. Behold she shouteth "Father! Father!"

[1] See now *Tarb*. vi, p. 105, to *RŠ* 6: 32–39.

[2] Reading *yǎniḳîm*(*a*).

[3] Reading *yǎnîḳû-ma* (3rd pers. impf. plur. + *-ma*).

	Text		*Translation*
33.	*whlh* . *tṣḥ* . *'um* . *'um* . *t'irkm* . *yd* . *'il* . *kym*	33.	and behold she shouteth, "Mother! Mother!" 'Il's hand stretcheth out like the sea,
34.	*wyd 'il* . *kmdb* . *'ark* . *yd 'il kym*	34.	even 'Il's hand as the main. 'Il's hand is long as the sea.
	(*Reverse*)		(*Reverse*)
35.	*w* . *yd* (.) *'il* . *kmdb* . *yḳḥ* . *'il* . *mšt'ltm*	35.	even 'Il's hand as the main. 'Il taketh two coals,
36.	*mšt'ltm* . *lr'iš* . *agn* . *yḳḥ* . *yšt* . *bbth*	36.	two coals upon the fire; he taketh and putteth them in his house.
37.	*'il* . *ḫṭh* . *nḥt* (.) *'il* . *ymnn* . *mṭ* . *ydh* . *yš'u*	37.	'Il hath put down his rod, 'Il hath laid down the staff of his hand. He lifteth
38.	*yr* . *šmmh* . *yr* . *bšmm* . *'ṣr* . *yḫrṭ* (.) *yšt*	38.	it up and throweth it heavenward. He shooteth in the heavens a bird and plucketh it and putteth it
39.	*lpḥm* . *'il* . *'aṯtm* . *kypt* . *hm* . *'aṯtm* . *tṣḥn*	39.	upon the coals. 'Il seduceth two women. Behold the two women cry:
40.	*ymt* . *mt* . *nḥtm* . *ḫṭk* . *mmnnm* . *mṭydk*	40.	"O husband! husband! Fallen down is thy rod! Weakened is the staff of thine hand!

Text	*Translation*
41. *h*[*l.*] *‘ṣr . tḥrr . l’išt . ṣḥrrt . lpḥmm*	41. Lo! the fowl is being roasted upon the fire: two wives have
42. *’a*[*ṯ*]*tm . ’aṯt . ’il . ’aṯt . ’il . w‘lmh . whm*	42. been boiled upon the coals: two wives, the wife of ’Il, the wife of ’Il and his eternity!” And behold
43. *’a*[*ṯ*]*tm . tṣḥn . y . ’ad ’ad . nḥtm . ḫṭk*	43. the two women cry: “O father! father! Fallen down is thy rod!
44. *mmnnm . mṭydk . hl . ‘sr . tḥrr . l’išt*	44. Weakened is the staff of thine hand! Lo the fowl is being roasted upon the fire.
45. *wṣḥrrt . lpḥmm . btm . bt’il . bt’il*	45. and two daughters have been boiled upon the coals: two daughters, the daughter of ’Il, the daughter of ’Il
46. *w‘lmh . whn . ’aṯtm . tṣḥn . y . mt* (.) *mt*	46. and his eternity!” And behold the two women cry: “O husband! husband!
47. *nḥtm . ḫṭk . mmnnm . mṭydk . hl . ‘ṣr*	47. Fallen down is thy rod! Weakened is the staff of thine hand! Behold the fowl
48. *tḥrr . l’išt . wṣḥrt .*	48. is being roasted upon the fire, and two wives have been boiled

	Text		*Translation*
	lpḥmm . 'aṯtm . 'aṯ [t . 'il]		upon the coals—two wives, the wife of 'Il,
49.	*'aṯt . 'il . w'lmh . yhbr . špthm . yš ['u]*	49.	the wife of 'Il and his eternity." He bends down and kisseth their lips.
50.	*hn . špthm . mtḳtm . mtḳtm . klrmn[m ?]*	50.	Ah! their lips are sweet! sweet as grapes!
51.	*[b]m . nṣḳ . whr . bḥbḳ . ḥmḥmt . tḳt [nṣn]*	51.	By kissing and conception, by embracing and pregnancy they are brought to labour (?)
52.	*tldn . šḥr . wšlm . rgm . l'il . ybl . a[ṯty]*	52.	They give birth to Šḥr and Šlm. Word is brought to 'Il: "The two wives
53.	*'il . y[l]t . mh . ylt . yldy . šḥr . wšl[m]*	53.	of 'Il have given birth." "What have they born?" "They have born Šḥr and Šlm."
54.	*š'u . 'db . lšpš . rbt . wlkbkbm . kn [ ]*	54.	Carry *'db* unto *Špš*, the Great, and unto the stars— . . . .
55.	*yhbr . špthm . yš'u [.] hn . špthm . mtḳtm*	55.	He bends down, he kisses their lips. Ah! their lips are sweet!
56.	*bm . nšḳ . whr [.b]ḥbḳ [.] wḥ[m]ḥmt . yṯbn*	56.	By kissing and conception, by embracing and pregnancy . . . .
57.	*yspr . lḫmš . lṣb [.] šr . pḫr . kl'at*	57.	. . . . unto five *lṣb* [ ] . . . . . . all, both

Text	*Translation*
58. *tḳtnsn . wtldn* [.] *tld*[*n* . *'ilm* .] *n'mm . 'agzrym*	58. are brought to labour and give birth: they bear the gracious gods they cross a sea, a day goeth by,
59. *bn . ym . ynkm . b'ap* $\left[\begin{array}{c} \acute{s} \\ .\ \check{s} \\ z \end{array}\right]$ *d* [. *št* .] *rgm* . *l'il . ybl*	59. they traverse a main, sucking a day passes by. They suck upon the face of [*Št*'s] breasts. Word is brought unto 'Il.
60. *'aṯty . 'il . ylt . mh* . *ylt* [.] *'ilmy* (!) *n'mm* [1] *'agzr* [1]	60. "The two wives of 'Il have given birth." "What have they born?" "The gracious gods."
61. *'agzrym . bnym . ynḳm* . *b'ap . śd . št . špt*.	61. They cross a sea, they traverse a main, sucking A day goes by, a day passes by, they suck upon the face of *Št*'s [2] breasts. One lip
62. *l'arṣ . šptlšmm . wl'rb* . *bphm . 'ṣr . šmm*	62. to earth and one to heaven! And into their mouths went the birds of heaven

---

[1] Apparently scratched out by the scribe himself as a dittography of the next word—V.

[2] *Št* is connected by V. with Arab. *sitt* "lady", and supposed to refer to 'Aṯirat.

	Text	*Translation*
63.	*wdgbym . wndd . gz*[*r*] . *l*(*g* ?) *zr . y'db . 'uymn*	and the fish in the sea. And they wandered from island to island (?) putting both right
64.	*'ušm'al . bphm . wldšb'ny . 'aṯt . 'itrḫ*	and left into their mouths. The offspring of *Šb'ny*, the wife of *'Itrḫ*
65.	*ybn . 'aš* $\left[\begin{matrix} l \\ d \\ 'u \end{matrix}\right]$ *d* [.] *š'u . '*[*db*]*tk . mdbrḳdš*	build Ashdod (?). Carry *'db* into the wilderness of Kadesh (?).
66.	*ṯm . tgrgr . l'abnm . wl . 'ṣm . šb' . šnt*	There shall ye murmur unto the trees and the stones seven whole
67.	*tmt . ṯmn . nḳpt . 'd . 'ilm . n'mm . ttlkn*	years, eight[1] anniversaries (?).[2] The gracious gods return.[3] They do go
68.	*šd . tṣdn . p'at . mdbr . wngš . hm . nġr*	into the field, they roam the confines of desert and steppe. Behold *Nġr*
69.	*mdr' . wṣḥhm . 'm . nġr . mdr' . y . nġr*	*Mdr'*. And this is their cry unto[4] *Nġr Mdr'*: "O *Nġr*,
70.	*nġr . ptḥ . wptḥhw . prṣ . b'dhm*	*Nġr*! Open and . . . .
71.	*w'rb . hl* (?) *g . hm*[*'iṯ . l*]*ḥm . wtn*	. . . . [there is br]ead, so give,

---

[1] Read *tamânê*, corresponding to the Arabic, Aramaic and Hebrew feminine of the cardinal numeral 8; cf. l. 19.

[2] Cf. Isa. 29 : 1.

[3] Imper. of vb. *'wd* = "return".

[4] On *'m* cf. *Tarbiz* iv, 1 (Oct., 1932) *ad* I-'AB. 1 : 4.

Text	*Translation*
72. *wnlḥm* . *hm* . *'iṯ*[. *ḫmr* . *yn* (?) *w*]*tn* . *wnšt*	72. and we will eat. Behold there is [wine-ferment, so] give and we will drink."
73. *wʿnhm* . *nġr* . *mdrʿ*[ ]	73. And *Nġr Mdrʿ* replied unto them [ ]
74. *'iṯ* . *yn* . *d*$\begin{bmatrix}ʿ\\ š\end{bmatrix}$*rb* . *bṯk* [ ]	74. There is wine {that [ent]ers of [drink]ing[1]} . . [ ]
75. *mġ'ip* (?) *t* . *lhn* . *lgynh* [ ]	75. . . . . the *log* of his wine [ ]
76. *wḥbrh* . *ml'ayn* [ ]	76. And his jar was filled with wine [ ].

POSTSCRIPT

Re-read my remarks to l. 13 (above, p. 51) and observe:

(*a*) That it is only stated of "the gracious and beautiful gods" that they spent a certain length of time sucking the breasts of Št, but that both in the account of their birth (l. 58 ff.) and in the report of it to 'Il (l. 61 f.); as against a silence on this point that is equivalent to negation in the case of their forerunners *Šḥr* and *Šlm*; and

(*b*) that the punning line on the spoil of the gods and the breasts of 'Aṯirat and Raḥmiya once (l. 13) immediately precedes the direction to "cook a kid in milk, a lamb in butter", and once (l. 28) immediately precedes the story proper, whose main theme is the conception, birth, and nursing of the gracious and beautiful gods.

There is therefore good reason to believe that the former ceremony was a symbol of the latter event, and that it was performed, and the psalms and story chanted, on the festival celebrating that happy event. This is strong confirmation of Maimonides' view (*Guide to the Perplexed*, iii, 48) that the biblical prohibition of this rite—Ex. 23 : 19 (E); 34 : 26 (J); Dt. 14 : 21 (D)—is motivated by opposition to some pagan rite. It is even possible that the season of this festival coincided with the Israelite feast of first-fruits, with which the prohibition is mentioned in one breath in the first two of the cited Pentateuch passages; for as the goats normally yean in the winter in Palestine, the kids would then be just about the right age and size for the ceremony.

---

[1] Arab. *šrb* "to drink"; Talm.-Heb. and Aram. *šrp* "to sip, suck".

The New Śaktipur Grant of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva and Geographical Divisions of Ancient Bengal

By N. K. BHAṬṬAŚĀLĪ

MR. RAMEŚA BASU has published a reading of this grant in the *Journal of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat*, 1337 B.S., No. 4. From Mr. Basu's account, it appears that the plate was discovered at the village of Śaktipur in the Sadar subdivision of Murśidābād district. Mr. Basu has, unfortunately, failed to read correctly some vital geographical details regarding the land granted away by the plate, and thus could discover no clue as to its geographical situation. The genealogical portion of this new plate contains no new information whatever, as it is an exact replica of some other plates of the same king previously found. The real importance of the new plate lies in the supply of new geographical information.

The reading of the year and the date also does not appear to be beyond question. Mr. Basu reads the year as 3 and the date as the 2nd of *Śrāvaṇa*. As far as the figures can be made out from the illustration appearing with Mr. Basu's article, the year appears to be 6 and the date the 7th of *Śrāvaṇa*.

These petty mistakes, however, do not matter. The mistakes in reading the geographical names, however, are vital. The following corrections are proposed, based on a close examination of the illustrations, which, though excellent in a general way, are not clear enough for the solution of disputed points.

Line 27. Mr. Basu reads " Kaṅkagrāma-bhukty=antaḥpāti-dakṣiṇavīthyām=*uttaravāṭāyām* ". This is clearly " Uttara-rāḍhāyām ". The village granted was situated in the tract of Uttara-Rāḍhā. The failure of Mr. Basu to read this important name is responsible for his failure to obtain any clue as to the locality of the land granted.

Line 29. Mr. Basu reads " Uttare Moca-nadī-sīmā ". The name of the river on the north of the plot granted is clearly " Mora " and not Moca. This mistake of Mr. Basu is responsible for his failure to recognize the topography of the land granted. The River Mora or Mor is still a well-known river of the Bīrbhūm district of Bengal.

Line 30. Mr. Basu reads " Nijhā-pāṭaka " as the name of one of the hamlets granted. The name is certainly " Nimā " and not Nijhā.

Line 34. " Ṭāmaravaḍā " of Mr. Basu is probably " Dāmaravaḍā ".

These few corrections will do for our present paper. Let us discuss the new geographical information furnished by the plate on the basis of these corrections. This plate brings to light a new Bhukti, called the Kaṅkagrāma Bhukti. A Bhukti, as is well known, is the biggest territorial division of a country, smaller only than a province. The Bhuktis are equal to, and sometimes bigger than, the Divisions of modern days. Hitherto, only two such prominent Bhuktis of pre-Muhammadan Bengal were known, namely, Pauṇḍravardhana-Bhukti and Vardhamāna-Bhukti. Another Bhukti, namely Daṇḍa-Bhukti, was also known, but not so prominently; but of this later. Let us first of all try to find out the limits of Pauṇḍravardhana-Bhukti.

THE BOUNDARIES OF PAUṆḌRAVARDHANA-BHUKTI

1. The five Gupta plates from Damodarpur published by Mr. R. G. Basak in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. xv, pp. 113 ff., relate to Koṭivarṣa-viṣaya in Pauṇḍravardhana-Bhukti. The site of Koṭivarṣa is well-known. It is the same place which appears in the Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī under the name of Devkoṭ and is at present known as Bāṇgaḍ. The scattered ruins of this ancient city, with the earliest Muslim inscriptions of Bengal, lie about 18 miles south of the district town of Dinājpur. Thus Dinājpur district was undoubtedly within the Bhukti of Pauṇḍravardhana. The identity of the city

of Pauṇḍravardhana with the fortified ruins at Mahāsthān on the dried-up Karatoyā River, about 8 miles north of the district town of Bogrā, is now acknowledged on all hands. The western boundary of the kingdom of Prāgjyotiṣa is also well-known from the Yoginī-Tantra as the River Karatoyā. From the situation of the city of Pauṇḍravardhana on that very Karatoyā, it would appear that the Karatoyā formed the western boundary of Prāgjyotiṣa only in its northern portion. It is only reasonable to hold that the *Bhukti* of Pauṇḍravardhana extended eastwards to some distance from the city; and, as the site of the ancient city is only 35 miles from the bank of the Brahmaputra, that river should, for all practical purposes, be taken as the eastern boundary of Pauṇḍravardhana *Bhukti*, south of that portion of Prāgjyotiṣa which has the Karatoyā on the west. A line drawn straight eastwards from modern Raṅgpur to meet the Brahmaputra would be an excellent imaginary boundary between this portion of Prāgjyotiṣa and Pauṇḍravardhana *Bhukti*. It will be presently shown that the districts of Dāccā, Faridpur, and Bākargañj were included in Pauṇḍravardhana *Bhukti*.

2. The Khālimpur plate of Dharmmapāla. Reference should be made to the latest edition of the plate in "*Gauḍalekhamālā*" by the late Mr. A. K. Maitreya. The following *Viṣayas* and *Maṇḍalas* of Pauṇḍravardhana *Bhukti* are met with in this plate :—

(*a*) Vyāghrataṭī-*Maṇḍala* in Mahantāprakāśa *Viṣaya*.
(*b*) Āmraṣaṇḍikā-*Maṇḍala* in Sthālikkaṭa *Viṣaya*.
(c) Uḍragrāma-*Maṇḍala*.

These *Viṣayas* and *Maṇḍalas*, or the villages included in them, have not yet been located. Vyāghrataṭī-*Maṇḍala* is known also from the Nālandā plate of Devapāla (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. xvii, p. 323) and the Ānuliā plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena (Majumdar's *Inscriptions of Bengal*, vol. iii, p. 81). I have long searched for the villages mentioned under this *Maṇḍala* in the Khālimpur and the Ānuliā plates on 1 inch

= 1 mile maps, without finding any of them. Ānuliā is only a mile south of Rāṇāghāṭ, a well-known junction on the E.B. Railway, in the Nadiā district and not far from Calcutta. The railway line passes over the village of Ānuliā. When Mr. U. C. Baṭavyāl published the Khālimpur plate in the *JASB.* for 1894, he simply recorded that Khālimpur was "near Gaur" without giving the direction. The village lies 6 miles east of the citadel of Muhammadan Gaur across the extensive marsh to its east. Its real name is Kholi Ālampur and it bears the Mauza number of 267 (*Memoirs of Gaur and Pāṇḍuā*, by K. S. Abid Ali Khan; edited by Mr. H. E. Stapleton; introduction, p. 14). From the Nālandā plate of Devapāla, it would appear that the *Maṇḍala* of Vyāghrataṭī, not a very big area by itself, had a separate ruler called Balavarmman, who is eulogized as the right hand of King Devapāla. This would show that the tract was an important one from a political point of view and probably lay on the frontier. I have a rather uncertain clue that the place probably lay in the Purnea district, on the west of the Mahānanda River. As I do not possess detailed maps of the Purnea district, I cannot follow the clue any further.

3. The Kamaulī plate of Vaidyadeva. Mentions Kāmarūpa *Maṇḍala* of Vaḍā *Viṣaya* in Prāgjyotiṣa *Bhukti.* That Prāgjyotiṣa was counted as a distinct *Bhukti* is an important piece of information.

4. The Dhullā plate of Śrī-Candra. This plate has not yet been published. Mr. N. G. Majumdar published a preliminary account of the plate in his *Inscriptions of Bengal*, vol. iii, pp. 165–6, from notes supplied by myself. The plate is now in the Dacca Museum. The land granted lay in the Ballīmuṇḍā *Khaṇḍala* of Khadiravillī *Viṣaya* in Pauṇḍra *Bhukti* as well as in Yolā *Maṇḍala* of Ikkaḍāsī *Viṣaya.* The villages in the Ballīmuṇḍā *Khaṇḍala* were Loṇiyājoḍā, Tivaravillī, and Durbbāpatrā; and villages under the Yolā *Maṇḍala* were Pakkaḍimuṇḍā and Bahupatrā. Of these names, Khadiravillī, Tivaravillī, Ballīmuṇḍā, and Ikkaḍasī can be

easily recognized in the villages of the locality known respectively as Khallī, Tillī, Balliśuḍā, and Ekāśī. They are situated on the north of the Dhaleśvarī River in the Mānikgañj subdivision of Dacca district. The position of Tillī and Balliśuḍā are shown on Map No. 9 of Rennell's Bengal Atlas. This plate proves that the whole of the north-western part of Dacca district was in Pauṇḍra *Bhukti.* The famous jungles of Madhupur begin not far north of this area, and the Gajāḍī forest of Bhāwāl, which is a prominent feature of the central part of the northern portion of Dacca district, begins close towards the east of this area. The Madhupur and the Bhāwāl jungles are practically bounded on the east by the Lauhitya or the Brahmaputra River. Thus it may be assumed that in this area also, Pauṇḍra *Bhukti* had the Brahmaputra as its eastern boundary.

5. The Idilpur plate of Keśava Sena. Grants the village of Talāpāḍā in the Vikrampur division of Vaṅga in the Pauṇḍravardhana *Bhukti.* Vikrampur is still a well-known *parganā,* occupying at present the south-eastern corner of Dacca district and the north-eastern corner of Farīdpur district. It is bounded on the east by the Meghna, the lower course of the ancient Brahmaputra River, which runs down to the Bay of Bengal. In this region also, therefore, the Brahmaputra was the eastern boundary of Pauṇḍravardhana *Bhukti.*

The eastern boundary of Pauṇḍravardhana *Bhukti* can be now laid down with a fair amount of precision. The northernmost part of the line was formed by the Karatoyā River. The line is to be shifted to the Brahmaputra about the latitude of Ghorāghāṭ. From this point the eastern boundary is formed by the Brahmaputra River down to the sea.

The northern boundary of the *Bhukti* was formed by the Himālayas. On the south was the sea. There is no dispute over these facts. In fixing on the western boundary, we have to discuss and sift a mass of materials.

The Bhāgalpur plate of Nārāyaṇa Pāla grants villages in Tīra *Bhukti*. The Mungir and the Nālandā plates of Devapāla grant villages under Śrīnagara *Bhukti*. These two *Bhuktis* are undoubtedly modern Tirhoot and South Bihar respectively. South Bihar is only very slightly connected with Bengal by the passes on the right bank of the Ganges; and the pass of Teliāghari, which has always been regarded as the gate of Bengal, may be fixed upon as the boundary-post between the two provinces. The boundary between Tīra *Bhukti* and Pauṇḍravardhana *Bhukti* on the north of the Ganges is more difficult to determine. The following points should clarify the issue.

(i) The Kauśikī, modern Kosi river, is always regarded by the inhabitants of Tirhoot as forming the eastern boundary of their country, as the following couplet of Chaṇḍā Jhā (a modern poet of Mithilā, who died in B.S. 1316 = A.D. 1910) would show :—

" Gaṇgā Bahathi Janika Dakṣiṇadiśi Pūrvva Kauśikīdhārā |
Paścima Bahathi Gaṇḍakī Uttara Himavat Valavistārā || "[1]

Translation :—

" (Mithilā is that country) on whose south flows the Ganges, on the east the waters of the Kauśikī, on whose west flows the Gaṇḍakī, and on whose north the Himālayas spread in might."

(ii) The late Mr. Manomohana Cakravartī also gives the same boundary for Mithilā (" History of Mithilā during the pre-Mughal Period ", *JASB.*, 1915, pp. 407–8).

(iii) Dr. Francis Buchanan, writing about 1807, observes :— " It must, however, be observed that the Kosi is more usually alleged to have formerly been the boundary (between north Bengal and Mithilā)," Martin's *Eastern India*, vol. iii, p. 37.

(iv) If to this is added the probability of the Vyāghrataṭī *Maṇḍala*, included in Pauṇḍravardhana *Bhukti*, lying in the district of Purneā, it will be clear that the Kosi is to be regarded as the boundary between Tīra *Bhukti* and Pauṇḍravardhana *Bhukti*. As we know from the Naihāṭi plate of Ballāla Sena that the village of Bāllahiṭṭā near Kāṭwā, about 6 miles west from the bank of the Bhāgīrathī River, was included in Vardhamāna *Bhukti*, it is not difficult to determine the lower course of the western boundary of Pauṇḍravardhana *Bhukti* by a glance at the map of Bengal. From the junction of the Kosi with the Ganges to the point at which the Bhāgīrathī separates from the latter river, the Ganges was the boundary; and then the whole course of the Bhāgīrathī River down to the sea. But fortunately I have succeeded in discovering surer proofs than mere plausible conjecture, and I detail them below.

---

[1] *Vidyāpatir Padāvali*, ed. Mr. Nagendranāth Gupta and published by the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat of Calcutta, Introd., p. 1.

6. The Barrackpur plate of Vijaya Sena. The land granted by this plate is described as follows :—

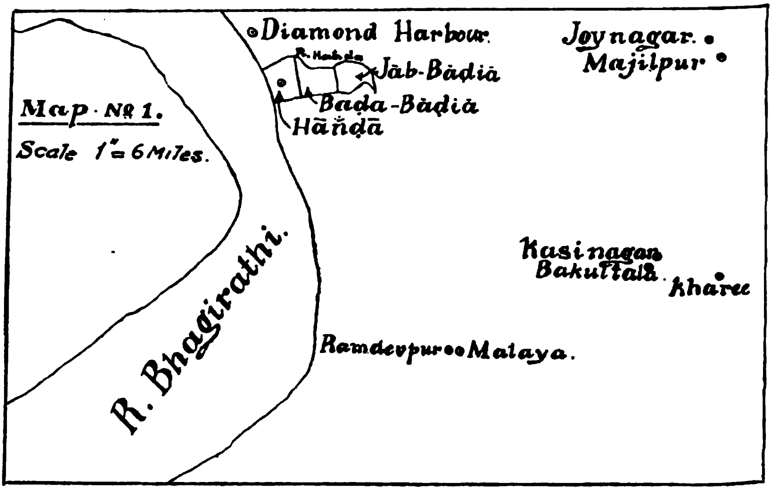
Pauṇḍravardhana-Bhukty=antaḥpāti-Khāḍī-Viṣaye Ghāsa-sambhoga - Bhāṭṭa - Vaḍā-Grame Tikṣahaṇḍa - jalārdhasīmā Dakṣiṇa - paścimottarataḥ yathāprasiddha - catuḥsīmāvacchinnā Samataṭīya-nalena Pāṭaka-catuṣṭaya.

This plate was first published by the late Mr. R. D. Banerji in the fifteenth volume of the *Epigraphia Indica*. He made out the name of the village granted as " Ghāsa-sambhoga-bhāṭṭa-Vaḍā ". Mr. N. G. Banerji, in his excellent work *Inscriptions of Bengal*, vol. iii, accepts the same expression as the name of the village. From a footnote, however, it would appear that he had his doubts as to whether this was the real name of the village. In fact, it is only common sense that no Bengal village can have such an uncouth and long name. The word *Bhāṭa* is explained in the Sanskrit dictionaries as " hire " or " rent ". The word on the plate is undoubtedly *Bhāṭṭa*. If we take *Bhāṭṭa* to be an adjective from *Bhāṭa*, we can easily explain the expression " Ghāsa-Sambhoga-Bhāṭṭa-Vaḍā ", which has been taken as the name of the village granted. The place was marshy, and grass or fodder was its chief produce. This grass or fodder fetched rent, and that was the chief source of income from the village.

The village itself was called Vaḍā, and, as its chief income was from fodder, the village obtained the epithet of Ghāsa-sambhoga-bhāṭṭa.

This village was situated in the *Viṣaya* of Khāḍī. Fortunately, Khāḍī is still a well-known place situated in the Diamond Harbour subdivision of the 24 Parganas district.

The *parganā* around the village of Khāḍī is still known as *Khāḍī parganā*. The situation of Khāḍī may be observed on the accompanying map, No. 1, copied from Sheet No. 121 of the Sheet Atlas of India, published by the Survey of India Department in 1863 and corrected up to 1905. On this map the situation of Khāḍī *parganā* is indicated to the north, east, and south of the village of Khāḍī in big letters—KHAREE. I began my search for the village of Vaḍā with the conviction that it will not be very far from Khāḍī and that the name Tikṣahaṇḍa may have been changed to some such form as Tik-hāḍā. It will be seen later that many of the villages named in the Naihāṭī plate of Ballāla Sena still exist with names unchanged or very slightly changed. The same is the case with the villages mentioned in the plate


Map No 1.
Scale 1" = 6 Miles.
Diamond Harbour.
Jāb-Bāḍiā
Bāḍa-Bāḍiā
Hāṅḍā
Joynagar.
Majilpur
R. Bhagirathi.
Kasinagar
Bakultala.
Kharee
Ramdevpur
Malaya.

of Śrī-Candra, No. 4 above, of our list. From these cases, a conviction has grown in me that most of the villages mentioned in the Bengal plates will be found, if searched on proper detailed maps. In the present case, the knowledge of the position of Khāḍī was an indicator, and a little search around it was sufficient for finding out Vaḍā and Hāḍā. On that self-same sheet No. 121, about 16 miles north-west from Khāḍī, the village " Hārā " is marked on the eastern bank of the Bhāgīrathī River. A rivulet also called Hārā is shown on the map as rising from the Bhāgīrathī and flowing by the north of the village eastwards. I wrote to the District Magistrate of the 24 Parganas for the correct spelling of the name which appears as " Hārā " on the map. The Subdivisional officer of the Diamond Harbour Subdivision, in his letter No. 4374–2M–23, dated the 16th September, 1931, informed me that the place was locally known as Hāṅḍā. This village is only 2 miles south of the Subdivisional town of Diamond Harbour and is under the Police Station of Kulpi. At my request the District Magistrate of the 24 Parganas was pleased to forward for my use a copy of 1 inch = 1 mile map of the Kulpi P.S. On this map I saw that Mauza No. 3 east of Hāṅḍā is called Baḍa-Vāḍiā, and east of Baḍa-Vāḍiā again is Jāb-Vāḍiā. The village of Jāb-Vāḍiā is bounded on the north, east, and south by the Hānḍā rivulet, exactly as the village of Vaḍā is described to be, in the Barrackpur plate. The conclusion is irresistible that modern Jāb-Vāḍiā is identical with Vaḍā of the Barrackpur plate. *Jab* means " fodder " in Bengali, and it appears to be very probable that the expression " Ghāsa-sambhoga-bhāṭṭa-Vaḍā " is only the Sanskritized form of the name Jāb-Vāḍiā. Of the name Tikṣa-Haṇḍa, only Haṇḍa is preserved in Hānḍā, the name of a village west of Jāb-Vāḍiā, as well as in the name of the rivulet which forms the boundary of Jāb-Vāḍiā on three sides.

7. The Bakultalā plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena. For various details regarding this plate, the reader is referred to Mr. Majumdar's *Inscriptions of Bengal*, vol. iii, pp. 169–173.

This plate was found by the late Haridās Datta, Zamindar of Majilpur at Bakultalā, a *Mauzā*[1] south of the *Mauzā* of Kāśinagar. The situation of the villages Kāśinagar, Bakultalā, Majilpur, Khāḍī, etc., will be clear from Map No. 1. Mr. Majumdar calls this plate the Sundarban plate; but it is also known as the Jaynagar or the Majilpur plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena. But its correct designation ought to be " The Bakultalā plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena " from its actual find-place.[2] Bakultalā is only 2 miles west from Khāḍī. The land granted by this plate is described as follows :—

Pauṇḍravardhana - Bhukty = antaḥpāti - Khāḍī - Maṇḍale Kāntallapura - Caturake Pūrvve Śānty = āgārika - Prabhāsa-Śāsana-Sīmā Dakṣiṇe Citāḍi-Khātārdha-Sīmā Paścime Śānty= āgārika - Rāmadeva - Śāsana - Pūrvvapārśvaḥ Sīmā Uttare Śānty = āgārika - Viṣṇupāṇi - Gaḍolī - Keśava - Gaḍolī - Bhūmi-Sīmā . . . Maṇḍala-grāmīya kiyān=api Bhūbhāgaḥ . . .

The search for the present locality of the village of Maṇḍala granted by this plate was conducted by me in the year 1915. The District Magistrate of the 24 Parganas very kindly sent me 1 inch = 1 mile maps of the locality, and I was soon able to locate the village. It was named on the map as " Māleyā ". It is situated exactly 9 miles west (slightly south) from Khāḍī and its correct name is Malayā. The Śāsana or grant of Rāmadeva lay to its west, exactly as described in the Bakultalā grant, and fortunately it still goes by the name of Rāmadevapur. The Citāḍi channel mentioned in the plate as forming a boundary of the village of Maṇḍala was shown on the map as Cātuā River. A branch of the Cātuā River is shown on the map as proceeding towards the southern part of the village of Malayā; but on the map it stops abruptly without actually reaching the village.

---

[1] *Mauzā* is practically a synonym for " village ". It denotes a revenue unit and sometimes consists of more than one village.

[2] Another plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena found in Dinajpur district goes by the name of Tarpandīghī plate. The plate was found from a tank adjacent to the mile long tank at TAPAN in the Bālurghāṭ Subdivision of the district, and its correct designation should be the Tapandighi plate.

The discovery of "Śānty=āgārika-Rāmadeva-Śāsana" (i.e. the village granted to Rāmadeva, the Brahmin in charge of the house where propitiatory ceremonies were performed), modern Rāmdevpur, west of Malayā, probably settles the situation of the village granted by an earlier plate. In the Belāva plate of Bhojavarmman, the land granted is described as follows :—

"Pauṇḍra - Bhukty = antaḥpāti - Adhaḥpattana - Maṇḍale Kauśāmbī-Aṣṭagaccha-Khaṇḍala-saṁ Upyalikā-grāme . . ."

The name of the grantee is "Śānty=āgārādhikṛta-Śrī Rāmadeva-Śarmman".

The Belāva plate is of the fifth year of Bhojavarmman and is thus dated *circa* A.D. 1095. The Bakultalā plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena is most probably of his second year. Scholars are now practically unanimous as to the period of the reign of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, and the year of his accession has been ascertained by Mr. Cintāharaṇ Cakravartī as A.D. 1178 (*Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. iii, p. 189). The date of the Bakultalā plate would, therefore, be A.D. 1180. So, the Belāva plate is removed from the Bakultalā plate by about ninety years. The assemblage of the grants of many *Śāntyāgārikas* round Malayā itself, also granted to a *Śāntyāgārika*, would show that the locality was made a regular colony of the *Śāntyāgārikas*. And *Śāntyāgārika* Rāmadeva, who received a grant of the village situated on the west of Malayā, undoubtedly flourished before the grantee of Malayā itself. It is not impossible that there should be, during the intervening ninety years, more than one Rāmadeva and all of them *Śāntyāgārikas* by profession. But it is not very probable. The probability is that the *Śāntyāgārika* Rāmadeva whose grant is found to form the western boundary of the grant of the Bakultalā plate is the grantee of the Belāva plate. The grant of the Bakultalā plate was in Khāḍī-*Maṇḍala*, whereas the grant of the Belāva plate was in Adhaḥpattana-*Maṇḍala*. This apparent anomaly is, however, no real bar to the identification. Khāḍī-*Maṇḍala* means a *maṇḍala* full of depressions, as the vernacular (non-Sanskritic) word *Khāḍī* means "a channel", a depression. *Adhaḥpattana* means the same thing and is probably only a Sanskritized form of *Khāḍī*. The smaller division was called "Kauśāmbī-Aṣṭagaccha-Khaṇḍala" during the rule of the Varmmas. In the revised survey and settlement during the Sena rule, the division appears to have been renamed "Kāntallapura *Caturaka*". The village immediately west of the village of Rāmdevpur is called Kāutalā, and to its south lies Daḍi-Kāutalā. This appears to be the Kāntallapura of the Bakultalā plate. The nature of the land-divisions called *Caturakas* will be discussed later on.

If the Adhaḥpattana *Maṇḍala* of the Belāva plate and the Khāḍī *Maṇḍala* of the Barrackpur and the Bakultalā plates be identical, a welcome idea of the extent of the kingdom of the Varmmas is gained from this identification. It appears to have been bounded on the east, north, and west by the Meghnā, the Ganges, and the Bhāgīrathī respectively. The late Mr. R. D. Banerji identified Kauśāmbī of the Belāva plate with Kusumbā in Rājśāhī district (*JASB.*, N.S., vol. x, p. 125). Mr. Majumdar, in his *Inscriptions of Bengal*, vol. iii, p. 19, simply quotes from Mr. Banerji in determining the site of Kauśāmbī. But it can be said with some emphasis that this place cannot be in the district of Rājśāhī, i.e. within the ancient Varendrī land, which must have been under the sway of the Pālas, probably of Rāma Pāla or his son Madana Pāla at this time. Rāma Pāla was rather powerful during this period, having successfully put down the rebellion of the Kaivarttas and recovered his kingdom. In the *Rāmacarita* the Varmmas of the east are represented as having propitiated Rāma Pāla by presents of chariots and elephants. It is not probable that Bhojavarmman, during the wane of the power of the family, would be powerful enough to hold land north of the Ganges and grant land to a Brahmin in Varendrī, the homeland of the Pālas.

The position of Rāmdevpur, Malayā, Khāḍī, Jāb-Vāḍiā, and Hāṅḍā, and their inclusion in the ancient Division of Pauṇḍravardhana *Bhukti*, makes one thing clear. The Bhāgīrathī, or the Hoogli River, has not changed its course, at least from the time of the Varmmas. If the Ādi-Gaṅgā channel, at present known as Tolly's Nullah, had ever been the main channel of the Bhāgīrathī, this must have been even before the period of the Varmmas, i.e. roughly before A.D. 1025. The villages of Jāb-Vāḍiā, Baḍa-Vāḍiā, and Hāṅḍā lie close together and Hāṅḍā still stands on the Bhāgīrathī. In discussing the Govindapur plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena later on, it will be found that it mentions Vetaḍḍa *Caturaka* in Vardhamāna *Bhukti* and says that the Bhāgīrathī flowed on its east. Vetaḍ still stands on the Bhāgīrathī and is a part of the town of Howrah. The position of Vetaḍ and Hāṅḍā leaves no room for doubt on the point that the Bhāgīrathī has not changed its course, at least for the last 900 years. The bank of the Bhāgīrathī is only 4 miles west from Rāmdevpur and only 2 miles from Jāb-Vāḍiā. From the acceptance by the Brahmins of grants of land in this marshy and thinly populated area on the verge of the Sundarbans, it would appear that it was only the desire to be as near the Ganges as possible that was responsible for planting so many colonies of Brahmins in this rather uninviting locality.

In the situation of Jāb-Vāḍiā, Malayā, Khāḍī, and Rāmdevpur on the eastern side of the Bhāgīrathī and in Pauṇḍravardhana *Bhukti* and in that of Vāllahiṭṭā and Vetaḍ on the western side of the Bhāgīrathī and in Vardhamāna *Bhukti*—the latter standing on the western bank itself, we have now archæological evidence that the entire course of the Bhāgīrathī formed the boundary between Pauṇḍravardhana and Vardhamāna *Bhuktis*.

THE BOUNDARIES OF VARDHAMĀNA BHUKTI

Above I have attempted to determine more or less exactly the boundaries of Pauṇḍravardhana *Bhukti*. Let us now make the same attempt with regard to Vardhamāna *Bhukti*.

1. The Naihāṭi plate of Ballāla Sena. The existence of the *Bhukti* of Vardhamāna was first brought to light from this plate. The description of the land granted by this plate is as follows :—

Śrī-Vardhamāna-Bhukty=antaḥpātiny=uttara-Rāḍhā-Maṇḍale svalpa-dakṣiṇavīthyāṁ . . . evaṁ catuḥsīmā=vacchinnaḥ Vāllahiṭṭhā-grāmaḥ . . .

The plate was first seriously edited by Mr. Tārakcandra Rāya in the *Journal of the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat of Calcutta*, vol. xvii, B.S. 1317. Mr. Rāya succeeded in identifying Vāllahiṭṭhā, the village granted, as well as the villages of Jalaśothī, Khāṇḍayillā, Āmbayillā, and Molāḍandi, mentioned in the plate as forming boundaries of Vāllahiṭṭhā. The names are found unchanged or very slightly changed. They are modern Vāluṭiyā, Jalaśothī, Khāḍuliyā, Ambal, and Murundi respectively. I should gratefully mention here that it was this achievement of Mr. Rāya which opened my eyes to the possibilities of a search, on sufficiently detailed maps, for the villages mentioned in the copper-plate inscriptions found in Bengal.

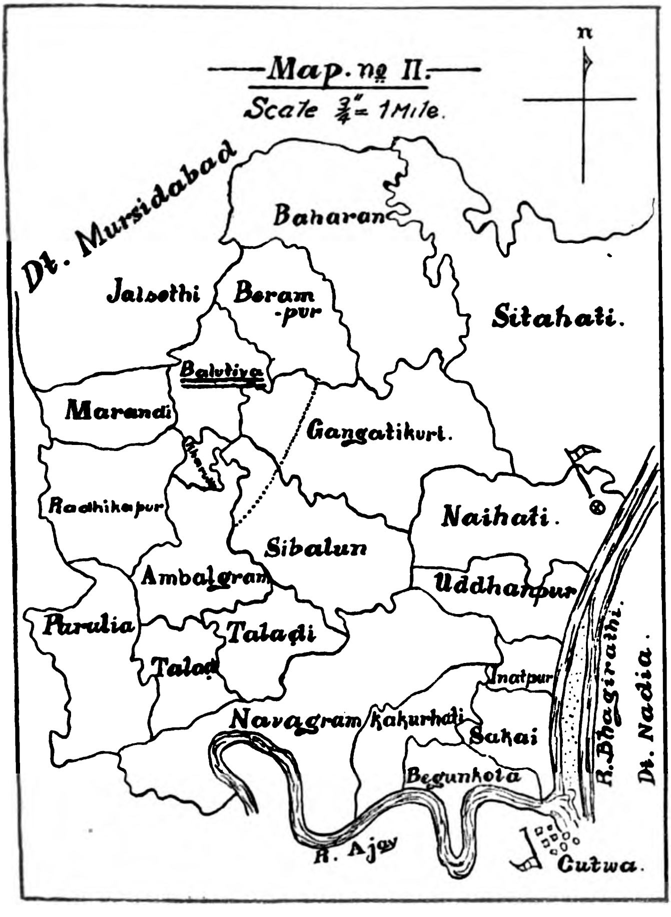
The accompanying map, No. II, is copied from the map published by Mr. Rāya with his article. The position of Vāluṭiyā, the village granted by the Naihāṭi plate, will be clear from this map. It will be found that it lies on the border of Burdwan and Murśidābād districts, about 5 miles west from the western bank of the Bhāgīrathī.

2. The Govindapur plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena. This plate was discovered at Govindapur near Baruipur in the 24 Parganas. The land granted by this plate is described as follows :—

Vardhamāna-Bhukty=antaḥpāti-Paścima-Khāṭikāyāṁ Vetaḍḍa-Caturake Pūrvve Jāhnavī-sravantī-ardha-sīma. Dakṣiṇe Leṅghadeva-Maṇḍapī-sīmā. Paścime Ḍālimba-kṣetra-sīmā. Uttare Dharmmanagara-sīmā. Itthaṁ catuḥsīmā=vacchinno . . . Viḍḍāra-śāsanaḥ . . .

From the mention of the flowing Jāhnavī on the east and from the fact that Vetaḍ is a rather known place on the bank of the Bhāgīrathī, the identification of the locality of the land granted was not very difficult.

From this plate, which grants land in Vardhamāna *Bhukti* situated on the western bank of the Bhāgīrathī, and from the Barrackpur plate of Vijaya Sena, which grants land in Pauṇḍravardhana *Bhukti* situated on the eastern bank of the Bhāgīrathī, supported by the Naihāṭī plate of Ballāla Sena, which grants land in Vardhamāna *Bhukti* situated only 5 miles

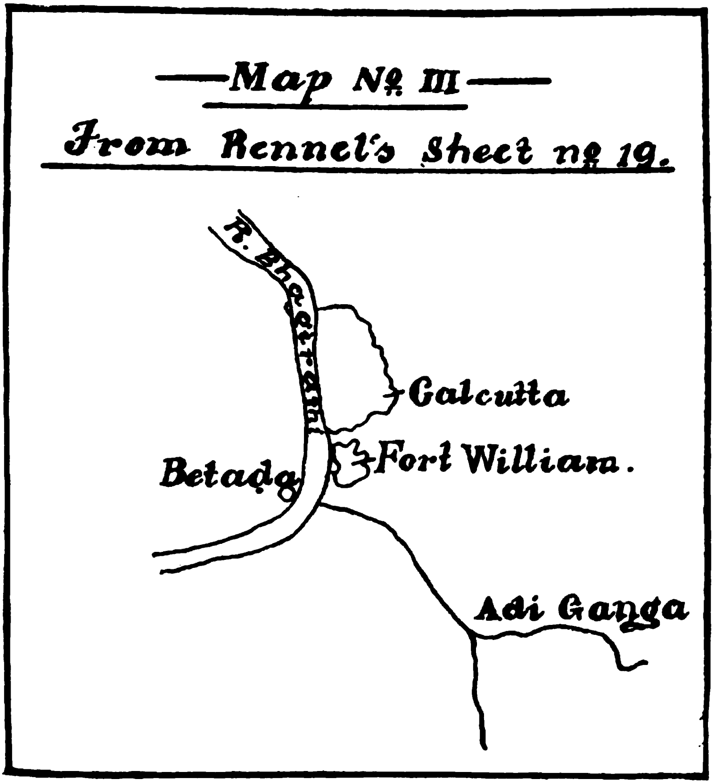

Map. no II.
Scale 3/4" = 1 Mile.
n
Dt. Mursidabad
Baharan
Jalsothi
Beram -pur
Sitahati.
Balutiya
Marandi
Gangatikuri.
Radhikapur
Naihati.
Sibalun
Ambalgram
Uddhanpur
Purulia
Taladi
Talod
Inatpur
Navagram
Kakurhati
Sakai
Begunkota
R. Bhagirathi.
Dt. Nadia.
R. Ajay
Cutwa.

west from the western bank of the Bhāgīrathī, it is clear beyond dispute that the Bhāgīrathī was regarded as the boundary between the two *Bhuktis*.

The situation of Vetaḍ requires a little clearing up. Mr. Majumdar, in his *Inscriptions of Bengal*, vol. iii, p. 94, only says: "Vetaḍ in the Howrah district," and then in a footnote refers to Mr. R. D. Banerji's *Vāṅglār Itihās*, p. 335. What Mr. Banerji says there, however, does not make the situation of Vetaḍ in Howrah district clear.

The District *Gazetteer* of Howrah, edited and compiled by Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley and Mr. Manomohana Cakravartī, on pp. 19, 20, 23, 151, 152 (1909 edition), has much information regarding Vetaḍ. The following summary will do for our purpose. In a poem on the cult of Manasā, composed by Bipradāsa in A.D. 1495, the village Vetaḍ and its presiding deity Vetāi Caṇḍī are mentioned. In A.D. 1578, in the reign of Akbar, the Venetian traveller Cesare Federici arrived at Vetaḍ, and he has left a description of the periodical marts that sprang up at Vetaḍ on the arrival of a foreign vessel. In 1714–15 the East India Company applied to Farrukh Siyar for the lease of five villages near Howrah and Vetaḍ was one of them. The position of Vetaḍ may be seen on Map No. 19 of Rennell's Bengal Atlas (1783). It will be seen there that Vetaḍ stood on the western bank of the Bhāgīrathī, right opposite the point on the eastern bank from which the Ādi Gaṅgā, or Tolly's Nullah, starts. The accompanying map, No. III, will make the position clear. Vetaḍ is now a part of the town of Howrah. The land from modern Śālimār to the bounds of Śibpur Engineering College on the south is the site of ancient Vetaḍ. The rise of the town of Howrah is likely to have obliterated the other villages named in the Govindapur plate.

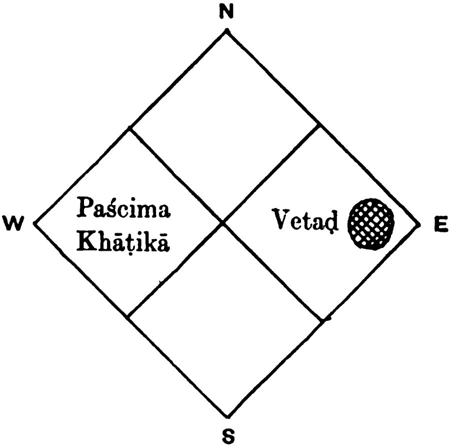
The mention of the situation of the land granted as the Paścima-*Khāṭikā* of the Vetaḍḍa *Caturaka*, clears up the nature of the *Caturakas* and *Khāṭikās* of the Land Survey of the Sena period. The *Caturakas*, as the name implies, were probably square areas, with the four corners pointing to the four cardinal points. Each *Caturaka* was named after a notable village in the area and was subdivided into four smaller squares, called *Khāṭikās*, meaning "beds", each receiving the name of north, east, south, or west *Khāṭikā* as the direction occupied by it. The accompanying sketch (p. 62) will make this clear.


—Map No. III—
From Rennel's Sheet no 19.
R. Bhagirathi
Calcutta
Fort William.
Betaḍ
Adi Ganga

Another survey-term is sometimes found on the plates of the period, viz. *vīthī*. It means a "row". This would imply that the whole country was marked by straight lines into rows, within which were ranged the *Caturakas*.

The position of Vetaḍ and Vāluṭiyā, both included in

Vardhamāna *Bhukti,* not only determines the Bhāgīrathī as the eastern boundary of Vardhamāna *Bhukti* but also serves to give us some idea as to the extent of the *Bhukti.* Vardhamāna *Bhukti* appears to have been practically identical with the old division of Rāḍhā ; but it will be found later on that the whole of Rāḍhā was not included in it. The determination of the northern, western, and the southern boundary of Vardhamāna *Bhukti* cannot be attempted until we have some idea of the limits of the new *Bhukti* of Kaṅkagrāma, brought to light by the Śaktipur grant of Lakṣmaṇa Sena.



Vetaḍḍa *Caturaka.*

THE BOUNDARIES OF KAṄKAGRĀMA BHUKTI

It is necessary to quote here the topographical portions of this new grant. My improvements on Mr. Basu's reading are printed in small capital letters.

Line 26. Śrī-Madhugiri-maṇḍalā=vacchinna-Kumbhīnagara-

Line 27. prativaddha-Kaṅkagrāma-Bhukty=antaḥpāti-dakṣiṇavīthyām=uttara-RĀḌHĀYĀṀ Kumārapura-Caturake pūrvve Apa-

Line 28. rā-Jolī-sameta-Mālikuṇḍa-parisara-bhūḥsīmā dakṣiṇe VIṢṆUsthalīya-Bhāgaḍī-khaṇḍakṣetraṁ sīmā

Line 29. Paścime Acchamā-gopathaḥ sīmā uttare MORA-nadī sīmā itthaṁ catuḥsīmā=vacchinnaḥ ṣaṭtriṁsaD=BHŪdroṇātmakaḥ

Line 30. sambatsareṇa sā=rddhaśatadvayotpattikaḥ Vārahakoṇā-Vāllihita-NIMĀ-pāṭaka-sambandhi-bhūdro-

Line 31. -ṇa-catuṣṭayopeta-pāṭaka-dvaya-sameta-Rāghavahaṭṭa Pāṭakas=tathācaturake pūrvve Cākaliyā-Jo-

Line 32. lī sīma dakṣiṇe Bṛpravaddhā-Jolī sīmā paścime Lāṅgala-Jolī sīmā uttare Parajāṇa-

Line 33. gopathaḥ sīmā itthaṁ catuḥsīmā=vacchinnas=tripañcaśad=bhūdroṇātmakaḥ sambatsareṇa s=ārdha-śa-

Line 34. tadvayotpattiko DĀmaravaḍā-sameta-Vijahārapurapāṭakaḥ evam=etadva [d=dva]ya-vilikhita-

Line 35. nāma-sīmaṁ bhūsīmādy=avacchinnaṁ Deva-Brāhmaṇādi - bhūbahiḥ gopathādyabhū - vāstubhū - sahitaṁ vṛṣabha-śa-

Line 36. -ṅkara-nalena ūnanavati-bhūdroṇātmakaṁ sambatsareṇa pañcaśatotpattikaṁ Rāghavahaṭṭa-Vāraha-

Line 37. -koṇā-Nimā=vasthita-khaṇḍa-kṣetra-bhūdroṇa-catuṣṭayā=tmaka-Vāllihitā-pāṭaka-Dāmaravaḍā-

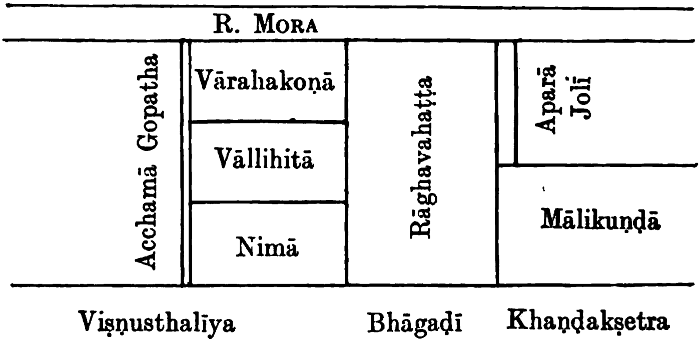
Line 38. -pāṭaka-sameta-Vijahārapura-pāṭakam=etat ṣaṭ-pāṭakaṁ . . .

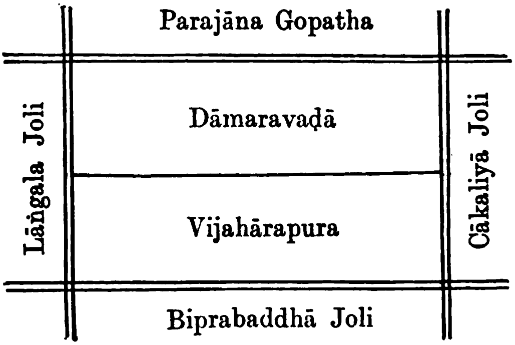
Let us now attempt to have a clear understanding of the topographical situation of the plots and villages referred to in the plate.

The villages were situated in the southern Vīthī or row of the *Bhukti* of KĀṄKAGRĀMA. This would signify that their situation is to be regarded as the southern latitude of this new *Bhukti*. KUMBHĪNAGARA appears to be the name of the *Viṣaya*, while MADHUGIRI and KUMĀRAPURA are expressly stated to have been the *Maṇḍala* and the *Caturaka* respectively. The land granted was in two plots of the total area of 89 *Droṇas*. The first plot measured 36 *Droṇas*, the second plot 53 *Droṇas*. The following two sketches will make their topography clear.

The fact that both the plots were in the same *Caturaka* shows that the two plots were not very far from each other.

The name Kaṅkagrāma for a *Bhukti* sounds suspicious. We have seen above that Pauṇḍravardhana *Bhukti* formed about two-thirds of the present area of Bengal. It is natural to expect only one *Bhukti* in the remaining one-third of Bengal. After accommodating Vardhamāna *Bhukti* in that area, there is hardly space enough for any other *Bhukti*. The words *Kaṅkagrāma* and *Vardhamāna* are very much alike in the script of those days and may easily have been confused. The suffix *grāma* in the name of a *Bhukti* also sounds somewhat strange. But, as far as can be judged from the illustration published with Mr. Basu's article, the reading


R. Mora
Acchamā Gopatha
Vārahakoṇā
Vāllihitā
Nimā
Rāghavahaṭṭa
Aparā Joli
Mālikuṇḍā
Viṣṇusthalīya
Bhāgaḍī
Khaṇḍakṣetra


Parajāna Gopatha
Lāṅgala Joli
Dāmaravaḍā
Vijahārapura
Cākaliyā Joli
Biprabaddhā Joli

Kaṅkagrāma appears to be right. In that case it must be assumed that political considerations arising out of apprehensions of foreign invasion from this side were instrumental in reducing the size of the *Bhuktis* of Bengal on its western side. It will be seen later that another *Bhukti*, called Daṇḍa *Bhukti*, has also to be accommodated in this portion of Bengal, west of the Bhāgīrathī. It is mentioned along with the Southern and the Northern Rāḍhā in the famous Tirumalai Inscription of Rājendra Cola. The situation of Daṇḍa *Bhukti* will be discussed in its proper place.

The term Dakṣiṇavīthī, in line 27 of the plate, requires explanation. *Vīthī* means a " row ", but here it appears to be a technical term in connection with land survey. It would suggest a broad stretch of land between two latitudes and Dakṣiṇavīthī may be translated by " Southern Latitude " or " Southern Row ". But to which particular land-division does it refer here ?

The Śaktipur grant has : Kaṅkagrāma-Bhukty=antaḥpāti-Dakṣiṇavīthyām=Uttara-Raḍhāyāṁ - Kumārapura - Caturake.

This should be translated as follows : " In the *Bhukti* of Kaṅkagrāma, in the Southern Latitude, within the Northern Rāḍhā, under the *Caturaka* of Kumārapura."

The Naihāṭī grant of Ballāla Sena has : Vardhamāna-Bhukty= antaḥpātiny= Uttara - Rāḍhā - maṇḍale. Svalpa - Dakṣiṇa-vīthyām.

This should be translated : " Within the slightly southern latitude of the *maṇḍala* of Uttara-Rāḍhā, included in the *Bhukti* of Vardhamāna."

The latter translation is warranted by the fact that the position of Vāluṭiyā, the village granted by the Naihāṭī plate, is just on the boundary between the present Burdwan and Murśidābād districts. And as Vetaḍ opposite Calcutta was also within the *Bhukti* of Vardhamāna, Vāluṭiyā cannot be in the southern latitude of the Vardhamāna *Bhukti*. The slightly southern latitude must here refer to Uttara-Rāḍhā. That is to say, Vāluṭiyā was almost on the middle line of the particular division called Uttara-Rāḍhā, only slightly south of that line. Thus Uttara-Rāḍhā spread northwards for a considerable distance beyond the village of Vāluṭiyā.

The case is, however, different in regard to the Śaktipur grant. It will be seen later that the latitude of the villages granted by this plate was considerably north of that of Vāluṭiā, the village granted by the Naihāṭī plate. If Vāluṭiā was only a little south of the central line of Uttara-Rāḍhā, the villages of the Śaktipur plate, which lay further north, cannot be in the fully south latitude of the same Uttara-Rāḍhā. Thus Dakṣiṇa-vīthī here denotes the southern latitude not of Uttara-Rāḍhā, but of the new *Bhukti*, Kaṅkagrāma. This helps us to form an idea of the extent of the new *Bhukti*. The villages of the Śaktipur grant were in its southern region, and it spread northwards up to the frontiers of Bihār.

The measurement of the land granted by the Śaktipur plate is somewhat difficult to understand. Leaving out the boundary indications, the first passage, " Ittham . . . Rāghavahaṭṭa-pāṭakah," should be translated as follows :—

Line 29. . . . Thus bounded, consisting of 36 Droṇas.[1]

Lines 30–31. and producing annually two-hundred with half-a-hundred (Kaparddaka-purāṇas),[2] Rāghavahaṭṭa-Pāṭaka, along with the two *Pāṭakas* of Vārahakoṇā and Vāllihitā, as well as the four *Droṇas* of land belonging to Nimā-pāṭaka.

The second passage " Ittham . . . Vijahārapurapāṭaka" should be translated :—

Lines 33–34. Thus bounded and consisting of 53 *Bhū-*

---

[1] The term in the original is *Bhū-droṇa*, meaning that the *Droṇa* here is a measure of area. *Droṇa* was originally a measure of quantity, from *Droṇa* " a wooden bucket ". As much land as could be sown by a *Droṇa*-full of corn came to be known as a *Droṇa* area. Similar was the case with *Āḍhaka* and *Kulya*.

[2] The usual money mentioned in the Sena plates, but omitted here. A *Kaparddaka-purāṇa* was evidently the value of a *purāṇa* counted out in cowri shells, which formed the exclusive currency of Bengal in those days. For further discussion see *infra*.

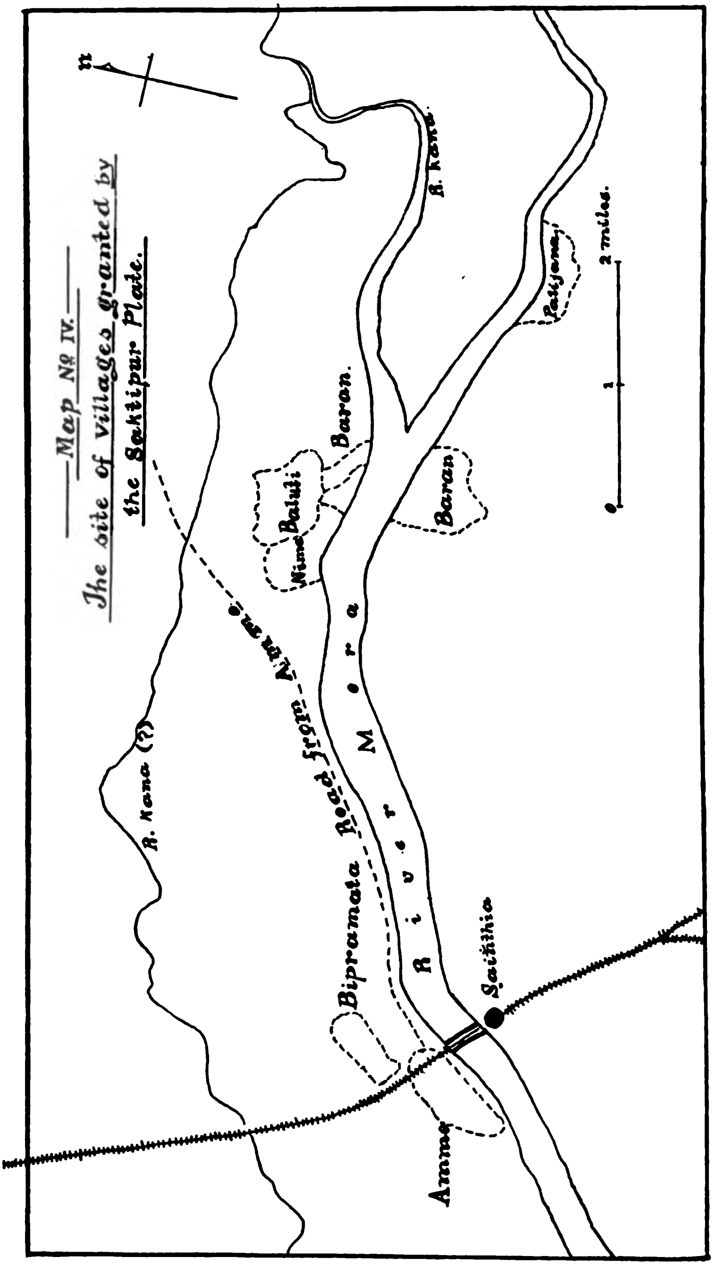
Droṇas and annually producing two-hundred with half-a-hundred (*Kaparddaka-purāṇas*), the *Pāṭaka* of Vijahārapura, with the *Pāṭaka* of Dāmaravadā.

The third passage: "(Vṛṣabha-Śaṅkara-nalena . . . m=etat-Ṣaṭpāṭakam)" should be translated:—

(Lines 35–38.) "The following six *pāṭakas* measuring 89 *Bhū-droṇas* by the measure of the Nala (rod) known as Vṛṣabha-śaṅkara and annually producing five hundred (*Kaparddaka-purāṇas*), viz. the *Pāṭakas* of Rāghava-haṭṭa, Vārahakoṇā, Vāllihitā, and scattered plots to the extent of four *Bhū-Droṇas* in the *pāṭaka* of Nimā and the *pāṭaka* of Vijahārapura along with the *pāṭaka* of Dāmaravaḍā."

The term *pāṭaka* as a distinct measure of land is well-known. The land granted by the Naihāṭī grant of Vallāla Sena measured 7 *Pāṭakas* 9 *Droṇas* 1 *Aḍhaka* 43 *Unmāna* and 3 *Kākinī*. But in the above passages of the *Śaktipur* grant, the word is used in the ordinary sense of a "hamlet". It is, however, now possible to state the 89 *Droṇas* of land, the sum-total of the land in the six hamlets named, in terms of *Pāṭakas* and *Droṇas*, as we now know that 40 *Droṇas* went to form a *Pāṭaka* (*Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1930, p. 52).

Let us now attempt to determine the present site of the villages granted by the Śaktipur plate. The land lay in Uttara-Rāḍhā and on the bank of the Mor River. With these two clues they were not difficult to discover. (Reference should be made to the accompanying map, No. IV.) Sāiṅthiā is a well-known railway station on the south bank of the Mor River in the Bīrbhūm district, on the E.I.R. loop-line, which runs north and south across the district. The villages of Nimā, Bāluti, etc., granted by the Śaktipur plate lie about 4 miles north-east of Sāiṅthiā, on the northern bank of the Mor, and their position has been shown on the map. The name Nimā still remains unchanged. Vāllihitā is Bāluti. (Cf. Vāllahiṭṭā of the Naihāṭi grant of Ballāla Sena, which is at present known as Bāluṭe or Bāluṭiyā.) Vārahakoṇa is probably Bāraṇ. It is noteworthy that the River Mor is

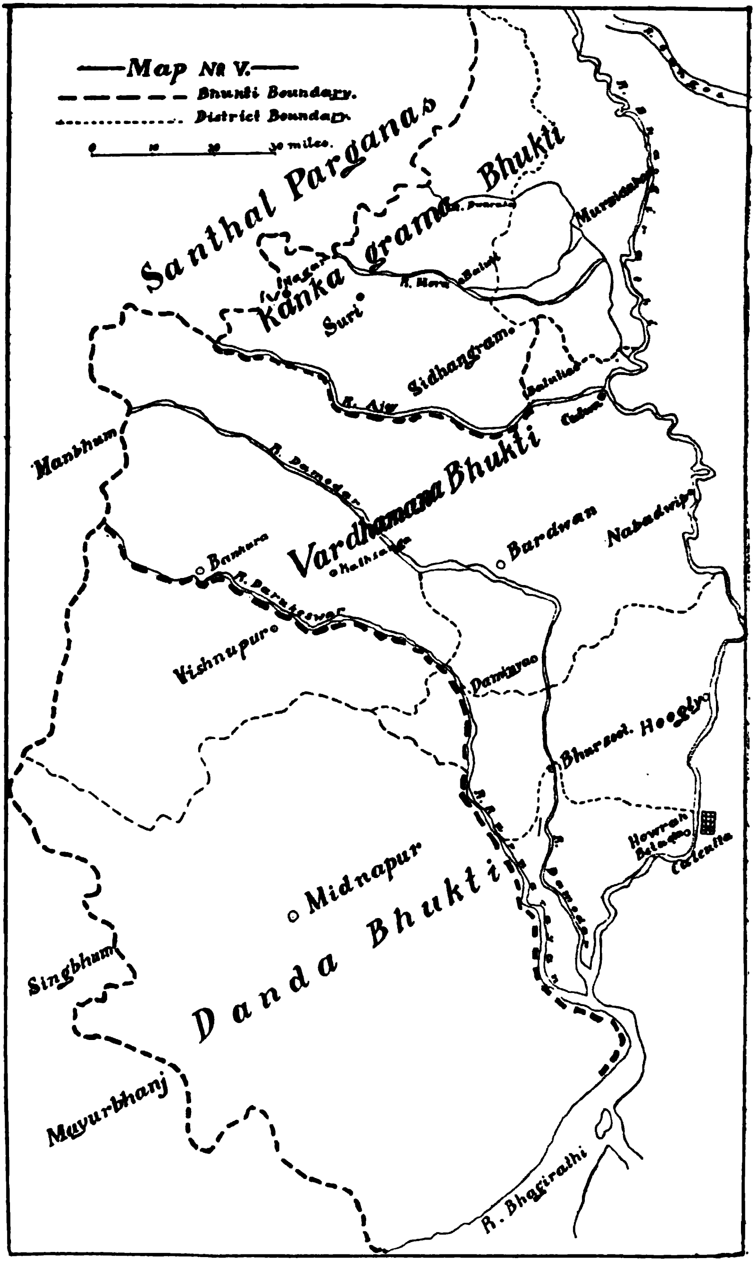

Map No IV.
The site of villages granted by the Saktipur Plate.
n
R. Kana
Patijana
2 miles
0
1
2
Baran.
Baluti
Nima
Baran
Road from Atui
River Mora
R. Kana (?)
Bipramata
Saikithia
Amma

at present to the south of these villages and not to the north as we find in the copper-plate. The village Bāraṇ appears on either bank of the river. A dried-up course can still be traced on the north of the villages of Nimā, Bāluṭi, and Bāraṇ. Five miles east of Sāiṅthiā the River Mor breaks off into two branches, the northern one receiving the name of Kānā Nadī. The dried-up course north of Nimā-Bāluṭi-Bāraṇ joins this Kānā Nadī. There can be little doubt that, when these villages were granted by the Śaktipur plate, the dried-up course north of Nimā-Bāluṭi-Bāraṇ was the current bed of the Mor River. The restlessness of the Mor and its tendency to move off from old beds has been noticed by previous investigators also (*vide* Bīrbhūm *Gazetteer*, pp. 3, 4).

A road comes from Āmmo, skirts the western part of Nīmā-Bāluṭi, and runs north-east. It may be considered whether this is the present-day representative of the Acchamā Gopatha, spoken of in the plate. It is still an unmetalled road.

The change in the course of the Mor River and its shifting to a more southerly course have wrought such havoc on the villages of the locality that it is very fortunate that the villages of Nimā-Bāluṭi-Bāraṇ, i.e. the villages of the first plot granted, are still found intact. The second plot was within the same *Caturaka* and therefore not far from the first plot. But owing to the havoc wrought by the river we are unable to trace any village named in the second plot, except the village of Parajāna mentioned as its northern boundary, which appears to be present Palijāna of the map.

The position of Nimā-Bāluṭi of the Śaktipur grant and of Bāluṭiyā of the Naihāṭī grant should now be studied on the accompanying map, No. V. Bāluṭiyā lay in the Varddhamāna *Bhukti*, whereas Nimā-Bāluṭi lay in the Kaṅkagrāma *Bhukti*. The village of Siddhala, home of the famous Bhabadeva Bhāṭṭa, as well as of the grantee of the Belāva plate, is spoken of in that plate as having also been in Uttara-Rāḍhā and should be sought for in this region. Its identity with Sidhangrām, village No. 377 under the Lābpur P.S. of Bīrbhūm


Map No V.
Bhukti Boundary.
District Boundary.
0 10 20 30 miles.
Santhal Parganas
Kanka grama Bhukti
Nagar
Suri
R. Mor
Murshidabad
Sidhangram
R. Ajy
Cutwa
Manbhum
R. Damodar
Vardhamana Bhukti
Bankura
Bardwan
Nabadwip
R. Darakeswar
Vishnupur
Bhursoot
Hoogly
Howrah
Calcutta
Midnapur
Danda Bhukti
Singbhum
Mayurbhanj
R. Bhagirathi

district, was suggested by Babu Harekṛṣṇa Mukherji (*Bīrbhūmer Vivaraṇa*, pt. ii, p. 234) and may be correct. The villages of Nimā-Bāluṭi, Siddhala and Bāluṭiyā were all within Uttara-Rāḍhā. The distance between Bāluṭiyā and Bāluṭi is only 25 miles, and Sidhan-grām is equidistant from both. Bāluṭi was on the Dakṣiṇa-vīthī of the Kaṅkagrāma *Bhukti*. So this *Bhukti* spread from the region of that village northwards. The River Mor lay on the north of Bāluṭi. So the Mor cannot be the southern boundary of the Kaṇkagrāma *Bhukti*. In seeking for a natural southern boundary for the *Bhukti* of Kaṅkagrāma we have to fix on the River Ajay. The *Bhukti* therefore spread from the northern bank of the Ajay River northwards to the frontiers of Bihār. To the east it appears to have been bounded by the Bhāgīrathī. Thus the *Bhukti* consisted of the entire Bīrbhūm district and that portion of the Murśidābād district which lies west of the Bhāgīrathī. But a portion of the latter area at the south-east corner has to be given over to the Varddhamāna *Bhukti*, just as at present when this portion, which naturally belongs to the Murśidābād district, is all the same apportioned to the Burdwan district. The whole region north of the Ajay appears to have been known as Uttara-Rāḍhā.

THE VARDDHAMĀNA BHUKTI AND THE DAṆḌA BHUKTI

Rājendra Cola, the famous Cola King, led an expedition into Bengal through Orissa in A.D. 1024. His Tirumalai Inscription gives a list of the kings he encountered and the countries he overran (Mr. R. D. Banerji's *Vāṅglār Itihās*, vol. i, p. 247). In this Inscription Daṇḍa *Bhukti* and its king, Dharmmapāla, are mentioned along with Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍhā and Uttara-Rāḍhā, after Orissa. In the *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākara Nandī, this Daṇḍa *Bhukti* and its king, Jayasiṁha, are referred to (ibid., p. 249). It would thus appear that Daṇḍa *Bhukti* was a geographical division between Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍhā and Orissa. Mr. R. D. Banerji has identified Daṇḍa *Bhukti* with the southern part of Midnapur district.

No proof, however, exists as to whether Daṇḍa *Bhukti* is to be identified with the southern part of Midnapur or is to include the whole of Midnapur as well as the southern part of Bānkura district. Only it is a plausible conjecture that the entire Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍhā with a very small portion of Uttara-Rāḍhā formed the Varddhamāna *Bhukti* and south of this area came the Daṇḍa *Bhukti*. But we cannot be precise as to how much of Uttara-Rāḍhā was included in the Varddhamāna *Bhukti*. We have seen above that the river Ajay probably formed the southern boundary of the Kaṅkagrāma *Bhukti* and thus it was practically identical with Uttara-Rāḍhā. In order to attempt a correct allocation of land among these three *Bhuktis* west of the Bhāgīrathī, it is necessary to form a more precise idea of the extent of Uttara-Rāḍhā and Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍhā.

UTTARA-RĀḌHĀ AND DĀKṢIṆĀ-RĀḌHĀ

(*a*) *Facts from the Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*

Minhāj-ud-dīn, the author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, records in his work as follows :—

"The territory of Lakhanāwatī has two wings on either side of the River Gang. The western side they call Rāl and the city of Lakhanor lies on that side ; and the eastern side they call Barind and the city of Diwkot is on that side. From Lakhanāwatī to the gate of the city of Lakhanor on the one side and as far as Diwkot on the other side, he, Sulṭān Ghiyāṣuddīn 'Iwaz, caused an embankment to be constructed extending about ten days' journey, for this reason that in the rainy season the whole of that tract becomes inundated and that route is filled with mud-swamps and morass ; and, if it were not for these dykes, it would be impossible for people to carry out their intentions or reach various structures and inhabited places except by means of boats. From his time, through the construction of those embankments, the route was opened up to the people at large." (Raverty's translation, pp. 584–6.)

The tract called Varendrī (Barind of Minhāj) and the city of Devkot are well known. The present Rājshāhī Division is practically identical with the old division of Varendrī, and the ruins of Devkot, known also as Bāṇgaḍ, lie on the bank of the Punarbhavā River, 18 miles direct south of the present district town of Dinājpur. But the identity of Lakhanor in Rāḍhā has yet to be established. We have to seek for a site in Rāḍhā which should rival the site of Devkot in extent, richness, and antiquity.

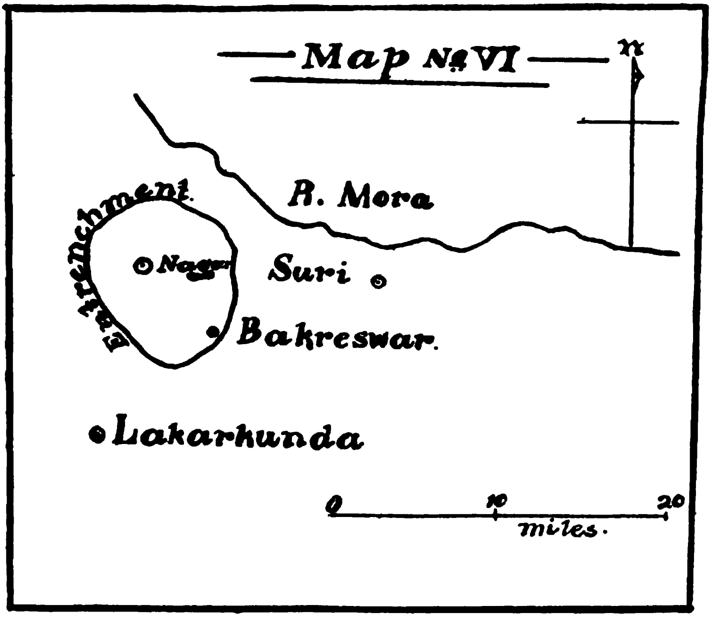
Raverty, in a footnote on Lakhanor, says: "Most of the best copies of the text have Lakhanor, but two of the oldest and best copies have both Lakhanor and Lakhor. . . . I think Stewart was tolerably correct in his supposition that what he called and considered 'Nagore' instead of Lakhanor was situated in or further south even than Bīrbhūm." (Raverty, p. 585, footnote.)

Stewart thus writes in his *History of Bengal*: "He (Ghiyāṣuddīn 'Iwaz) constructed causeways extending on one side to Naghore in Bīrbhūm and on the other side to Deocote, being ten days' journey. . . ." (*History of Bengal*, Bangabashi edition, p. 76.)

In a footnote Stewart quotes from Minhāj-ud-dīn in translation, and, though the translation does not agree with that of Raverty in all places, it says clearly: "From Lucknowty to Naghore (in Bīrbhūm) and on the other side to Deocote, a causeway is formed, the distance of ten days' journey."

Raverty says that in two of his oldest and best copies the name is Lakhor, which Stewart evidently wants to read Naghor. Or, in other words, the question is whether the initial word is to be read as *Nūn* or *Lām*. It is needless to point out to those who know the Arabic alphabet that an elongated *nūn*, or a *nūn* in which the *noktā* (dot) has stuck to the short perpendicular line which forms *nūn*, looks like a *lām* and the two letters are often confused and are very liable to confusion by scribes spelling unfamiliar proper names. I have no doubt that such was the case in spelling the name of this much-sought-for place. Nagar, the old capital and chief town of Bīrbhūm, is still a place of considerable importance, and there is no doubt that it can claim equal antiquity with Lucknauti and Devkot; and undoubtedly, it was the name of this place which was spelt in some copies of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* as Naghor and confused in others as Lakhor and (probably in analogy with Lakhanwati) Lakhanor. I wonder why scholars of the eminence of the late Mr. R. D. Banerji and Mr. Manomohana Cakravarti (*JASB.*, 1908, p. 153; *JASB.*, 1909, pp. 214–15) should have run after a chimerical Lakhanor which never existed, when Nagar is so handy.

The old grandeur of Nagar has long vanished. But the earthen wall round Nagar is shown even on Rennell's Bengal Atlas, Sheet No. 2, of which the annexed map, No. VI, is a copy. Mr. O'Malley, the compiler of the Bīrbhūm *Gazetteer* published by the Bengal Government, says that Stewart's identification of Nagar and Lakhnor is not very satisfactory: "Neither theory is quite satisfactory, as Lakhanor lay in low, marshy country, liable to be flooded, whereas both Nagar and Lakarkund are situated on high, rocky ground, in which an embanked road would not have been necessary." (Bīrbhūm *Gazetteer*, 1911 ed., p. 10.) Mr. Cakravarti also sought for Lakhanor in Murśidābād district on the same ground. I think Mr. O'Malley will be convinced that the so-called Lakhanor cannot be any other place than Nagar, if he re-valuates the case for Nagar. Nagar undoubtedly stands on high, rocky ground; but the road to it from Lucknauti passes for the most part through land liable to inundation. This road is clearly traceable on Rennell's Sheet No. 2, and even at present it is a first-class road of Bīrbhūm district throughout almost the whole of its length. Crossing the Ganges at Suti, a place about 17 miles south of the southern limits of the ruins of Gauḍ or Lucknauti, it practically bisects the Bīrbhūm district from north to south, takes a western turn, crosses the Mor River about 13 miles north-east from Nagar and finally reaches Nagar. The entire length of this road from ancient Lucknauti to Nagar is about 90 miles (the distance from Lucknauti to Devkot is only half of this distance), and, excepting probably the last 13 miles, its entire length from Lucknauti to the River Mor practically formed the boundary of the alluvial soil in the eastern part of the Bīrbhūm district; it was thus liable to flood, when the Ganges and her tributaries, the Bāṅślai, the Brahmāṇī, the Dvārakā, and the Mor were in flood during the rains. The place where this road crosses the Mor is hilly in character and only 13 miles north-east from Nagar. But what the Mor and other rivers in flood sometimes did to even this region may be read in a passage of the Bīrbhūm *Gazetteer* on p. 62. This passage, of course, describes an unusual flood; but conditions similar to this occurred every year during the rains, and the necessity felt by Ghiyāṣuddīn 'Iwaz for an embanked road to connect Lukhnauti with Nagar is thus easily explained.



That the so-called Lakhanor must be identified with the present Nagar is borne out by a casual remark of Minhāj. He says: "From Lucknauti to the *Gate* of the city of Lakhanor . . ." The reference to the *Gate* clearly signifies that the so-called Lakhnor was a walled or entrenched city. This description applies only to Nagar and to no other ancient ruins that we can name in this region, except Viṣṇupur, which cannot be thought of as Lakhanor.

The entrenchments of Nagar were described by Captain Sherwill in his Revenue Survey Report of the Bīrbhūm district, which has been quoted in the Bīrbhūm *Gazetteer*, p. 122. The total length of the entrenchments is about 32 miles, and they are on the average 12 to 14 feet high and have a broad ditch outside.

In Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India Reports*, vol. viii, also, on p. 146, these entrenchments of Nagar are noticed. The following facts may be gathered from this source. The *Parganā* enclosed within the entrenchments is called Haripur. In 1872 the ditch outside the entrenchments was about 7 yards wide and the base of the entrenchments about 27 yards wide.

The entrenchment is supposed to have originated about 1741, when the Marathas suddenly invaded Bengal during the Nawabship of 'Alīvardī Khān. The Maratha raids continued with very little respite for ten years, and Bengal was left in peace only after 'Alīvardī had made peace with them in 1751.

I have not succeeded in finding any record as to when these entrenchments may have been built. But the suddenness of the first raid and the pressing and constantly recurring character of the subsequent raids makes the proposition extremely improbable that such an elaborate defence of the capital with such a stupendous piece of earthwork and fortified gates could have been undertaken by the Muslim Rājā of Bīrbhūm in such disturbed times. Badi'ul-Zamān Khān probably was the Rājā who had to face the Maratha raids. He was undoubtedly a powerful Zamindar; but these stupendous earthworks appear to be too big for the means of a mere semi-independent landholder of means. All these facts point to the conclusion that the entrenchments of Nagar are very much older than they have been supposed to be. There is no reference to the construction of such a remarkable piece of earthwork in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, the only authentic and detailed work for the early days of Muslim rule in Bengal; and the supposition is not improbable that these entrenchments date from the days of Hindu rule. In the Archæological Survey Report they are thus described :—

" The ramparts have a shallow ditch in front, about 20 feet wide now in places, but which once must have been both wider and deeper. The line of ramparts is very irregular—the top has been naturally rounded by the weather." This description hardly applies to a work only about a century and a quarter old at that time (1872), but would apply with greater accuracy to one dating from the Hindu period.

The boundary of the Sānthāl Parganās is only about 2 miles from the present township of Nagar. The Bhāgīrathī River is 60 miles east of Nagar in a straight line. As Nagar was the chief town of the Rāḍhā division of the Muslim Kingdom of " Lakhanāwāti ", we may conclude that Rāḍhā extended from the Sānthāl Parganās to the banks of the Bhāgīrathī. Nagar was undoubtedly included in Uttara-Rāḍhā. For the line of demarcation between Uttara-Rāḍhā and Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍhā we have to seek for independent proofs.

There are facts in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* which would enable us to determine the southern limit of the Rāḍhā division of the early Muslim kingdom of Lukhnauti. In H. 641 = A.D. 1243–4 the King of Jājnagar (i.e. Kaliṅga, which always receives this name from the Muslim historians) began to harass the kingdom of Lukhnauti. In the month of Shawwāl of this year (i.e. in March, A.D. 1244), Malik Tughril-i-Tughān Khān, governor of Lukhnauti, advanced with an army to invade Jājnagar in retaliation. Minhāj-ud-dīn, the author of

Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī, was in this campaign. It may be presumed that, starting from Lucknauti, the Muslim army advanced through Muslim territory by the embanked road constructed by Ghiyāṣuddīn 'Iwaz only about twenty-five years earlier. The encounter with the army of Kaliṅga took place on Saturday, the 6th of Zulqada (i.e. about a month after the Muslim army had started), at Kāṭāsin, the frontier fort of Jājnagar. The invading army crossed two ditches of the fort, and the defending Hindu soldiers retreated. But when, at midday, the Muslim infantry retired to take meal, the Hindus by a flanking movement got at their rear, burst through the cane-bushes, and fell upon the Muslims. The Muslims were severely defeated and Tughril Khān returned discomfited. (Raverty, p. 738.)

If we can identify Kāṭāsin, the frontier fort between the Rāḍhā division of the Muslim kingdom of Lucknauti and the Hindu kingdom of Jājnagar, the boundary between these two kingdoms may be immediately ascertained. But Mr. Raverty allowed his imagination to run amuck in his attempt to identify Kāṭāsin. He identifies Jājnagar, the capital of Kaliṅga, with Jājpur in Cuttack district; but Kāṭāsin he identifies with a place called Kāṭāsingha on the Mahānadī, about 40 miles *west* of Jājpur. He did not stop to consider how the frontier fort between the Rāḍhā division of the not very extensive early Muslim kingdom of Lukhnauti and the Hindu kingdom of Kaliṅga could be placed on the bank of the Mahānadī, practically overstepping the whole of the Kaliṅga kingdom and 40 miles in that direction from the capital of Kaliṅga, which is opposite to the direction in which lay the Rāḍhā division of Lukhnauti. The language in which Raverty proposed this identification and sought to silence Blochmann is simply amazing: "I am surprised to find that there is any difficulty with regard to the identification of Kāṭāsin . . . This place is situated on the northern or left bank of the Mahānadī." (Raverty, p. 588, footnote.)

It is really regrettable that a distinguished scholar and worker in Bengal History like Mr. R. D. Banerji was led astray by this fanciful and impossible identification. Mr. Banerji accepts this identification without question in his *Vāṅglār Itihās* (History of Bengal), vol. xi, p. 55.

Mr. Nagendranāth Basu, in an article in the *Journal of the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat*, vol. xvi, p. 132, footnote, identified Kāṭāsin with Rāibāniā Gaḍ in Midnapur district without any discussion and without adducing any reason whatsoever. Mr. Banerji's voluminous *History of Orissa*, vol. i, p. 264, contains the barest mention of Kāṭāsin and the engagement that took place there.

Mr. Blochmann's three " Contributions towards the History and Geography of Bengal ", published in the *JASB.*, 1873, 1874, and 1875, are monuments of his industry and scholarship. He twice refers to Kāṭāsin, viz. on p. 237 of *JASB.*, 1873, and p. 285 of *JASB.*, 1875. In the first reference he gives the name of the place as Kāṭāsan and writes in the footnote to say that the name was also written Katās or Kāṭāsin. In the second reference, with the instinct of a true historian, he rejects Raverty's identification of Kāṭāsingha on the Mahānadī with Kāṭāsin and remarks : " His identification of the frontier district Kāṭāsin with a place of the name of Kāṭāsingha on the northern bank of the Mahānadī in the tributary Mahāl of Angul is not yet quite clear to me. I cannot find the place on the map and the narrative of the Ṭabaqāt implies a place nearer to western Bengal."

The following observations of Blochmann should be considered in this connection : " The districts of Medinipur and Hijlī . . . belonged to the kingdom of Orissa till A.H. 975 or A.D. 1567 (footnote, ' So according to the Akbarnāma '), when Suleimān, king of Bengal, and his general Kālapahār defeated Mukunda Deva, the last Gajapati. Even after the Afghān conquest, Medinipur and Hijlī continued to belong to the province of Orissa . . . Hence Midnapur and Hijlī appear together in Todarmal's rent roll as one of the five Sarkārs of the province of Orissa." (*JASB.*, 1873, p. 224–5.)

From the fact that Midnapur and Hijlī were regarded as Sarkārs of Orissa even so late, when the whole region had been occupied by the Muslims, is it not a very probable supposition that in A.D. 1244 in those early days of Muslim rule in Bengal, when the Muslims were masters of only two wings of land in Rāḍhā and Varendrī on either side of the Ganges, the frontier outpost of Kātāsin between the small Muslim kingdom of Lukhnauti and the extensive and powerful kingdom of Kaliṅga can by no means have been on the bank of the Mahānadī, but should be sought for in the northern part of the present Midnapur district or even further north ?

A look at Rennell's Bengal Atlas, Sheets No. 2 and 7, would make matters clear. It will be seen that the road that runs south from Nagar towards Orissa passes by Lākarkuṇḍā, crosses the Ajay River, and passing through a place called Okerāh comes up to the bank of the Dāmodar River. The road bifurcates here. The western branch touches Chātnā in Bānkura District and then proceeds to Midnapur. The eastern branch runs east along the northern bank of the Dāmodar and goes to Burdwan. A road branches off from this eastern section at a place called Naopāra and runs southwards. It crosses the Dāmodar, runs through a place called Sonamukhi, and reaches Viṣṇupur. From Viṣṇupur the road runs direct south and goes to Midnapur. The thoroughfare from Midnapur reaches Jaleśvar and then enters Orissa.

A look at Map No. V will show that the Rāḍhā wing of the Muslim kingdom of Lukhnauti very probably could not have extended in this period south of the Dāmodar River. The kingdom of Viṣṇupur with its dense forests (popularly called Vana-Viṣṇupur—the jungly Viṣṇupur) begins immediately south of the Dāmodar, and south of Viṣṇupur is Midnapur. The Muslim boundary is not likely to have crossed the forest belt of Viṣṇupur.

I am not aware of the existence of any material with which we can reconstruct the history of Viṣṇupur of this period and decide if the kingdom existed at all during this period, and how far it extended, if it did. We, however, can obtain some information of the movement of troops in this region during the struggle between the Mughals and the Afghāns in the reign of Akbar, from the *Akbarnāma* and other works. The Mughal troops generally started from Sātgaon and moved towards Orissa. They halted first at Burdwan, avoided the kingdom of Viṣṇupur and its dense forests, skirted its eastern limits, and thus reached Midnapur. But in the early days of the Muslim rule, when the Muslim troops started for Orissa from Lucknauti and had to pass through their own territory of Rāḍhā and its chief town Nagar, they certainly did not move eastwards for 30 miles to reach Burdwan and then again proceed westwards to reach Midnapur. The direct road was the one which passed through Viṣṇupur, and presumably they followed this route. They may have also taken the western route through Chātnā. Searching on 1 inch = 1 mile maps on either side of these two roads, I have succeeded in finding two places which answer to the name Kāṭāsan or Kāṭāsin. The first place is to be met with immediately after crossing the Dāmodar and entering the boundary of Viṣṇupur. It is about 5 miles south-east of Sonāmukhi and about 12 miles from the point where the road crosses the Dāmodar. The village is known as Kāṭhsaṅgā and approach to it is guarded on the north by the low range of hill called Kārāsoli and on the north-east by a fort, called Karāsurgaḍ, of respectable dimensions. The *mauza*-number of Kāṭhsaṅgā is 35, and the *mauza* Nūtangrām (No. 36) adjoins it on the north and east. Nūtangrām, as the name implies ("new-village"), probably formed a part of Kāṭhsaṅgā in old days, and thus Karāsurgaḍ is only about a mile from Kāṭhsaṅgā.

I have obtained the following description of the fort at Karāsurgaḍ from Babu Yugal Kiśor Sarkār, B.A., of Rāhāgrām not far from Karāsurgaḍ, through the kindness of Rai Yogesh Chandra Roy Bahadur, M.A., the well-known scholar of Bāṅkura :—

"The fort of Karāsurgaḍ is 3 miles west of Kākaṭa, my native village, and 5 miles west of Pātrasāyar, a well-known place. It adjoins the *mauzā* of Dumni and stands in the midst of *Sāl* forest and encloses about 300 *Bighas* of land (about 100 acres). There is no cane-bush in the fort itself or in any place near it. The Gaḍ belongs to Babu Harisādhan Datta of Bāñkura.

" There are mounds about the middle of the fort which are known as the 'Treasury'. The ruins of the gate of the fort,—a heap of stone and mud,—are on its eastern side. Some big carved pieces of stone could be seen some years ago lying there. Some of them were inscribed. They have all been taken away by the people of the locality to be used as door-steps.

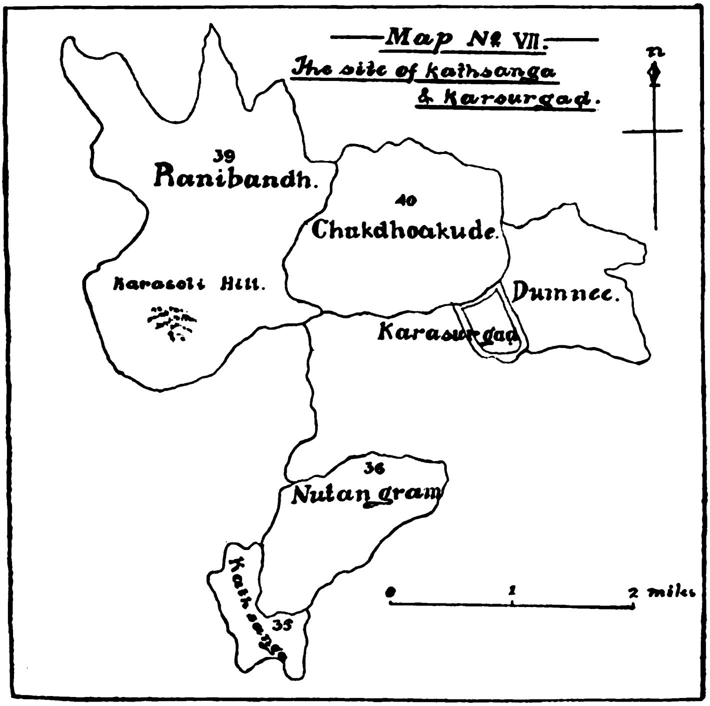
" The wall of the fort is about 3 yards in thickness. The lower part is made of stone and the upper is of masonry construction. The length of a side would be about half a mile. The wall nowhere stands entire, and so it is difficult to be sure about its height.

" There is a ditch on the eastern side of Karāsurgaḍ. No ditch is to be seen on the other three sides. There is a place sacred to the god Bhairab near the northern wall of Karāsurgaḍ. The god is worshipped every year on the first day of Māgha."

This Kāṭhsaṅgā, with the fort of Karāsurgaḍ, appears to me to answer to Kāṭāsan or Kāṭāsin of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*. The place stands in the region immediately south of the Dāmodar, exactly where one would expect a frontier outpost of the kingdom of Kaliṅga, which probably began immediately south of the Dāmodar, the river thus forming the boundary between Muslim Rāḍhā and Hindu Kaliṅga.

The second place that I have found answering to the sound of Kāṭāsin is Kāñṭāśol. This place is in Midnāpur district and under Khargpur P.S. and is about 9 miles west of Khargpur, a mile north of the Bengal–Nagpur Railway. The *mauza* number is 46. The *mauza* immediately north of this is numbered 39 and is called Kāñṭāśol Kismat, *alias*

Carkāvani. The District Magistrate of Midnapur, however, informs me that there is no fortification or antiquity in or near Kāñṭāśol. I think we have to decide in favour of Kāṭhsaṅgā and Karāsurgaḍ (Map No. VII).


Map No VII.
The site of Kathsanga & Karasurgad.
n
39
Ranibandh.
40
Chakdhoakude.
Karasoli Hill.
Dumnee.
Karasurgad
36
Nutan gram
Kathsanga
35
0
1
2 miles

If my identification finds general acceptance, the Dāmodar may be accepted as the southern boundary of the Rāḍhā of this period. But it will be seen later that some places like Bhurśut and Dāminyā on the right side of the Dāmodar were included in Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍhā. We therefore decide to take the River Rūpnārāyaṇ, known in its upper course as the Dalkishor or Dārukeśvar, as the actual southern boundary of Rāḍhā.

(*b*) *Facts from Copperplate Inscriptions and old Literature*

1. The donee of Bhojavarmman's Belāva plate hailed from the village of Siddhala in Uttara-Rāḍhā. In the Bhuvaneśvar

Inscription of Bhabadeva Bhāṭṭa, minister of Harivarmma Deva, King of Vaṅga, this village of Siddhala, which was also the native village of Bhavadeva Bhāṭṭa, is described as the ornament of the country of Rāḍhā. The position of Siddhala may be looked up in Map No. V.

2. The village Vāllahiṭṭā granted by the Naihāṭī plate of Ballāla Sena was situated almost in the middle of Uttara-Rāḍhā, only slightly south of the central line. The position of Vāllahiṭṭā should be looked up in the map.

3. By the present Śaktipur grant of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, the villages of Nimā, Vāluti, etc., were granted. They were to the south of the Mor River and in Uttara-Rāḍhā. The position of Nimā and Vāluti should be looked up in the map.

4. In the Colophon of the *Nyāya-Kandalī*, a work of Vaiśeṣika philosophy by Śrīdharācharyya, the author says that he hailed from Bhurśut in Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍhā. Bhurśut is still a well-known place in Howrah district. The position of Bhurśut is shown on the map.

5. Kavikaṅkana Mukundarāma Cakravartī, author of the famous old Bengali poem on Caṇḍī, composed in the sixteenth century A.D., says that he hailed from the village of Dāminyā in Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍhā (*vide* Calcutta University edition of the work, p. 20). Dāminyā, like Bhurśut, stands on the right or western bank of the Dāmodar River. It is now included in Burdwan district and is about 18 miles north of Bhurśut. The position of Dāminyā is shown on the map.

A look at the map now will bring out the reasonableness of the following proposed boundaries.

Uttara-Rāḍhā had the Bhāgīrathī on the east, the Ajay on the south, the Sānthāl Parganās on the west, the Ganges and the passes leading to Bihar on the north.

Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍhā had the Bhāgīrathī on the east, the Rūpnārāyaṇa, and its upper course, the Dārukeśvar on the south, Mānbhūm on the west, and the Ajay on the north.

The **Kaṅkagrāma-Bhukti** was practically identical with Uttara-Rāḍhā, and the Varddhamāna *Bhukti* with Dakṣiṇa-

Rāḍhā. A piece of land west of Katwa and north of Ajay is found at present included in Burdwan district. Anciently, also the Varddhamāna *Bhukti* appears to have encroached on the natural boundaries of Kaṅkagrāma *Bhukti* in respect of that particular piece of land.

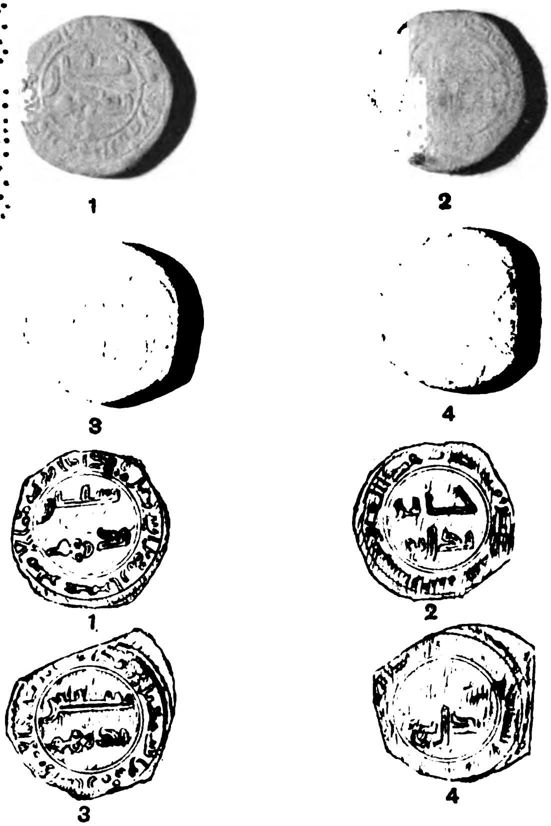
Land lying south of the Rūpnārāyaṇ-Dārukeswar River, i.e. southern half of Bānkura district, a piece from the western part of Hoogly district, and the entire Midnāpur district formed the **Daṇḍa-Bhukti**.[1]

---

[1] There are some inaccuracies in the transliteration of names on the maps and also some inaccurate spellings, owing to the ignorance, in this matter, of the young pupil of the local School of Engineering who was employed to draw these maps. It was not possible to correct them without drawing the maps afresh. The effect of an attempt to spell correctly the name of the Vardhamāna Bhukti may be seen on map No. V. It is expected, however, that readers will have no difficulty in amending these mistakes from the correct spellings given in the body of this paper.—N. K. B., Dacca.

102.

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA



New Coins from Sīstān.

1. Obverse. 2. Reverse.
3. Obverse. 4. Reverse.

To face p. 115.]

New Coin Evidence from Sistān

By J. WALKER

(PLATE I)

THE downfall of the Umaiyad and the rise of the ‘Abbāsid Caliphate, the central protagonist in which was the formidable Abū Muslim, is one of the most fascinating periods in Islamic History. Numismatic research is gradually revealing more and more vestiges of these troublous times. Recently in the *JRAS.* (July, 1932) Mr. Rhuvon Guest published a copper coin of Abū Muslim, now in the ‘Irāḳ Museum, which had been unearthed during irrigation work on the lesser Zāb, and which provided interesting corroborative evidence of the statements of the early Arab chroniclers. In a similar way I propose to draw attention to two copper coins in the British Museum, until now unpublished, which not only throw some light on the family relationship of Abū Muslim and his provincial politics, but moreover preserve for us a variety of coin legend which has hitherto been unrecorded and is perhaps unique in Muslim numismatics (Plate I).

Each of the two coins measures ·85 inches; the weight of one is 49·6 grains, while the other, which has been cut across the edge, weighs only 42·9 grains. Both specimens have been in the British Museum for many years; one had been in the collection of Sir Hans Sloane which was acquired for the nation in 1754, while the other was presented as long ago as 1844 by Florentia, Lady Sale, who was in the famous retreat from Kābul in 1842. Afghanistan is, therefore, a very evidential provenance. The coins are die varieties, and as neither is by itself readily or completely legible—which accounts, no doubt, for their remaining so long inedited—the reading which I propose is based on a comparison of both specimens.

Obverse

Margin : هذا ما امر به ∴ الامير عمران ∴ بن اسمعيل ∴

"*This is what the Amīr 'Imrān ibn Ismā'īl ordered*"

Reverse

Margin : ضرب هذا الفلس بسجستان سنة ست وثلثين ومئة

"This copper coin (*fals*) was minted in Sīstān[1] in the year 136" (i.e. A.D. 753).

It is worth noting that the fashion of dividing the obverse marginal legend by means of triangles of three circles is also found on the reverse of the coins of 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muslim (i.e. Abū Muslim) dated 135 (B.M. Cat. i, p. 191, No. 79 = Berlin, Cat. i, 2065). On the coin published by Mr. Rhuvon Guest the divisional mark is something like a fleur-de-lys (⚜)

Before discussing the remarkable obverse and reverse centre legends it will be worth while to recall a little of the historical setting.

The Iranian provinces throughout the annals of Islam were constantly giving rise to adventurers and rebels who normally appeared in the guise of religious zealots. K͟hurāsān and Sīstān particularly, were renowned for these ebullitions of sectarian fervour. What may have partly yielded them a certain prestige was a reported saying of Muḥammad: "When you see the black flags coming from K͟hurāsān go to meet them, for in their midst you will find the Mahdī."[2] (Of course this ḥadīt͟h may have originated after the event. See the Encyclopædia of Islam, *sub. K͟horāsān*). So that when Abū Muslim led the field for the 'Abbāsids he was aided by numbers of the K͟hawārij from K͟hurāsān and the adjoining province of Sīstān.

---

[1] *Arabice*, Sijistān.

[2] Al-Birūnī actually terms the 'Abbāsid Dynasty "K͟hurāsānī" (Sachau's edition, p. 197). Mr. Rhuvon Guest also draws my attention to Severus (ed. Seybold, pp. 188–207), who gives striking evidence of how the 'Abbāsid invaders in Egypt appeared as K͟hurāsānians to the Christian inhabitants.

In the year 128 we find him—while still a young man—appearing once again in Khurāsān, where by now he was well known, but, this time, as the accredited emissary (*dā'ī*) of the hidden Imām Ibrāhīm, appealing on behalf of the "People of the House" (اهل البيت)—the heirs of the Prophet—a phrase which diplomatically embraced both 'Abbāsid and 'Alid partisans. Politics also decreed that he should wed the daughter of one of the chiefs of Khurāsān, 'Imrān b. Ismā'īl. Despite all this, however, he was regarded as rather an "interloper" (so Wellhausen: *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, English translation by Mrs. T. H. Weir, Calcutta, 1927, p. 520). At all events, he was not *persona grata* to Sulaimān ibn Kathīr (Ṭab. ii, 1960). Time and again the people of these provinces proved themselves a thorn in the flesh of the 'Abbāsid governors and were ever ready to follow a Khārijite leader. We have to remember of course that, as Nöldeke points out (*Sketches from Eastern History*, p. 177), Khārijite "was often little more than a polite name for bandit".

Abū Muslim very soon found the inhabitants of Sīstān particularly recalcitrant. The following is the summarized account given in the *Kitāb al-Buldān* of Al-Ya'ḳūbī (ed. Juynboll, Leiden, 1861, p. 63).

(After various negotiations regarding the expulsion of the Syrian party from the land, the narrative proceeds) "Afterwards Abū Muslim sent 'Umar b. al-'Abbās b. 'Umair b. 'Uṭārid b. Ḥājib b. Zurārā to Sīstān, and he was highly esteemed by Abū Muslim. Then the people of Sīstān killed his brother Ibrāhīm b. al-'Abbās and war arose between them and him. Then Abū Muslim sent Abu'l-Najm 'Imrān b. Ismā'īl b. 'Imrān, and said to him: 'Join 'Umar b. al-'Abbās, and *if he has been killed then you are the governor of the land.*'" (الحَقْ عمر بن العباس فان كان قد قُتِلَ فانت امير البلد.)

So far as I have been able to ascertain the Arab historians nowhere expressly mention that 'Imrān b. Ismā'īl ever governed Sīstān.[1] His name is nowhere recorded either in Lane Poole's *Mohammadan Dynasties* or in Zambaur's *Manuel de Chronologie.* In consequence these two coins furnish us for the first time with the evidence and date of his governorship.

His full name was Abu'l-Najm 'Imrān b. Ismā'īl al-Ṭā'ī (so Ibn al-Athīr, v. 191).[2] The index references in Tornberg's edition of Ibn al-Athīr, v. 107, 275, 290, which appear under Ismā'īl b. 'Imrān really refer to the 'Imrān b. Ismā'īl of v. 191, etc., and the mistake has arisen from the omission in the MS. of part of the name. Al-Ya'ḳūbī, in the passage quoted above, gives the correct form, which is substantiated by the coins, and accounts for the textual variants.

The marriage of Abū Muslim to the daughter of 'Imrān ibn Ismā'īl took place in the year A.H. 129. The Imām Ibrāhīm himself is said to have arranged the union when he dispatched Abū Muslim to Khurāsān the previous year. He handed over the dowry and called upon the local chieftains to give their allegiance (وساق عنه صداقها وكتب إلى النقباء بالسمع والطاعة) [Ṭab. ii, 1960; Ibn al-Athīr, v. 275].

When the 'Abbāsid secret propaganda (*da'wa*) had been proceeding some twenty-five years previously (*c.* 103–4) under Muḥammad 'Alī, the father of the Imām Ibrāhīm, our 'Imrān b. Ismā'īl had been one of the twelve leaders (نقباء) selected (Ṭabarī, ii, 1358; Ibn al-Athīr, v. 39, 290) for recruitment purposes in Khurāsān. He is then referred to as Maulā of the family of Abū Mu'aiṭ. In the year 130 we find him in an established position as the father-in-law of Abū Muslim (ختن ابي مسلم). The party leaders meet in his house (اجتمعوا في منزل عمران بن اسماعيل) to hold conference.

---

[1] Mr. Rhuvon Guest suggests to me that in all probability there is a lacuna in the text of Ya'ḳūbī at this point.

[2] On the two occasions on which he is mentioned by Wellhausen, op. cit., pp. 509, 520, he is merely designated *Abū Najm,* which indeed was his customary designation according to Ibn al-Athīr, ibid. (المعروف بابي النجم).

Altogether he plays an important rôle in the political movements of the period. And now these two coins, issued by his authority as Governor of Sīstān, give us a glimpse of him at a further stage of his career.

Moreover, the date of the coin (136) is the year before the murder of Abū Muslim at the hands of the new Caliph al-Manṣūr. Balādhurī [*Futūḥ al-Buldān* (De Goeje), p. 401] tells us that Rutbīl,[1] the native Iranian prince of Sīstān, refused to pay tribute (الاتاوة) ever since the days of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, not only to the Umaiyad tax-collectors (عمّال) but also to those appointed by Abū Muslim.[2]

History, so far as I am aware, does not record what became of ʻImrān b. Ismāʻīl. It is natural to suppose that with the downfall of his son-in-law (in 137) he was superseded.[3] There is a person having the name Abu'l-Najm and designated *al-Sijistānī* who figures in the revolt of the year 150 (Tab. iii, 354; Ibn al-Athīr, v. 452), but it is scarcely likely that they are one and the same individual.

There now remain to be considered the remarkable central legends of these two coins.

Obverse.

centre (in two lines) ستين | بدرهم

i.e. " Sixty for a dirham ".

Reverse.

centre (in two lines) جائز | بدانق

i.e. " current as a dānaḳ ".

---

[1] (رتبيل) The name is titular and is also read Zunbīl (زنبيل). See Barthold's *Turkestan*, p. 216 n.

[2] لم يعط احداً من عمّال بني أميّة ولا عمّال ابي مسلم على سجستان من تلك الاتاوة شيئاً.

[3] According to Dīnawarī (*Kitāb al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, ed. Guirgass, p. 379), the new Caliph, once he had complete control, sent out his governors to all quarters. I owe this reference to the courtesy of Mr. Rhuvon Guest.

Apart from the singular absence of the divine name of Allah and all mention of the Prophet, as well as the peculiar form of epigraphy, with the double outline of the letters, these legends are especially interesting because they present us in the first place, with the earliest *explicit* coin equation so far known in the history of Muslim numismatics—or indeed in the history of any coinage for that matter—and secondly, with the intricate problem of accounting for it. The latter I must leave to the skilled metrologist to probe, and content myself with adding a few notes on the subject.

The *fals*, or copper coin, it must be remembered was never regarded as legal currency in the same way as the dīnār (of gold) or the dirham (of silver). It was useful as a sort of token money for the purchase of small commodities and in all kinds of petty transactions. So that it had a quite conventional value which varied throughout different provinces. Local governors had the right of issuing these in their own name without infringing the Caliph's prerogative of minting (*sikka*).

We have it recorded that 48 *fulūs* went to the legal dirham of the Aiyūbid Sultan Al-Kāmil (A.H. 615–635) and that later in 750 they issued them at 24 to the dirham, "thus cheating the people of half" (Lane Poole, *Num. Chron.*, 1884, p. 79). 'Imrān's coinage gives us contemporary evidence, the earliest yet discovered, of a relationship between fals and dirham of 60 to 1. Of that fact there is no question. It is the reverse centre legend, however, that presents the difficulty.[1]

---

[1] As the worn condition of the coins does not permit of satisfactory photographic reproduction of what traces remain of the legends, I have added (in the Plate) drawings of the probable outline of the letters. Professor Vasmer of Leningrad, to whom I submitted casts for his criticism of my interpretation, wrote as follows (letted dated 2nd November, 1933): "The legend of the obverse is quite clear . . . The legend of the other side is not so clear. I see on the cast distinctly only the first three letters of the second word بدا. By the visible traces it seems to be quite probable that your reading of the word as بدانق is right." It is very satisfactory to have the corroboration of such a skilled oriental numismatist as Professor Vasmer.

According to the statements of the authorities on Arab metrology the dānaḳ is the *sixth* of a dīnār or of a dirham, and therefore variable in relation to one or the other (Sauvaire, *Matériaux*, Paris, 1882, p. 98 ff.; Lane Poole, ibid., p. 77 f.). But there is never any mention made of any relationship between the dānaḳ and a copper unit. Is it possible that here we have an indication that there *was* such a ratio applicable to the baser metal? جائز بدانق means "(legally) current as a dānaḳ", therefore, 1 *fals* (weighing 49·6 grs.) might equal 1 *dānaḳ*, i.e. presumably one-sixth of the copper unit (?).

On the other hand Mr. Rhuvon Guest ingeniously suggests to me that the words might be held to mean "current *for* a dānaḳ", i.e. "up to the amount of a dānaḳ the copper coin would pass". This, however, seems to me unlikely, as the Arabic preposition is the normal one for expressing price or value, and never has the sense of "up to". Although, if his surmise be correct, it would render the legend still more remarkable in the history of coinage.

But the region of metrology is always hazardous territory to traverse especially without more detailed data, and, as I have said above, I must leave to the expert metrologist any further possible interpretation of these two remarkable coins.

185.

A Fragment on Pharmacy from the Cairo Genizah

BY R. GOTTHEIL

(PLATES II–V)

MS. ALLIANCE Israélite Universelle, unnumbered; paper 8 × 5½ in.; Arabic in Hebrew characters, of a Syrian square type. Provisionally numbered viii–B–26. The script is fairly legible, though in places the page has faded and a guess has to be made at the right reading. As is usual in such MSS. the headings are in red, as, for instance, in MS. Arabe 2965 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, the *Minhāj al-Dukkān* of Abu al-Muna ibn Abi Naṣr ibn Ḥaffāṭh, called al-Kōhēn ibn al-Attār al-Israīlī al-Hārūnī of Cairo, *ca.* 1260 (see Brockelmann, i, p. 492, No. 34), or an earlier author Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Bahrām al-Ḳalānisī (ibid., p. 489, No. 23), which I have consulted in MS. 2946 of the Bibliothèque Nationale. In the Genizah collection of the late Mr. Jack Mosseri (Med. No. 14) there is a fragment of a similar work, the original of which, unfortunately, I have been unable to see, but only a photograph.

One peculiar feature ought to be noted in our fragment. The author gives the vulgar Latin, or, rather, Spanish, names of the drugs that are not commonly known. Leclerc, in his translation of Ibn Baitar (which I have always used, as that of Sontheimer is notoriously useless), vol. i, p. x, says that al-Ghāfiḳī,[1] a Spanish medical man who died in 1165 (Brockelmann, i, p. 488, No. 19), does the same. However, his *al-adwiyah al-mufradah* does not exist in its original form, so that I have not had the advantage of consulting it.

I have to thank the Alliance Israélite Universelle for permitting me to make use of the two leaves, but especially Dr. Max Meyerhof, of Cairo, who has carefully gone over the whole text and has offered me many suggestions in regard to the technical terms, most of which I have been glad to accept.

---

[1] For these Spanish words see Leclerc's *Ibn Baitar*, i, pp. 32, 64, 114, 160; ii, pp. 34, 251, 399, 457; iii, pp. 33, 65, 115, etc.

Unfortunately, too, the fragment begins in the very middle of a sentence, as do most of these Genizah fragments. It is evident that the leaves come from a large volume, as each drug was numbered. Those that remain run from 218 to 223 or more. There are also some notes on the margin, but very few letters of these notes can be read. They are almost completely faded.

On such works concerning toxology, see Steinschneider, "Die toxologischen Schriften der Araber" in *Archiv für pathol. Anatomie*, ed. Vichow, vol. lii, 1871. He treats of Avicenna on p. 480. I have another toxological fragment from the collection of the *Alliance*, and a further small one from the collection of the late Mr. Mosseri, as stated above.

TEXT

1 מכו [1] אוקיא [2] כאבלי שאהתרג׳ [3] מכו ד [ד]רא ויקאל סנא

2 ח׳ דרא תשתיואן [4] ו׳ דרא כרבד [5] י׳ דרא גאפת ה׳ דרא אטבך

3 אל גמיע גיר אל אפתימון [6] פי ג׳ אבדאת מא ואכרון יגלוה

4 פי מא אל גבן [8] אלי אן יבקי אבדה [7] ובעד דלך אגעל עליה

5 אל אפתימון וגליה גליה ואחדה פקט וצפיה ואדעך פיה

6 כרבק [9] אסוד דרהם גאריקון [10] נצף דרהם מלח הנדי . . . מתקאל

7 נקיע [11] אל איארג [12] אִינְפוּסְיוֹדֵי גֵירָא [13] ריז

8 ינקי אל ראס ואל מעדה וינפע ללחמיאת

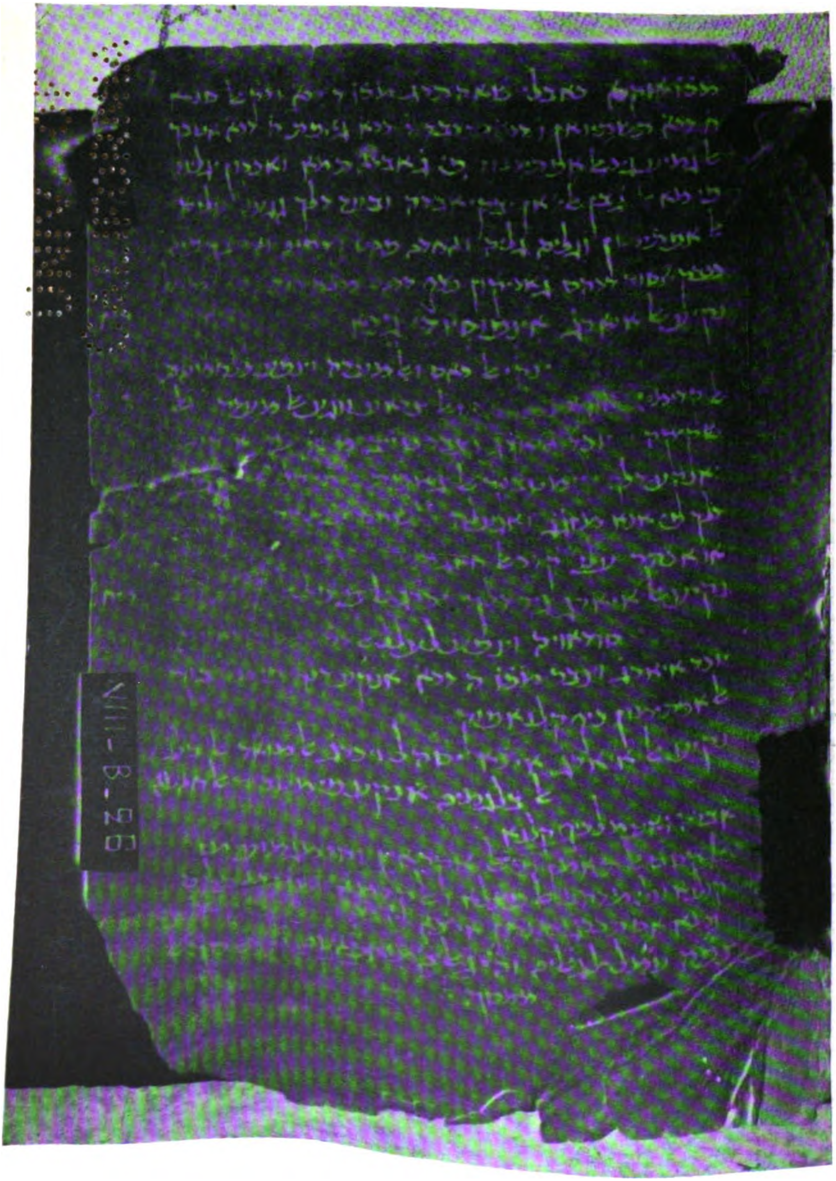
9 אל קדימה ואוגאע [. . . אל .] ואל צדאע ווגע אל מעדה ואל

10 שקיקה [14] יוכד איארג וצבר טייב [15] מכו נצף אוקיא

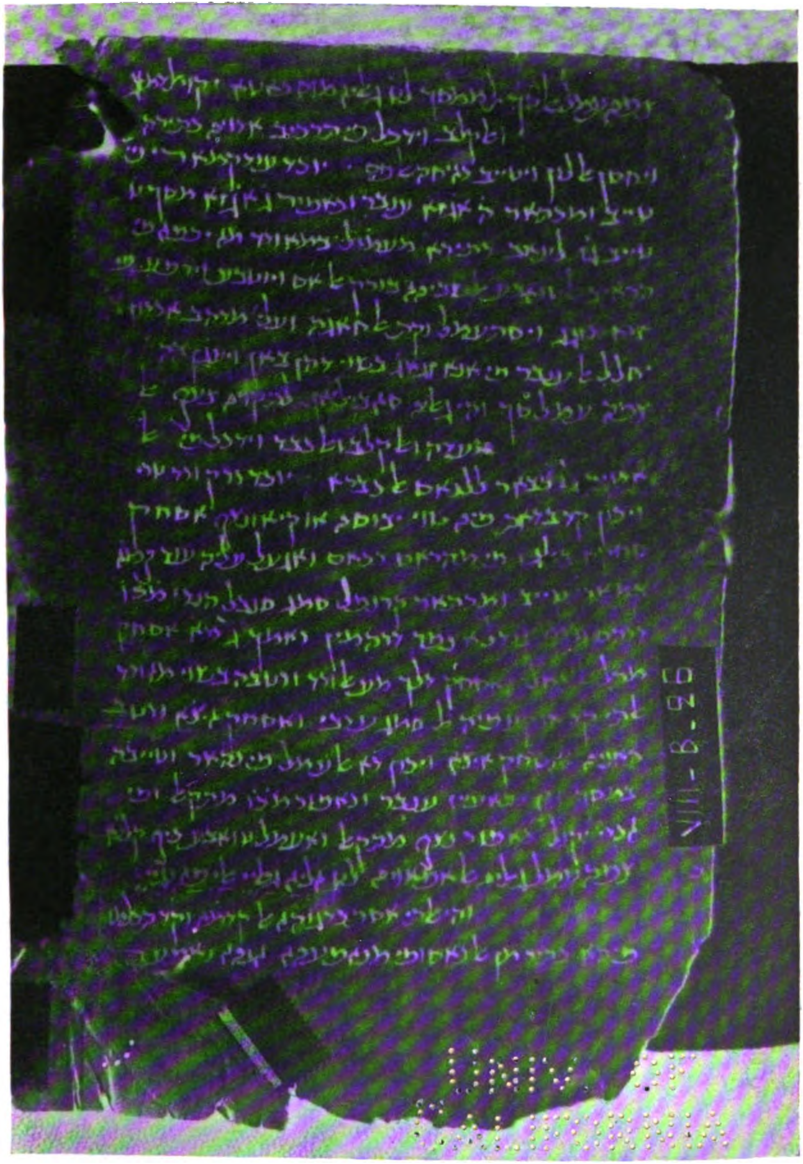
11 אנקע דלך פי מטבוך אל גאפת אלתי דל [16] . . . . . ג . .

12 דלך פי אנא מזגג ואגעלה ללשמס בכל יום ואחד . . . .

12.
25



Fol. 1a.



Fol. 1b.

13 או אכתר עלי קדר אל חאגה......
14 נקיע אל איארג גיר דלך ˙ יכרג אל פצ̇ול אל ריח
15 סודאויה וינפע לעלל אל דמאג אל סודאויה
16 יוכד איארג וצבר מ̇כ̇ו̇ ה̇ דרא אנקע דלך פי מטבוך
17 אל אפתימון כיף קלנא פוק
18 נקיע אל איארג איצ̇א יסהל ויכרג אלמואד אלבלג̇[17]
19 אל בלג̇מיה אנקע פי מטבוך אל חאשא
20 אבדה[18] ואעמל כיף קלנא
21 אל קסם אל תאמן פי אל אקראץ̇[19] והו מג̇מוע מן
22 קולנא עלי מד̇הב אל פצ̇לא ואלקדמא ומג̇ראתהם
23 ומא אסתכרג̇נא נחן איצ̇א
24 צפ̇ה עמ̇ל אל[20] ג̇אליה והי̈ ג̇אליַה מוסְכָּאטָא והו אל סך
25 ממסך ∴[21]

fol. 1b.

1 צפ̇ה עמ̇ל אלסך אל ממסך לט̇ ג̇אליה מוסכאטא[22] . יקוי אל דמאג
2 ואל קלב וידכל פי תרכיב אדויה כתירה
3 ויחסן אל לון ויטייב ראיחה אל פם ˙ יוכד עוד קמארי[23] ט̇
4 טייב ומכתאר ה̇ אג̇זא ענבר וכאפור ג̇ אג̇זא מסך ט̇[24]
5 טייב ג̇ז לעאב כתירא מעמול במא ורד מא יכפא פי
6 תרכיב אל טואבע[25] אלשביהה בורק אל אס[26] ויטבע וידפע פי
7 אנא מזג̇ג̇ ויסתעמל וקט אל חאג̇ה ועלי' מד̇הב אכרון[27]
8 יחלל אל ענבר פי אנא זג̇אג̇ בשי[28] דהן באן[29] ויעג̇ן בה ∴
9 צפ̇ה עמ̇ל סך והי ג̇אליה סאביליאן[30] . לתקויה צ̇עף אל
10 מעדה ואל קלב ואל כבד וידכל פי אל
11 אדויה אל כבאר ללנאס אל כבראי[31] ˙ יוכד ורק ורד טרי
12 ויכ̇ון קד בדאת פיה שי יבוסה אוקיא ונצף אסחק

13 סחקא באלגא פי מהראם רכאם ואגעל עליה עוד קמא [31]
14 קמארי [32] טייב ומכתאר קרנפל [33] סמג סנבל הנדי מׄכׄו
15 דרהם ונצף צנדל [34] אצפר דרהמין ראמך [35], [36] גׄ דראׄ אסחק
16 מתל אל כחל ואסחק דלך מע אל ורד ורטבה בשוי
מא ורד
17 אלתי קד אנקע פיה אל סמג [37] ערבי ואסחק איצׄא ורטב
18 תאניה ואסחק איצׄא ויכון דא אל עמל פי נהאר וטייבה
19 במסך וזן רבאעיין ענבר וכאפור מׄכׄו מתקאל ופי
20 אכרי יקול כאפור נצף מתקאל ואעמל טואבע כיף
קלנא
21 צפה עמל גאלידה אל אפאויה לא אֲלִיַא גַאלִיֵי אֲלִיפַאְיִנְגִיֵי
22 והי אלתי אסתכרגוהא אל קדמא וקד תכלמו
23 פיהא כתיר מן אל נאס ופי מנאפיעהא אנהא נאפעה

fol. 2a.

1 [ל]תקויה אל קלב ואל דמאג ואל מעדה וגׄמיע אעצׄא
אל גדא
2 לתקויה צׄעף אל עצב ואסתרכאיהא ואדא געל עלי
3 אל עצב אל צׄעיפה קואהא וידכל פי אל אדויה אל
כבאר
4 והדא צפתה יוכד אמלג [39] טייב
5 זיל [40] מנה נׄיאה וכוד מנה דׄ אוק ופי נסכׄה אכרי קאל וׄ
אוק
6 אסחקה גׄריש ואגׄעלה פי [אנא] מזגג ואגׄעל עליה מא
ורד
7 קד אנקע פיה ורד נאשף וקשר אתרוג [41] נצף אבדה ושד
8 פם אל אנא ואתרכה גׄ איאם ומן בעד דלך אנקע פיה אל
9 אמלג אלי אן תכרגׄ פיה קוה אל אמלג ׳ ובעד דלך תאכד
10 עוד קמארי חׄ דראׄ ראמך אוקיא ונצף ורד יׄ דראׄ קרנפל
11 יׄ דראׄ סנבל הנדי גׄ דראׄ צנדל אצפר דׄ דרא צׄמג ערבי

12 וׄ דרא אסחק אל גמיע מתל אל כחל ואג̇על עלי דלך
נקיע

13 אל אמלג̇ שוי שוי ואסחק אל גבאר וכלט בה ג?ד׃ אלי
אן ישׁ

14 ישרב אל גבאר גמיע אל מא ופי אל אכר טייבה
בדרהם כאפור

15 ודרהמין ענבר ודרהם מסך ואעמלה טוא . . . ואטבעהם

16 כיף קלנא וארפע פי אנא מזג̇ג[42]

17 צפה עמל אקראץ אל ורד לט̇ תְרוֹגִיסְכִּי דיא רצֹון[43] רכג

18 מנאפעה כתירה ללחמיאת אל קדימה

19 ואל מרכבה ואל בלגמיה ואל חמיאת אלתי קד תהבנת
אל

20 בדן מנהא וחאלת והו נאפע לתקויה אל מעדה וצעפהא

21 ווג̇עהא ויזיל בלתהא ורטובתהא אל גריבה · יוכד ורק

22 ורד אחמר וׄ מתקאלין סנבל אל טיב מתקאלין עוד סוס[44] גׄ

23 מתׄאקל טבאשיר[45] מתׄקאל זעפראן נצף מתקאל מסטכי

fol. 2b.

1 מסטכי יעג̇ן בנביד אביץ̇ וינעמל אקראץ מן דרהם

2 אקראץ אל וֹרד איצֹא לט̇ טרוגיסכי דיא רצון יקוי [אל]

3 מעדה ואל כבד ויצלח רטובה אל מעדה

4 אל בלגמיה · יוכד ורק ורד יׄ דרא עוד סוס הׄ דרא סנבל
אלטיב[46]

5 דרהמין ונצף אעג̇ן דלך בנביד אביץ̇ ואן ארדתא תעמלה

6 מסהל זיד פיה גׄ דרא סקמוניא ∴[47, 48]

7 אקראץ אל ורד ואל גאפת לט̇ טרוסיסכי די רוזאדוס

8 אֵיד אֵוְפַאטוֹרְיֵ מנאפעה עגיבה

9 ללחמיאת אלקדימה ואל מרכבה ווג̇ע אל כבד ותסדדה
ואל

10 ירקאן · יוכד ורק ורד חׄ דרא סנבל גׄ דרא ראונד צ׳יני[49]

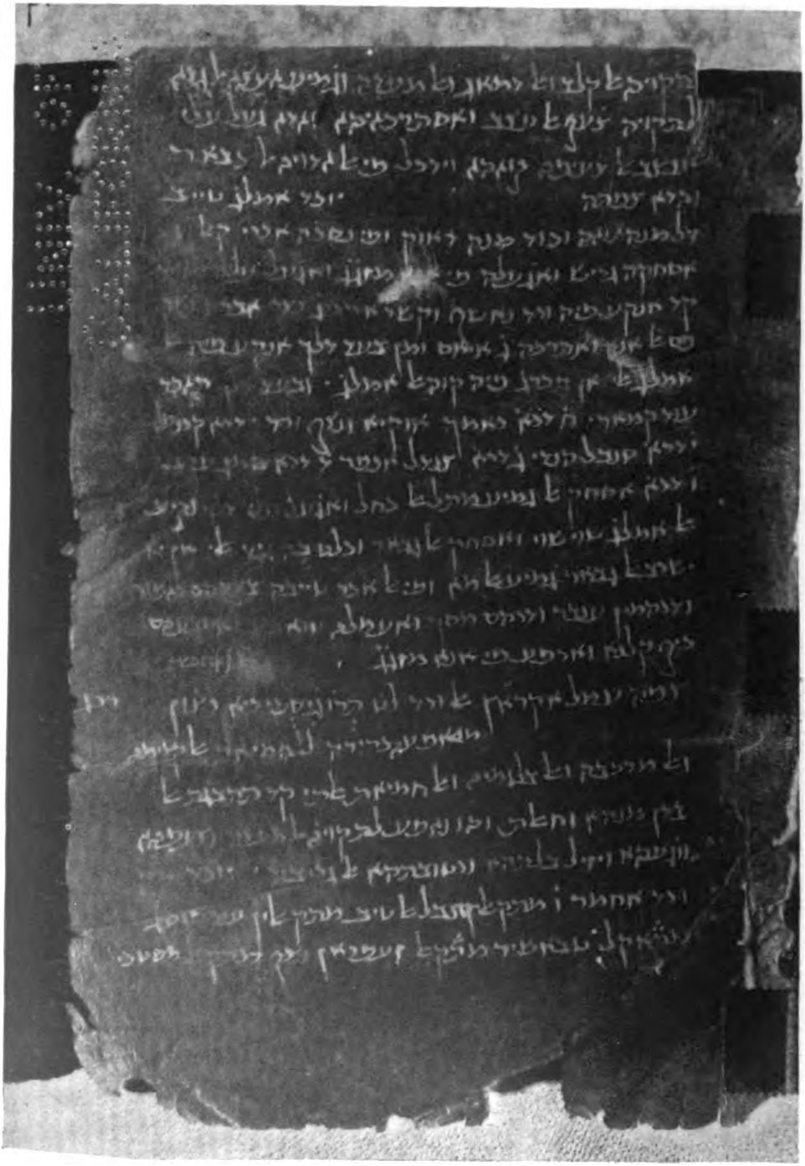
11 ד דרא טבאשיר דרהם ונצף עוד סוס ג̇ דרא ונצף
עצארה̈
12 [ג]אפת י̇ דרא ינעמל אקראץ בתרנגבין[50] ∴
13 אקראץ אל ורד מאמן מן אל אואיל והו כתיר אל מנפעה
14 לוגע אל מעדה וסו אל הצ̇ם[51] ואל מתהבג̇ין
15 ואל חאיל̇ין אל לון וללאסתסקא ואל חמיאת אל קדימה·
16 יוכד ורד ג̇ ד[רא] עוד קמא דרהמין מסטכי דרהם ונצף
17 אפסנתין[52] דר[הם] קרפה[53] סנבל סליחה[54] פקאח
אדכר[55, 56] מכ̇ו̇
18 דרהם אעמל מן דלך אקראץ מן דרהמין בנביד קדים
19 ומ̇א[57] אל עסלי
20 סך אל מתרפהין והי אל גאליה[58] אל כבירה לט̇ גאליה
21 מאננא והי גאליה̈ אל מלוך מנאפעה
22 להקויה אל מעדה ואל כבד ואל קלב וג̇מיע אעצ̇א אל
23 גאדיה ויצלח אל הצ̇ם וינבה שהוה̈ אל טעאם: תאכד
24 עצארה אל בלח אבדה גליה ואחדה וצפ . . ות[צפי]
עלי דלך[59]

ARABIC TRANSCRIPTION

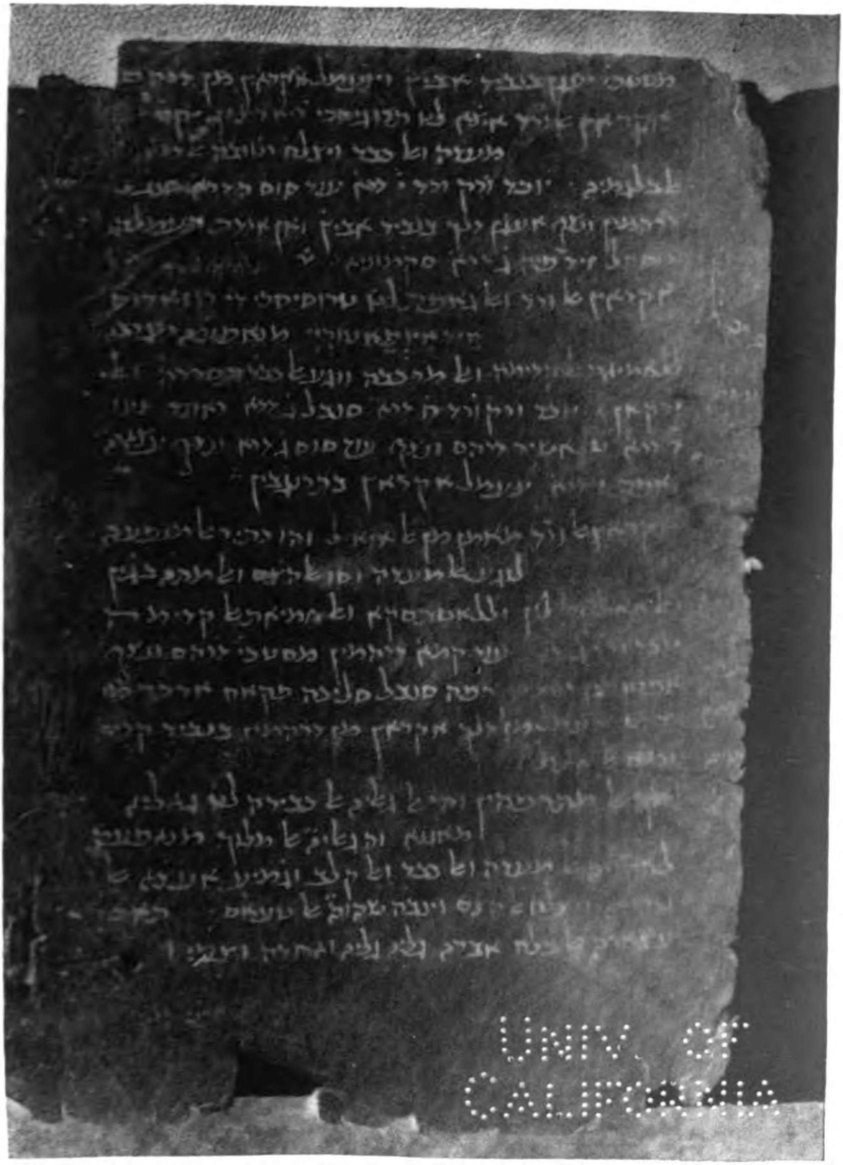
1 مٰن كلّ واحد اوقيا شاهترج من كلّ راحد اربع دراهم
ويقال سَنَا
2 ثمانية دراهم تَشْتَيْوَان ستّة دراهم . . ربد عشرة دراهم
غَافَت
3 الجميع غير الأَفْثِيمون فى ثلاثة ابدات ماءٍ واخرون يُغلُوه
4 فى ماءِ الجَبْن إلى أن يبقى أَبْدَة وبعد ذلك أُجْعَلْ عليه

74-5
129

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA



Fol. 2*a*.



UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

Fol. 2*b*.

5 الافثيمون وغِليه غَلْيَةً واحدة فَقَطْ وصَفِّيه وَاذْعُكْ فيه

6 خَرْبَق أسْود درهم غاريقون نصف درهم ملح هِنَدىّ . . . . مِثْقال

7 نقيع الإيارِجْ Infusio digera

8 يُنْقِى الرأس والمِعَدَة ويَنْفع للُحمّيات

9 القديمة وأوجاع ال...... والصَدَع ووجع المِعْدة وال

10 شَقِيقة . يُوخَذ ايارج وصَبِر طَيِّب من كلّ واحد نصف اوقيا

11 اِنْقَعْ ذلك فى مطبوخ الفاَفث التى . . . .

12 ذلك فى إِناٍ مُزَزّج واجْعَله للشمس بكلّ يوم واحد .....

13 أوْ أَكْثر على قَدْر الحاج . . .

14 نقيع الإِيارج غير ذلك . يُخرج الفُصول

15 السوداوية وينفَع لعَلَل الدِماغ السَوْداوية

16 يوخذ ايارج وصبر من كلّ واحد خمسة دراهم أنقع ذلك فى مطبوح

17 الافثيمون كَيْف قُلْنا فوق .

18 نقيع الايارج ايضا يُصْهِل ويحرج المواد الملة
19 البَلْغَمِيّـة انْقع فى مطبوح الحاشا
20 ابدة وأعمِل كيف قُلْنـا
21 القِسْم الثامن فى الاقراص وهو مجموع من
22 قولنا على مذهب الفُضَلا والقُدَما ومجَرْاتِهم
23 وما استخرجنا نَحْن ايضا
24 صفة عمل الغالية وهى Galia Muscata وهو السُكّ
25 ممسك .:.

fol. 1*b*.

1 صفة عمل السُكّ الممسك لطيـنى Galia Muscata
يقوى الدماغ
2 والقلب ويدخل فى تركيب أدوية كثيرة
3 ويُحْسن اللون ويطيّب رائحَة الفُم يُوخذ عُود قُمـارى
4 طيّب ومُخْتار حمسة أجزاء عنبر وكافور ثلاثة اجزاء
مُسْق تسعة
5 طيّب جزُء لُعاب كثيرا معمول بماء وَرْد ما يكفـا فى
6 تركيب الطوابع الشبيهة بورق الآس ويُطْبع ويدفع فى
7 إِناء مزجّج ويُسْتعمل وَقْت الحاجة وعلى مَذْهب

8 اخرون(!) يُحَلَّل العنبر فى إناء زجاج بشُوَيِّ
دِهْن بَانٍ ويُعْجن به .˙.

9 صفة عمل سك وهى غالية سابليان. لتقوية ضِعْف ال

10 معدة والقلب والكبد ويدخل فى ال

11 ادوية الكُبار للنَّاس الكُبْرا. يوخذ ورق ورد طريّ

12 ويكون قد بَدَأت فيه شُوَيّ يبوسة اوقيا ونصف اسحق

13 سَحْقا بالغا فى مهراس رُخام وأجعل عليه عُود

14 قُماريّ طيّب ومُختار قرنفل سَمَغ سُنْبُل هِندىّ
من كلّ واحد

15 درهم ونصف صَنْدل أصفر درهمَين رامِك ثلاثة
دراهم أصحق

16 مِثل الكُحْل واسحق ذلك مع الورد ورَطِّبْه بشُوَيّ
ماء ورد

17 التى قد أُنْقِع فيه السَمَغ عربىّ واسحق ايضا ورَطِّب

18 ثانيةً واسحق ايضا ويكون ذا العمل فى نهارٍ وَطِيِّبه

19 بمُسْك وزن رُبَاعِيين عَنْبر وكافور من كلّ واحد
مثقال وفى

20 أخرى يقول كافور نصف مثقال واعمل طوابع
كيف قُلْنا .

21 صفة عمل غالية الافاوية لطينىٓ Alya galie alyefangiyeh

22 وهى التى استخرجوها القُدماء وقد تكلّموا

23 فيها كثير من الناس وفى منافعها أنّها نافعة

fol. 2a.

1 لتقوية القلب والدماغ والمعدة وجميع اعضاء الغذاءِ

2 لتقوية ضعف العَصَب واسترخائها وإذا جعل على

3 العَصَب الضعيفة قواها ويدخل فى الادوية الكُبار

4 وهذا صنته يوخذ أَمْلَج طيّب

5 زِلْ منه نياه وخوذ منه اربعة اوقيا وفى نسخة
أُخرى قال ستّة اوقيا

6 اسحقه جرِيش واجعله فى [إناء] مززّج واجعل
عليه ماء ورد

7 قد أُنْقع فيه ورد ناشف وقِشْر أُتْرُوج نصف
ابدة وشُدّ

8 فم الإناء وَاتْركه ثلاثة ايام ومن بعد ذلك
انقَعْ فيه ال

9 املج إلى أن تخرجَ فيه قُوَة الاملج . وبعد ذلك تاخذ

10 عود قمارىّ تسعة دراهم رامك اوقيا ونصف ورد عشرة دراهم قَرَنْفُل

11 عشرة دراهم سنبل هندىّ ثلاثة دراهم صندل أصفر أربعة دراهم صَمَغ عربىّ

12 ستّة دراهم إسحق الجميع مثل الكحل وَاجْعل على ذلك نقيع

13 الاملج شوىّ وَاسحق الغُبار وخَلِطّْ به جَيِّد إلى أن

14 يشرب الغبار جميع الماء وفى الآخر طَيِّبْه بدرهم كافور

15 ودرهمين عنبر ودرهم مشك واعمله طوا . . . . واطبعهم

16 كيف قلنا وَارفَع فى إناء مزجّج .

17 صفة عمل اقراص الورد لطينىّ Trochischi diarrhodon

18 منافعه كثيرة للحمّيات القديمة

19 والمركّبة والبَلْغَمِيّة والحمّيات التى قد تَهَبَّجت ال

20 بدن منها وحالت وهو نافع لتقوية المعدة وضَعَفِها

21 ووجعها ويُزيل بلّتَها ورطوبتَها الغَرِيبَة. يوخذ ورق

22 ورد أحمر ستة مثقال سنبل الطيب مثقالين عود
سوس ثلاثة

23 مثاقل طباشير مثقال زعفران نصف مثقال مسطخى

fol. 2b.

1 مسطخى يُعْجَن بنبيذ أبيض ويُعْمَل أقْراص من درهم

2 اقراص الورد ايضا لطينىّ Trochisci diarrhodon
يُقْوى ال

3 معدة والكبد ويُصْلح رطوبَةَ المعدة

4 البلغميّة . يوخذ ورق ورد عشرة دراهم عُود سُوس
خمسة دراهم سنُبل الطيب

5 درهمَين ونصف أعجُن ذلك بنبيذ أبيض وإن
أردتَ تعمَلْه

6 مُسْهِل زِدْ فيه ثلاثة دراهم سقَمونيا .·.

7 أقراص الورد والغافث لطينىّ Troschisci di rozados

8 et eupatorii منافعة عجيبة

9 للحمّيات القديمة والمُرَكّبة ووجع الكبد وتَسدّدِه وال

10 يرَقان : يوخذ ورق ورد ثمانية دراهم سنبل ثلاثة دراهم
رَاوَنْد صينىّ

11 اربعة دراهم طباشير درهم ونصف عود سوس ثلاثة
دراهم عَصارة

12 غافث عشرة دراهم يُنْمَعَل اقراص بترنكْبين ∴

13 أقراص الورد مُـأَمَّن من الأوَائل وهو كثير المنفعة

14 لوجع المعدة وسَوْء الهَـضَم والمتهبّجين

15 والحائلين اللَوْن وللاستِقْساء والحمّيات القديمة

16 يُوخَذ ورد ثلاثة دراهم عود قُـمارىّ درهمَين مسطخى
درهم ونصف

17 أَفْسَنْتين درهم قَرِفة سنبل سَلِيخة فُقّاح إِذْخِر
من كلّ واحد

18 درهم إعْمَل من ذلك اقراص من درهمين بنبيذ قديم

19 ومـاء العسلىّ

20 سُكّ المُترفّهين وهى الغالية الكبيرة لطينىّ Galia

21 Manna وهى غالية الملوك منافعة

22 لتقوية المعدة والكبد والقلب وجميع اعضاء ال

23 غاذية ويُصْلِح الهضم ويُنَبِّه شَهْوة الطعام . تاخذ

24 عصارة البَلَح ابدة غَلِّيهِ غَلْيَة واحدة وصفى . . .
على ذلك

Translation

fol. 1*a*.

1. of each one a Kabul ounce, fumitory—of each one four drams and some say
2. Senna, eight drams, polypody six drams, . . . Agrimonia Eupatoria five drams. Boil
3. the whole, except the thyme-weed, in three *abdāt* of water. Others boil it
4. in whey, until one *abdah* remains. After this throw upon it
5. thyme-weed, give it only one boiling, strain it and mix in it
6. black hellebore, one dram, agaric one half a dram, Indian salt . . . a *mithkāl*.
7. Draft of a laxative [i.e.] Infusio digerra.
8. It purifies the head and the stomach, is useful for fever that has become chronic,
9. for pains in the . . ., for headache, for stomachache, and for
10. megrim. Let the laxative be taken [together with] half an ounce of good aloes of each one.
11. Steep this . . . boiled agrimony . . . [and put]
12. this in a glass vessel and place it in the sun for twelve [nights and ?] days
13. or more, as needs may be . . .
14. Another method of preparing a laxative is this: Let him take out that which divides the . . . [No.] 218
15. the black bile. It is useful for troubles of the brain, when it is affected.
16. Let a laxative be taken and aloes, of each five drams. Soak this in cooked
17. thyme-weed, as we have explained above.
18. A further preparation of a laxative: let him ease and get out all
19. phlegmy matter, soak [in water] that has been cooked with wild thyme

20. [one] *abdah*, and do as we have explained.
21. The eighth section, dealing with pastiles. It is made up of
22. that which we have to say according to the theory of the important men and the ancients and their practices,
23. as well as of that which we ourselves have discovered.
24. Description of the preparation of Ghāliyah, i.e. *Ghāliyah muskatah*, which is the *Sukk* perfumed with musk.

fol. 1*b*.

1. Account of how to prepare the perfumed Sukk, in Latin " Galia muscata ". It strengthens the brain
2. and the heart, and enters into the composition of many medicines.
3. It improves the complexion, and it betters the breath of the mouth. Let be taken aloe-wood of Cambodja
4. that is in good condition and well-selected, five portions ; ambergris and camphor, three portions ; musk, nine portions
5. of good quality, a portion of the viscid substance of gum-tragacanth mixed with rose-water, as much as enters into
6. the composition of the tablets that are like the leaf of the myrtle-tree. Let this be put and inserted in
7. a glass vessel, being mixed [there] as long as is necessary. But, according to the opinion of others,
8. one should dissolve the amber in a vessel of glass with a little of the oil of ben, and kneed it with this.
9. Account of how to prepare the *Sukk*, i.e. galia sabelian ?, for strengthening the weakness of the
10. stomach, the heart and the liver. It is used, also, in the
11. chief medicines used in the case of eminent men. Let there be taken a leaf of a fresh rose
12. in which just a little dryness has begun to appear—one ounce and a half. Pound it
13. completely in a marble mortar, working it with

14. aromatic aloe-wood of Cambodja, the choicest gilliflower, gum-Arabic, Indian ward,—from each one of them
15. a dram and a half; yellow sandal-wood, two drams; sesame, three drams. Grate this
16. as you would [grate] antimony powder. Grate this with rose-leaves and moisten it with a little rose-water
17. in which has been dissolved the gum-arabic. Pound it again. Moisten it
18. a second time. Then, pound it again, so that it can be used on that very day; perfume it
19. with musk weighing two-quarters; amber and camphor, of each one a *mithḳāl*. In
20. another copy he says "one and a half *mithḳāl* of camphor". Do the rest as we have said.
21. Account of how to prepare the pastile of aromatics; in Latin galia galie alyspangiyeh.
22. It is that which the ancients have invented and have already spoken about it
23. many men. It serves various purposes. It is useful

fol. 2a.

1. for strengthening the heart, the brain, the stomach and the rest of the digestive organs;
2. for strengthening the weakness of the nerves and when they become paralysed. Now, when the weak nerves
3. have regained their strength, it [i.e. the preparation] may be used for [preparing] strong medicines.
4. This, then, is the way to prepare it. Let aromatic emblic myrabolans be taken.
5. Remove from it its rawness, and take of this four ounces—in another copy he says "six ounces".
6. Pulverize this into meal, put it into a glass vessel, and pour over it rose-water,
7. in which dried roses have been soaked, and one-half of the peel of a citron. Cover up

8. the mouth of the vessel. Leave it [thus] for three days. After this mix in it the
9. emblic myrabolans, until the force of the emblic has come into the mixture. After this, take
10. aloe-wood of Cambodja, ten drams; rāmik, one ounce and a half; roses, ten drams; cloves,
11. ten drams; Indian spikenard, three drams; yellow sandal-wood, four drams; gum-Arabic,
12. six drams. Pulverize the whole, as one would do in making antimony-powder. Then, throw upon this just a little
13. of the emblic myrobalans. Pulverize that which results, and mix this powder well until
14. the powder shall have absorbed all the water. At the end, perfume it with a dram of camphor,
15. two drams of amber and a dram of musk. Put this into [proper] shapes, and treat them
16. as we have explained, and place [them] in a glass vessel.
17. [No.] 223. Account of how to prepare pastiles of rose—in Latin "trochischi diarrodon".
18. Its uses are many for fevers that are chronic
19. and complicated and [accompanied by] phlegm; for fevers from which has become enflamed
20. the body, and has become changed. It is useful for strengthening the stomach and removing any weakness it may have,
21. and [any] pain it may have. It throws off any mucous or strange humours it may have. Let be taken six leaves
22. of red roses, two *mithḳāls* of aromatic musk-root, two *mithḳāls* of glycyrrizha glabra, three
23. *mithḳāls* of bamboo-manna, one *mithḳāl* of saffron, one half of a *mithḳāl* of

fol. 2b.

1. mastic. It should be worked with date wine, and pastiles equal to a dram made out of this;

2. pastiles of rose also; in Latin "Trochischi Diarrhodon". They strengthen
3. the stomach and the liver; they heal the phlegmic of the stomach.
4. Let rose-leaves be taken, ten drams; liquorice-root, five drams; spikenard
5. two drams and a half. Knead this with date wine. If thou wishest to make it
6. laxative, add to this three drams of scammony.
7. Pastiles of rose and agrimony, in Latin "trochischi di rozados
8. el eupatorii". Its utility is marvellous
9. for chronic fevers and for complicated ones, for pain in the liver, for its non-functioning and for
10. jaundice. Let be taken rose-leaves, eight drams; spikenard, three drams; Chinese rhubarb
11. four drams; bamboo-manna, one dram and a half; liquorice-root, three drams; the juice of
12. agrimony, ten drams. Let pastiles be made [of it] with Spanish jennet.
13. Pastiles of roses, handed down to us from those of ancient days. They are very useful
14. for troubles of the stomach, for bad digestion, for those who suffer from tumours,
15. for those that have a bad colour, for exhaustion, and for chronic fever.
16. Let there be taken: roses, three drams; Cambodja aloes, two drams; mastich, one dram and a half;
17. absinth, one dram; cinnamon, sandal-wood, galingale, oderiferous cane, from each one of these
18. a dram. Make of this pastiles, [each weighing] two drams by means of old wine
19. and honey-water.
20. A perfumed pastile for those living in luxury, i.e. the larger Galia muschata, in Latin "Galia Manna".
21. It is the "Galia" taken by kings, useful

22. for strengthening the stomach, the liver, the heart and all the other parts of the
23. alimentary system. It strengthens endurance and excites the wish to eat. Take
24. the syrup of dates, one abdah; give this one boiling and clear [it . . .] upon this.

NOTES

[1] In the MSS. referred to in the opening notes, these words are always written out.

[2] This is always written اوقية, with ة at the end. What a Kabul ounce is I do not know. I cannot find that the capital of Afghanistan had a special set of weights and measures.

[3] Löw, *Pflanzennamen*, pp. 27, 28, "Pfefferkümmel." See Ibn Baitar, ii, No. 1264.

[4] تَشْتِيوَان. According to Ibn Bait., i, No. 416, this is a Berber word for the πολυπόδιον—a sort of fern.

[5] I cannot make out the first two letters of the word. The following is probably נאפת = غَافِث. In the remnants of the medical dictionary, Alliance, H. 154A, fol. 83*a* (Schwab says: "à la fin quartre pages d'un vocabulaire roman-arabe, plusieurs ff. sont endommagées"), I find נאפת איפאטוריא. MS. Bibl. Nat. 2993, s.v. قرص الغافث تذكر منافعها فى الفزع زد ورد دلك ومصارة غافث من كلّ واحد درهم بزر بقلة درهمين طباشير نصف درهم رمّب سوس رُبع درهمين يُسحق ويُعجن بماء العندبا ويقرَص. See also Ibn Bait., iii, 1618. It is the *Agrimonia Eupatoria*, so called after Mithridates Eupator; Löw, p. 33; cf. also *La Grande Encyclopádie*, s.v. Eupatoire. MS. Alliance, H. 154A, fol. 26*b*: נאפת אישפאטוריא עשב ח"א (حارّ=) י"ב (يابس=) ב"ם (ابن هيناء=) אומר שהוא עשב יש לו עלה כעלה השאה רצ׳ יפרחו כפרח הנירוזפאר ואמ׳ בן ואפר (ابن وافر=) שמראהו יטהאל(?) השחרות יועיל מכאבי הכבד ויחזקהו ומקושי הטחול ומורסת הכבד והאצטו׳ (האצטומכה=) ומרוע הקפן והשקוי והקדחות הישנות וישקוהו עם יין לי . . . . . . (unreadable) תמורתו חצי משקלו אסארון ומשקל וחצי אפסנתין. Cf. Avicenna, i, p. 279.

[6] أقثيمون or افثيمون = ἐπίθυμον. See Ibn Bait., i, No. 112; Meyerhof, *Honain ibn Isḥaq*, p. 209.

[7] What אבדה means I do not know. I cannot find it in any dictionary.

[8] ماء الجبن "whey"; in French "petit lait". See Ibn Bait., iii, No. 2066.

[9] ἐλλεβορυς. Ibn Bait., ii, No. 773. It is, I think, the *Elleborus officinalis.*

[10] The scribe has put a dot over the ג, where it does not belong. On غارقون Avicenna, i, p. 278, has a long article upon it and its uses. It is the *polyposus officinalis.* See Ibn Bait., iii, No. 1622.

[11] نقيع Dozy "infusion". Johnson in his Dict. says it is a Greek word.

[12] Dr. Meyerhof considers that ايارج الفقرا is an Arabic corruption of the bitter laxative ἱέρα πικρί mentioned by Galen. I can find no mention of it either in Avicenna or Ibn Bait.

[13] This looks more like Italian than Spanish; though MS. Bodleian 2836, Heb. d. 68, contains fragments of a medical dictionary containing recipes in Spanish, but in Hebrew characters; and MS. Bodleian 2836, Heb. d. 68, has fragments of a medical dictionary giving the Arabic terms with Spanish translation and explanation.

[14] A sort of headache. MS. Alliance, H. 156A (כתאב אללמחה), fol. 2*a* has: ואמא אל שקיקה פהו וג̇ע מזמן יהיג̇ פי אחד ג̇אנבי אל ראס וסבבהא אמא אבכרה מרתפעה או אכלאט חארה או בארדה ועלאמאת מעלומה ממה תקדם. The first few pages of this MS. have been added by a much later hand and in square script. The rest of this most interesting MS. is in a very peculiar script, which I think shows a Persian ductus. When I first studied the MS. the pages were all stuck one to the other and I had to unstick them with great care.

[15] Or "perfumed aloes".

[16] The number of days must have been mentioned here; but the spot is blotted out.

[17] אל בלג̇ is put here only to fill out the line; the word is given in full at the beginning of the next line. For this reason the scribe has put a dot over the ג.

[18] Reading אבדה—the dot over the א may mean nothing.

[19] MS. Bibl. Nat. 2993, fols. 88*a* to 94*b*, has a full chapter on "pastiles" (τροχίσκοι). See also the MS. of al-Kalānisī, Bibl. Nat. Arabe 2946, fols. 105*b* to 112*a*.

[20] Ghālia, sukk, and rāmik are all perfumed remedies. Dr. Meyerhof refers me to an article on Perfumes in the *Archiv für die Gesch. der Naturwissenschaft und der Technik*, Leipzig, 1913, vi, pp. 418 ff.

[21] On السكّ المسّك see MS. Bibl. Nat. Arabe 2993, fol. 92*a*: صنعة سك المسك; but the wording is not the same as in our fragment. On المسُكّ see Ibn Bait., ii, No. 1201.

[22] On the use of musk see *Encycl. Brit.*, s.v., MS. Bibl. Nat. Arabe 2946, fol. 173*b*: مصطكى حارّ يابس فى الثانية . . . . يقوى المعده والكبد ومصمه يجلب البلغم من الراس

[23] קמארי = Khmer, i.e. Cambodja; though none of my authorities give Cambodja as a special place from which aloe-wood comes.

[24] The letters טי are used merely to fill out the line; they are the first letters of the first word on the following line.

[25] So Dozy s.v.

[26] i.e. *Myrtus communis*; see Löw, p. 50.

[27] One would expect آخرين in the genitive!

[28] *Shwaiya*, diminutive of شئ.

[29] On Bān, the ben-tree, see Avicenna, i, p. 139; Ibn Bait., i, No. 226, and note attached by de Sacy. It is the *Guilandina Moringa*.

[30] What "Sabilyān" is I do not know; nor does Dr. Meyerhof.

[31] Was this to be used only in the case of important or rich persons?

[32] Ibn Bait., ii, No. 1603, mentions عود قارى as one of the kinds of aloe-wood.

[33] Here again קמא are the first three letters of the following word.

[34] MS. Bibl. Nat. Arabe 2946, fol. 176*a*: صندل بارد يابس فى الثانية ينفع من الحمّيات الحارّة ويقوى القلب وينفع من الخفقان شربا وكلا ويسكن الصداع والاحمر بمته يمنع التحلّب

[35] رامك "An astringent lozenge made of the juice of unripe grapes or of nutgalls and pomegranate bark, sometimes containing musk and used as a perfume or ornament." Redhouse, *Turkish and English Dictionary*, s.v. See also Johnson and Vullers.

[36] On قرنفل see Avicenna, i, p. 243. MS. Alliance, H. 154A, fol. 77*a*: קרנפאל באריאופילי [i.e. *καρυόφυλλον*, Löw, p. 355] ניחפלי פרי חידה ייטיב ריח הפה ויחדד הראות ויועיל ממחבך העין ויחזק האצטומכא והכבד ויועיל הקיא והערות האצטומכא דארציני

[37] Should really be צמג, with *Ṣade*. See Avicenna, i, p. 242; Ibn Bait., ii, No. 1407.

[38] رَامَك; see Löw, p. 378, and the authorities cited there.

[39] أمْلج. See Ibn Bait., i, No. 145. Löw says that it is *Emblic myrabolana*.

[40] זיל = زِل.

[41] أُتْرُج = אתרג.

[42] In the space left blank towards the end of the line, there is a word written in what seems to be Latin. It ends with the letters *cisij*.

[43] i.e. *τροχίσκος διάῤῥοδον*.

[44] عود سوس, i.e. *glycyrrhiza glabra*. See Ibn Bait., ii, No. 1250.

[45] MS. Alliance, H. 154A, fol. 44*b*: טבאשיר אשפודיום שרשים סרופים. וי"א שהם עצמות הפיל שרופים ק"ב י"נ יש בו קביצות ויועיל מן האלקלע וממורסות העין החמות ויחזק הלב מן קרריאקה חמה ומהעלוף והשחמון והדאגה משקה או תתבשת ויועיל מן הקדחות החדות והצמח והלהבות באצטומכא והגרת האדומה אליה תמורתו קרן צבי שרוף או שנדלוש

[46] On the margin אלטיב = سنبل الطيب, i.e. Nard. Avicenna, i, p. 223. Ibn Bait., ii, No. 1237, gives the various kinds of سُنْبُل and their uses.

[47] Two words have again been added—not in Hebrew letters—ending in "ciscorf".

[48] Scammonia, in good Arabic المحمودة. See Ibn Bait., ii, No. 1193.

[49] On راوند صينى see Ibn Bait., ii, No. 1018. He cites an especial treatise on rhubarb, where various kinds are mentioned, and says that that of China is the best.

[50] = Persian ترنگبين "sweet resin" or "Spanish genêt" (Dozy).

[51] هَبَج "a tumour". See Johnson and Dozy.

[52] See Ibn Bait., i, No. 113, where one can find a long article on absinth.

[53] قِرْفَة "cinnamon". Johnson says "a kind of cinnamon". See Dozy s.v. and Ibn Bait., ii, No. 1201.

[54] On سُلِيخَة "cinnamon" see Avicenna, i, p. 226; Ibn Bait., ii, No. 1205. Leclerc still thinks that it comes from the Greek ξυλιχή.

[55] Dr. Meyerhof فقاح إذخِر "lemon-grass-buds". Ibn Bait., iii, No. 1692, says simply that it is a generic name given to the flower of any plant; and so, practically, does Dozy s.v.

[56] إذخِر = σχοίνανθος, i.e. *Andropagen schoenanthus*. Avicenna has a *dāl* (i, p. 127). So does Ibn Bait., i, No. 29. Dozy has it only with a *dhāl*. It is the oderiferous cane.

[57] Reading is not clear and uncertain.

[58] Avicenna, i, p. 280, has an article on غالية; but he says nothing about الغالية الكبيرة. Manna = Heb. מָן, Exodus xvii, 15. At the end of the article "Manna" in the *Encycl. Brit.* it is said that the Biblical manna answers very clearly to the tamarisk manna.

[59] The على ذلك belongs to the next page.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

NOTE ON THE TRIBAL NAME *MES* (*MECH*)

In a former number of this Journal [1] the writer has proposed an explanation of the name *Båṛå f^{ĭ}-sâ*, and it now seems that the designation *Mes* (or, in Assamese spelling, মেচ্ *Mech*) applied to the western sections of the same people is also capable of an interpretation going back to a Tibeto-Burman original.

The name has usually been supposed to be a corruption of Sanskrit म्लेच्छ *mlečča* "stranger, barbarian",[2] a term of contempt applied by the neighbouring Hindus. But it seems at least as probable that an origin within the tribe should be sought, since it is used not only by their neighbours but also to some extent by the people themselves.[3] As such tribal names are frequently simply words originally meaning "man", it is not unlikely that the term *Mes* may go back to this source. In such an event it may be expected to represent *mê-s*,[4] in which *mê* is the same word as Tibetan and Meithei *mî* "man", and *-s* is probably the same suffix as *-šî* in Deorî-Chutiyâ (Sibsagar) *ma-šî* [5] (Lakhimpur dialect *mô-šî*) "man". Such a coalescence is not unknown elsewhere, and actually occurs in Kûlung *mĭs* [6] (for *mî-s*) "man", in which *mî* alone was originally undoubtedly "man" as in Tibetan, Thâmi, etc., *-s* being all that now remains of a formerly vocalized suffix. Kûlung also provides supporting evidence in the fact that *-m* appears for an infinitive suffix which in neighbouring dialects is *-mâ*, as in Kûlung *ǰâ-m* "to eat" (Rûngchhênbûng, Sângpâng, *čâ-mâ*), Kûlung *k̆â-yê-m* "to go" (R. *k̆ăṭ°-mâ*, S. *k̆ăt°-mâ*), and Kûlung *sĭl-bâ-m* "to make merry", and *čŭ-m*[1] "to be" or "become", and again by the reduction at times of the genitive suffix *-mî* to *-m*, as in *pî-m čă* "calf" (for *pî-mî čă*), *ô-pâ-m k̆ĭm* "my father's house" (for *ô-pâ-mî k̆ĭm*), and so on.

---

[1] *JRAS.* 1929, pp. 851–3, 869–70.

[2] *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. iii, pt. ii, p. 1.

[3] Op. cit., p. 36.

[4] Hodgson, *Miscellaneous Essays relating to Indian Subjects*, vol. i, p. 72, note, writes "Mécch", i.e. Mêch, with long vowel quantity.

[5] For *ma* here as representing an original *mi*, compare Rûngchhênbûng *ma-nâ* "man" for a probable original *mî(-nâ)* in agreement with Rai *mîn* (< *mî-n*), Thâmi *mî*, Tibetan *mî*, etc. See *JRAS.* 1933, p. 850, n. 1.

[6] Hodgson, op. cit., vol. i, p. 181. The writer also has been given this form as against Khambu (= Kûlung) *mîs-sî* of the Linguistic Survey (vol. iii, pt. i, p. 411), in which the first *s* is doubtless due merely to the use of a conjunct consonant in the Nepâli spelling (मिस्सि for मिसि).

Such apocopations are not in any way unusual, and it seems not improbable that *Mes* is thus to be numbered among them.

(NOTE.—See also *JRAS.* 1929, pp. 851 and 869.)

STUART N. WOLFENDEN.

195.

ON THE FORM OF THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ CONTAINED IN THE KASHMIRIAN MAHĀBHĀRATA

In his review, in vol. lii of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, of my edition of the Kashmirian recension of the *Bhagavadgītā*, Professor Edgerton has (on p. 70) emphasized the fact that the India Office MS. 2137, which is one of Dr. Sukthankar's most important manuscripts in his critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*, though hailing from Kashmir contains the vulgate text of the *Gītā* and not the one brought to light by me. This fact, he says, "raises a certain presumption in favour of the vulgate text," i.e. a suspicion that the text diverging from the vulgate is, in Kashmir as elsewhere, never found in manuscripts of the *Mahābhārata*. Considering that the *Gītā* has long since been leading, so to speak, a life of its own—there is, as will be remembered, even the theory that the bulk of it originated outside the *Mahābhārata*—this seems, indeed, to be quite a legitimate hypothesis. Its probability is, however, weakened by the fact, unknown to Professor E., and but recently disclosed by me (in the Winternitz Congratulatory Volume), that the said manuscript of the India Office is not free from traces of the Kashmirian recension. Add to this the total ignorance, as to the vulgate text, of both the commentators of the Kashmirian *Gītā*, Rāmakaṇṭha and Abhinavagupta, and the hypothesis becomes very nearly untenable. That it is actually untenable I am now in a position to show by means of Kṣemendra's *Bhāratamañjarī* (Kāvyamālā edition of 1898). This is a metrical paraphrase of the whole *Mahābhārata*, and its summary of the *Bhagavadgītā* (on pp. 392–404 of the edition) unmistakably betrays its being based on the Kashmirian recension. At its very beginning (Bhīṣma-parvan, v. 30) the first half of i, 1 of the Kashmir recension, viz. *dharmakṣetre kurukṣetre sarvakṣatrasamāgame*, is echoed by *tasmin kṣatrakṣayakṣetre sarvakṣatrasamāgame.* Another palpable agreement, viz. with a passage of the Kashmirian recension which is missing in the vulgate (*harṣam asya nivartyaiva śokam asya dadāti ca*, occurring between iii, 37 and 38 of the vulgate text) is: *rajoguṇasamutthena harṣaśokādidāyinā* (v, 68). Still another, viz. with the verse intervening in the Kashmirian recension between v, 17 and 18 of the vulgate (*smaranto 'pi muhus tv etat spṛśanto 'pi svakarmaṇi* | *saktā api na sajanti paṅke ravikarā iva* ||) is: *śṛṇvanto 'pi vadanto 'pi spṛśanto 'pi svakarmaṇi* | *saktā api na sajjanti paṅke ravikarā iva* ||. These few examples will suffice to prove that the manuscript of the *Mahābhārata* on which Kṣemarāja has based his condensation of the great epic, did contain the Kashmirian recension and not the vulgate text of the *Bhagavadgītā.*

---

[1] N. छु *čŭ* with Kûlung infinitive *-m*.

I may here be allowed to seize the opportunity of venturing a guess as to the introduction of the vulgate text of the *Gītā* into Kashmir. The first Kashmirian author quoting from the latter is, so far as I know, a pupil of Kṣemarāja, viz. Yogarāja, commentator of Abhinavagupta's *Paramārthasāra.* I am not quite sure whether he really knew the vulgate, because the vulgate readings in his work, as we have it, may be merely due to copying, as is the case in some *Gītā* manuscripts, and because there is a later author (Jayaratha) who still quotes from the Kashmir text only. But a combination of certain facts seems, indeed, to justify the assumption that the spread of the vulgate in Kashmir began at about the time of Yogarāja, i.e. in the twelfth century. Before this time there is not only no trace of the vulgate text of the *Gītā*, but also, so far as I can see, not a single indubitable reference to Śaṅkara or his works, although certain Vedāntic views agreeing with or akin to his, such as the *vivarta-vāda* and the *śāntabrahma-vāda* (teaching "*vijñānaṃ brahma*", but ignoring the *vimarśa* or *spanda* aspect of the Absolute) are mentioned and criticized. On the other hand, I have found that, whenever a manuscript coming from Kashmir contains the vulgate of the *Gītā* together with other texts, among these latter there are generally some of the minor works of the Śāṅkara Vedānta. I am, therefore, inclined to believe that it was during the reign of the Kashmirian king Harṣa (1089–1101), whose love of Dākṣiṇātya fashion has been noticed by Kalhaṇa in his *Rājataraṅgiṇī*,[1] that the works of Śaṅkara and his school, and so the vulgate of the *Gītā* on which Śaṅkara's *Gītā-bhāṣya* is based, began to attract the attention of the Kashmirians. The lateness of this date—over three centuries after Śaṅkara—is embarrassing but perhaps explainable. The *dig-vijaya* of Śaṅkara was very likely not nearly as complete as the traditional accounts would make us believe.[2] The Kashmirian *ācāryas*, on the other hand, were so much engrossed in their own *Śaiva darśana* that they may have been practically inaccessible to any system which did not proclaim the *Āgamas* as its source and base. They were, moreover, acquainted with Buddhism, Kashmir having been its stronghold for a long time, and must have, therefore, regarded the Śāṅkara Vedānta, if they knew it, as what it really is: a Vedāntic adaptation from Buddhist philosophy. As such, i.e. unoriginal and heretical, as it appeared to them, it may have been ignored until the time when the flower of the Pratyabhijñā school was over and a ruler of the country had taken a fancy to the south.

---

[1] See H. C. Ray's *Dynastic History of Northern India*, vol. i, p. 148.

[2] Note, e.g. that among the "six systems" of philosophy described by Haribhadra in the second half of the ninth century the Uttaramīmāṃsā is conspicuous by its absence, though the Pūrvamīmāṃsā is there.

214. F. OTTO SCHRADER.

A COLLECTION OF THE LITERARY REMAINS OF IGNACE GOLDZIHER

On 18th October, 1933, an event took place at Budapest, Hungary, which is worthy of the attention of all those studying Islamology or Semitic philology. The President of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Mr. Albert de Berzeviczy, opened for the use of scholars the "Goldziher-room" of the Hungarian Academy, which contains all the literary remains of the celebrated Hungarian Orientalist, Ignace Goldziher (1850–1921). This very valuable material was presented to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences by the late scholar's family; its existence and arrangement in the building of the Academy are due to Professor Eugene de Balogh, former Minister of Justice, Secretary of the Hungarian Academy.

The collection of the "Goldziher-room" comprises Goldziher's entire scientific correspondence, the manuscripts of his unedited works, his notes collected, excerpts, and miscellaneous writings. Moreover, in the room are also deposited some objects belonging to the late scholar and a large collection of his friends' portraits.

The scientific correspondence of Ignace Goldziher contains about 13,700 letters from about 1,650 persons. Nearly every Islamic and Semitic scholar of his time, from nearly every country, including the entire Muslim Orient, corresponded with him. Especially numerous are the letters received from his master, Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer, the famous Leipzig professor (1801–1888), and his great contemporaries, Michael Jean de Goeje, Theodor Noeldeke, and Christian Snouck Hurgronje. From Noeldeke 337 letters are contained in the collection; these have been supplemented by Goldziher's 200 letters to Noeldeke, the originals of which are kept at the University of Tübingen, and were sent to Budapest for the purpose of copying by the intervention of Sir M. Aurel Stein. It is to be hoped that similar supplements can be obtained also regarding other distinguished scholars. Many British and American Orientalists figure among the writers of the letters.[1] A peculiar attraction of the collection is the letters of Goldziher's Arabian friends, containing precious copies of texts from different Muslim centres. Some pieces in the collection he received also from non-Orientalist celebrities of his time, such as Ernest Renan or Theodor Mommsen. We also mention his correspondence with Hungarian scholars, who, of course, always consulted him in regard to Oriental languages, religions, and history.

The contents of the letters are extremely various: many of them open up new problems and new paths of investigation in Islamic studies, and are full of interpretations of words or texts. The rich material of this many-sided correspondence can hardly be dispensed with by anybody studying the interior development of Islamology as a special branch of science with distinct methods of research, one of the greatest scholars of which was Goldziher.

The collection also contains the manuscripts of Goldziher's three longer, unedited works. These are :—

---

[1] Thus J. Abrahams, H. Z. Amedroz, Sir Thomas W. Arnold, A. A. Bevan, E. G. Browne, P. Brönnle, A. Büchler, F. C. Burkitt, J. Crichton, Th. Duka, W. H. T. Gairdner, Margaret D. Gibson, J. Gilroy, R. Gottheil, J. Hastings, P. Haupt, H. Hirschfeld, M. Jastrow, S. Khuda Bukhsh, K. Kohler, Agnes S. Lewis, Ch. Lyall, J. A. MacClymont, D. B. Macdonald, D. S. Margoliouth, R. Martineau, F. Max Müller, G. K. Nariman, A. Neubauer, R. A. Nicholson, T. W. Rhys Davids, Sir E. Denison Ross, W. Robertson Smith, Sir Aurel Stein, A. M. Suhrawardy, Ch. C. Torrey, Crawford H. Toy, W. Wright, S. M. Zwemer, and many others.

(1) A history of Arabic literature, in Hungarian. Originally this work was written for the pupils of the eighth year of the grammar schools of Bosnia-Herzegowina, and was translated for this purpose into Serbian in 1909. It deserves our especial attention, because it was written in the spirit of Muslim theology for the use of Muslim pupils.

(2) The intended edition of the *Kitāb tahdhīb al-alfāẓ* of Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb ibn Isḥāq ibn as-Sikkīt. From 1872 till 1883 he prepared the publication of this work of the famous Arab grammarian, the edition of which was recommended to and repeatedly urged with him by his master, H. L. Fleischer. Originally he purposed to edit the *Kitāb fiqh al-lugha* of Abū Manṣūr 'Abdalmalik ibn Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl ath-Tha'ālibī, his later researches, however, proved that this work was based on that of Ibn as-Sikkīt. For this reason he drafted a critical edition of the latter author's *Kitāb tahdhīb al-alfāẓ* on its MS. of Leyden. From motives unknown, however, he did not publish this work in his lifetime.[1]

(3) The intended edition under the title *Eid und Schwur* of the *Aymān al-'arab fil-jāhiliyya* of Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abdallāh an-Najīramī, from the MS. of the Khedivial Library of Cairo, No. 234, fols. 159–163, on which work he wrote in his "Notices sur la littérature des *Aymān al-'arab*" (*Mélanges Hartwig Dérenbourg*, Paris, 1909, p. 204). The *Eid und Schwur*, too, has remained unedited, though it contains a detailed introduction, collations, and notes.[2]

An important part of the collection is Goldziher's very numerous and extensive notes on sundry Islamic topics, which, in all probability, are not contained in his works in print. These notes alone can give research-work to several students of Islam. Their catalogue is being drawn up.

---

[1] It was published at Beyrouth in 1895 by P. L. Cheikho on the MSS. of Leyden and Paris, under the title *La critique du langage*.

[2] It was published at Cairo in 1343/1924–5.

A thing apart in the collection is Goldziher's excerpts which he himself copied from 1870 on from the manuscripts of different libraries and the great part of which he used in his works. The collection contains many excerpts from the libraries of Leipzig, Leyden, Berlin, Gotha, Cairo, Damascus, Paris, and Vienna.

Among the miscellaneous writings we mention his notes made after the lectures of his professors, both Hungarian and foreign; the latter include such names as Fleischer, Steinschneider, Rödiger, Dieterici, and Wetzstein.

It can be seen from this brief survey that the rich contents of the Goldziher-collection can hardly be neglected by the scholars of both Islamology and Arabic and comparative Semitic philology. In this connection the present writer may perhaps be permitted to point to the necessity of the re-edition and the translation into English of Goldziher's well-known and much-used principal works. It may be of some interest to dwell here on Goldziher's connections with Great Britain. In 1893 he became an honorary member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, in 1904 an honorary member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. In the same year he was appointed among the first corresponding fellows of the British Academy. Also in 1904 the University of Cambridge conferred on him the degree of D.Litt., and in 1906 he received the degree of Ll.D. from the University of Aberdeen. He was invited to Cambridge for the fellowship of W. Robertson Smith after this scholar's death, a new edition of whose *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* was provided with additional notes by Goldziher in 1903. Some of his works have been translated into English; his *Vorlesungen über den Islam* were originally meant for the American public, and their English translation had already been printed in America during the war, when, on account of its deficiencies, it was recalled by Goldziher and was never issued. A new and correct English translation of this important manual of Islamology would be very welcome, the more so as it could now be made from its second, posthume edition enlarged with Goldziher's additional notes and published in German by Franz Babinger in 1925. The English translation of his *Muhammedanische Studien* would similarly be highly desirable; at the same time, this could also be the second edition of this work, which is all the more necessary as the original copy of Goldziher[1] contains a great many corrigenda and additional notes which are available for a possible English translation.

But not only the great works of Goldziher await their English translations and simultaneously their revised and enlarged second editions; his smaller papers, too, are well worthy of being collected and translated into English, on account of their rich and many-sided material. This equally holds good for his papers in Hungarian and those in foreign languages, for as A. A. Bevan justly states[2]: "Most of Goldziher's writings were published in German, but unfortunately some of them remain shrouded in the impenetrable obscurity of the Hungarian language. It is most earnestly to be wished that all his contributions to learning should, as soon as possible, be rendered generally accessible to Orientalists, for even his briefest articles have a permanent value." Goldziher's Hungarian papers can mostly be regarded as preparatory studies to his great works published in foreign languages. Their translation into English would be all the more necessary as some of them treat of problems on which he never wrote in his greater works or in his papers in foreign languages.[3] As for his papers in foreign languages, the copies in his use were all provided by him with additional notes and insertions, which in many cases are longer than the original papers themselves. They had already been prepared for publication in six volumes, but the German editor unfortunately becoming a bankrupt, this plan could not be realized.

---

[1] The original copies of this and all the other works mentioned in our article, provided with Goldziher's own additional notes and corrigenda, are in the possession of his son, Mr. Charles Goldziher, Ph.D., at Budapest.

[2] See his obituary notice in *JRAS.*, 1922, p. 144.

[3] Such is e.g. his paper, *A történetirás az arab irodalomban* ("The Writing of History in Arabic Literature"), a summary of which is given in my paper, "The *Kitāb al-muntaẓam* of Ibn al-Jauzī", *JRAS.*, 1932, on pp. 49–50.

In connection with the Goldziher collection of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and the necessity of the re-edition and English translation of his works,[1] we may finally remember a very important legacy of the late scholar which is in the possession of his son, Mr. Charles Goldziher, Ph.D., at Budapest. This is Goldziher's copy of Freytag's famous Arabic Dictionary in four volumes, which he kept enlarging with notes and new interpretations of words and phrases until his death. In his lifetime he always used to say that a new Arabic dictionary could be compiled on the base of the " Freytags " of de Goeje, Noeldeke, and himself. If, therefore, a complete dictionary of Arabic will be edited by some sort of international co-operation, for this purpose the " Freytags " of all these three deceased, prominent Arabists can and, indeed, must be used. Their marginal notes and additions are, to a certain extent, the philological legacies of their long, exceptionally productive lives, and are to be made available for the good of every research worker in Islamic sciences and Semitic philology.

216. JOSEPH DE SOMOGYI.

---

[1] For a list of Goldziher's complete works, see the *Bibliographie des œuvres de Ignace Goldziher*, par Bernard Heller. Publications de l'École Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes, Paris, Geuthner, 1927.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Mencius on the Mind: Experiments in Multiple Definition. By J. A. Richards. 8½ × 5½, pp. xvi + 132 + 44, ills. 1. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1932. 10*s*. 6*d*.

Dr. Richards is already author or joint-author of two of the nearly seventy volumes of the International Library of Psychology, Philosophy, and Scientific Method already issued by the same publishers. He has paid a visit to China in pursuit of his subject and has been especially interested in the philosophy of Mencius. In consequence he has produced this volume which will be welcomed by those interested in philosophy and psychology and particularly in the contribution of Mencius. Whether Mencius in his discussion with Kao Tzŭ has evolved an argument which is " one of the most important in the history of thought " (p. 22) may be left to others to discuss. Certain it is that the author has emphasized the extraordinary difficulty of endeavouring to discover the exact meaning of Mencius in the few instances to which he refers. To the untrained reader the author's treatment of his subject is rather bewildering. There is no ordered presentation of what he considers to be the meaning of the passages referred to but, instead, a variety of possible interpretations, while in all cases the reader is referred to a word-for-word translation, not always correct, given at the end of the book. This verbal translation makes little sense of Mencius. Take for instance the translation on page 37. Meng Tzŭ said " Great men words not necessarily keep-faith; conduct not necessarily resolute; only Yi (the right) is there-in." What can the ordinary reader make of such a translation? If reasonable imagination is applied we might read: " The truly great man in his words is not necessarily consistent, and in his conduct is not necessarily predetermined (or rigid), he only rests in what is right." If Greek and Latin authors, writing, be it remembered, in inflected languages, and therefore more easily interpreted, were treated in similar fashion how little of them should we apprehend! The author, moreover, need not let his mind "ache" (p. 57) over *chang*, which does not strictly mean "age", but "elder, senior".

It is only fair to say that the author offers his book in all modesty "chiefly to call attention to the need for another work on the same subject by some competent person". His desire "to bring into greater prominence an extremely puzzling set of linguistic situations" is scarcely necessary for students of Mencius who are fully aware of them. It is their loss that the author does not know Chinese or he might have produced a work they would have valued even more highly than his present attempt. As it is, no student of Mencius who desires to fathom the meaning of the phrases quoted and discussed can afford to ignore this treatise. The author himself fears that he would merit the sarcasm of Mencius in regard to the "chiselling" or meticulousness of the learned, and to anyone but a psychologist his fears may seem well founded. It is, of course, possible so to analyse the expressions themselves as to miss the real meaning. For instance, the author says (p. 55) "Neither Kao Tzŭ nor Mencius, it has been noted, discuss, or treat as open to discussion, the rightness of paying respect to age as age. They are concerned only with *how* this respect is determined; not at all with justifying the respect, or inquiring into the reasons for giving it. This difference is likely to be pivotal to the whole set of differences that divides Chinese thinking from Western thinking—or rather that strain in Western thinking which has led to the modern world". Now first of all it would hardly be fair to compare Mencius with any but his contemporaries in the world; second, the point in discussion had nothing to do with the quality of respect as such, but rather whether respect was an external or internal property, in other words whether it was objective as Kao Tzŭ propounded or subjective as argued by Mencius. One must always bear in mind that Mencius always has the last word in the argument. We do not know what Kao Tzŭ may have further argued.

Into detailed discussion, however, there is no need to enter. The author has drawn the attention to a problem of which Sinologists were already aware, the difficulty of construing with exactness certain phrases in Mencius; they have been content to know the general and accepted meaning of him, who, by his early contribution to the line of thought of Confucius, became later honoured as a sage of the second order in the Confucian School.

There are four chapters in the book: the first deals with some problems of translation; the second with types of utterance in Mencius; the third with Mencius's view of the mind; and the fourth towards a technique for comparative studies.

619. W. E. Soothill.

TOMBES THÉBAINES. Fasc. 2, Nécropole de Dirâ', Abû'n-Nága, Le Tombeau de Panehsy. Par MARCELLE BAUD et ÉTIENNE DRIOTON. Cairo, 1932.

This book is a good and competent example of a work which is, unfortunately, none too frequent—a cheap, yet accurate, publication of a tomb or temple. Desirable though it is that archæological publications should be as good and as informative as possible, it is even more important that the results and texts which they contain should be accessible to the average student, and at a price which would permit him, if necessary, to buy them. A book of this type is therefore very welcome, accompanied, as it is, by a clear description and translation of the scenes and texts.

The subject of this book is the tomb of Panehsy, a chief of the singers of Amūn, and a prophet of Amenhotep-of-the-Court in the reign of Rameses II. The decoration is apparently confined to the walls of a single chamber, and hence, though the normal scenes appear, they are somewhat cramped, and are not always in their usual position in the tomb. The scenes as a whole show nothing unusual, though naturally some emphasis is laid on the devotion of Panehsy to Amūn, and to the cult of Amenhotep I and Ahmes-Nefertari. More unusual, however, are the scenes showing Panehsy before the pylon of the temple of Amen-Rēʿ (fig. 10, pp. 20–2), and the procession of the sacred vase (fig. 16, pp. 30–3). It is also interesting to note that the authors consider that the scenes were the work of four groups of artists who were responsible for the scenes of adoration, agriculture, the procession, and the ceiling and decorative patterns.

It is, however, greatly to be regretted that no plan of the tomb is published, nor even a key to the arrangement of the scenes. It is true, as the authors point out, that the chamber which is dealt with in this book is small and rectangular, but a plan would have been of great assistance. The varying scale of the illustrations, the absence of all indications of scale, the very meagre indications of the connection between the various figures render it exceedingly difficult to decide from what precise portion of the tomb many of the scenes came. The reviewer must confess that, in spite of diligent and careful re-reading and in spite of playing with pencil and paper in an attempt to make a rough sketch-plan for himself, he is still completely baffled as to the exact position of certain scenes.

Finally, it is a pity that, before publishing this work, care had not been taken to complete the excavation of the tomb. Probably the second chamber is no more than a niche, but the aim of a book of this nature is surely complete publication, and this the authors can scarcely claim to have achieved as long as the tomb remains incompletely excavated.

912. H. W. FAIRMAN.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE SOCIOLOGY OF ISLAM. By R. LEVY. Vol. II. 9 × 6, pp. 426. London: Williams and Norgate for Herbert Spencer's Trustees, n.d. [1933]. 21*s*.

After dealing in the first of his volumes with the grades of society, the status of women and children, jurisprudence, and the "Caliphate and Central Government", Dr. Levy takes up in the second the religious conceptions and moral sentiments of Islam, usage and secular law, "Government in the Provinces of the Caliphate and the Succession States," military organization, and science under Islam. One's first reactions to so wide a survey are inevitably a little confused. It took the late Adam Mez a lifetime to collect the data for one century alone, and that within the relatively restricted area of the central provinces. No similar collections of material are available for the sociologist except for the most recent period. Yet the difference in size, organization, institutions, and outlook between the Islamic world of the tenth and that of the sixteenth century, for example, is scarcely less than the difference between the Western world in the fourteenth and in the eighteenth centuries. And so little of the spade-work has been done—indeed we have scarcely begun to penetrate beneath the surface features of any aspect of the Islamic society. The number of analytical, as distinct from descriptive, studies quoted by Dr. Levy in the full bibliographies appended to each chapter could be counted on the fingers of two hands. Medieval Islam is still a "dark continent", the coasts of which have been fairly adequately surveyed and charted, but whose interior is in large part unexplored.

From this statement of the position there are certain obvious conclusions to be drawn. First, that anyone who sets out to write a book of this kind has to do most of the exploring for himself. Secondly, he cannot possibly compass more than a fraction of the ground, and has therefore to rely upon a systematic collection and arrangement of the data to be gleaned from a limited number of "principal sources". The only way to escape these limitations would be to have a staff of readers to collect the raw materials. Thirdly, with so vast an area and range of time to cover in a restricted space, unity of treatment is incompatible with multiplicity of detail; either the one or the other has to be sacrificed.

So much is necessary by way of preface in order to reach a just estimate of Dr. Levy's achievement. One must not start from an ideal of what a textbook of sociology should be, but must make a very large allowance for the inexorable facts. The present reviewer, whose sense of the difficulties involved has been quickened by having had to put together a similar survey in the course of his teaching duties, gladly takes this opportunity of expressing appreciation of the amount of detail made available in these volumes. Even in the most familiar fields Dr. Levy adds something to the tale of evidence, and his treatment often has the merit of suggesting a new point of view, though limitations of space prevent him from developing any topic at all fully, and compel him to adopt the method of short and staccato summaries. This does not make for easy reading, particularly as in endeavouring to cover the ground he is forced to move rather disconcertingly backwards and forwards in time and hither and thither in space. An instance occurs at the beginning of the present volume, where on pages 15–19 a series of quotations illustrating the religious conceptions of Sufiism are taken almost entirely from post-Ghazalian writers, and Ghazali himself is treated on pages 20–1. The chapter on military organization suffers particularly in this way, perhaps through not making clear the vital difference between the earlier and later *iqṭāʿāt*.

It would, however, be an ungrateful task to fasten upon all the statements and details of exposition with which one might disagree or hesitate to agree. It follows from the present partial state of our knowledge that these are many—since no man can make at one and the same time expert original investigations into all the subjects which such a book must include—and that in most cases one questions chiefly because more evidence seems to be required. For this reason, it is perhaps to be regretted that Dr. Levy did not narrow down the limits of his subject in space and time, and either sacrifice some of the details or fuse them into a composite picture, just as one might wish that he had left out some of the more scholastic material and dealt instead with such subjects as industry and economic structure. But no criticisms of either sort ought to be allowed to obscure the real service which he has done for students of Islamic culture.

928. H. A. R. GIBB.

SELECTIONS FROM THE PESHWA DAFTAR. Ed.: G. S. SARDESAI. 9¾ × 6. Bombay: Government Central Press, 1933.

29. AFFAIRS OF NORTHERN INDIA: PESHWA MADHAVRAO I: 1761–1772. pp. 2 + 297. Rs. 6.11 or 10*s*. 9*d*.
30. MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS OF SHAHU AND HIS FIRST TWO PESHWAS. pp. 6 + 388 + xi. Rs. 6.15 or 11*s*. 6*d*.
31. SELECTED PAPERS FROM THE JAMAV SECTION. pp. 6 + 183 + x. Rs. 2.15 or 5*s*. 3*d*.
32. PRIVATE LIFE OF THE LATER PESHWAS. pp. 6 + 141 + iv. Rs. 2.5 or 4*s*. 3*d*.
33. SHAHU'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE SIDIS OF JANJIRA. pp. 4 + 397 + x. Rs. 5.14 or 9*s*. 9*d*.

This useful series continues to put forth its numbers, without much order or editing: but an index to each number makes it easier to master the contents.

Number 29 is of especial interest as it shows that, though the defeat at Panipat in 1761 was a crushing blow to the Marathas, it was by no means a knock-out one. The Abdali, in spite of his victory, could make no further progress, and was dissensions in the Deccan and the supposed necessity of crushing the Nagpur Bhosle in 1768, rather than any weakness in the North, that prevented even greater Maratha success. The re-installation of the Mogul Emperor on his throne in Delhi in 1771 may indeed be said to have been the apotheosis of Maratha power in the North of India. The papers in No. 31 cover a period from 1400 to 1840, almost the earliest and the latest dates in the whole Daftar, and are as might be expected very miscellaneous in their nature. The most important are those concerning Shivaji. They show his anxiety to get information about the Mogul Empire, give interesting details about his own Revenue, and indicate his care for the welfare of his Ryots. No. 32 affords many home touches, such as the supply of English bonnets and coats for the young Peshwa, to prevent his being frightened at the strange costume of the British Envoy. While the austere Peshwa Madhava Rao objected to wearing gaudy clothes, the more volatile Raghunath Rao showed a nice particularity in dancing girls. The evidence of the education of Brahman ladies of good family is interesting. We doubt whether the editor is right in finding a reference to vaccination in 1755 or in believing a contrivance bought from the English in 1775 to be a crude photographic camera. No. 33 is of interest as supplying additional information regarding the little-known but hard-fought campaign against the Janjira Sidis. Its importance lies in the fact that the mastery of the Western Coast was involved, and it was the support of the English from Bombay that prevented the Sidis from being crushed. The Marathas had initial success on land, but could not face the English on the sea, with only the unreliable and insubordinate Angrias to supply them with a fleet. The growing power of trade, and the consequent dependence on Bombay is obvious, so much so that the Governor of Bombay, though his forces were small, could give the Peshwa's agent " a piece of his mind " regarding his master's conduct.

J.R. 991 ; A. 33, 94, 95, 100. P. R. CADELL.

TUNG KHUNGIA BURANJI, or a History of Assam, A.D. 1681–1826. An old Assamese Chronicle of the Tunkhungia Dynasty of Ahom Sovereigns. Compiled, edited, and translated by S. K. BHUYAN. 8¾ × 5½, pp. xxxii + 262. London : Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1933. Rs. 10.

This work is in the main a translation into English by Professor S. K. Bhuyan of the Assamese work of the same name (reviewed in a recent issue[1]) which is attributed to Srināth Bar Baruā. Though purporting to be a history of the kings of the Tungkhungiā dynasty who ruled in Assam from A.D. 1681 to 1826, Srināth's chronicle (pp. 49–197) deals fully only with the four kings who ruled from 1751 to 1806. The translator has accordingly given an account of the earlier kings of the dynasty (pp. 2–49) by translating verbatim excerpts from other old *burañjis* in the Assamese language, without making use of any other sources of information. He has also compiled an account of the years 1806–1826 (pp. 197–223), but as Assamese prose chronicles are not available for this period, he has here been compelled to utilize other material, including the records of the East India Company.

Professor Bhuyan explains that his object has been to present a history of the dynasty as told by its own historians. The method adopted, though it reduces the value of the work as a full and accurate record of the course of events, has the advantage of revealing the national mentality in a way that would be impossible in an ordinary history. From this point of view the book is of considerable value. An excellent glossary of the vernacular terms used in the book is given in an appendix.

There are some printing mistakes. For instance, " Buraphukan " repeatedly appears on pages 9 to 14 instead of " Barphukan ".

A. 153. E. A. GAIT.

INSCRIPTIONS OF BURMA. Portfolio I, 493–599 B.E. (A.D. 1131–1237.) By G. H. LUCE and PE MAUNG TIN. University of Rangoon: Oriental Studies Publication No. 2. 18 × 14, pp. 20, pls. 109. Oxford: University Press, 1933.

Burma is rich in lithic inscriptions, six large volumes of which, transcribed in modern Burmese characters, had already been published by the Government of Burma, when in 1919 Mr. Duroiselle began the Epigraphia Birmanica series with a study of the Myazedi inscription. This series, to which Mr. Duroiselle and Dr. Blagden have contributed, contains photographic reproductions, transliterations in Roman characters, translation, and annotations of a number of important inscriptions.

---

[1] *JRAS.*, 1934, p. 419.

Meantime, however, hundreds of other inscriptions were accessible only in the six volumes of transcriptions, which unfortunately were not made with sufficient care to satisfy the requirements either of the linguist or of the historian. Moreover, these six volumes do not distinguish between original inscriptions and the copies, often carelessly executed, which were made by royal order at the end of the eighteenth century.

The task set themselves by the authors of the present work was to furnish as complete a set as possible of the original dated stone inscriptions of Burma. Among the obstacles they encountered were that the estampages on which the early transcriptions had been based were often hard to trace and, if found, were so brittle as to be almost useless. Their reproductions, therefore, are from fresh estampages taken by them or under their supervision.

The period covered is A.D. 1131 to 1237, inscriptions already edited in the Epigraphia Birmanica or Indica being omitted. A few of the inscriptions are in Pali but the great majority are in Burmese. They are printed on a page 17¼ by 13½ in., the size of the letters varying from about $\frac{3}{16}$ to ⅜ in. Of the Burmese inscriptions, many are easily legible to anyone with some knowledge of the form of the letters and spelling conventions in the Middle Ages, and for the most part intelligible, for the vocabulary of Burmese has changed surprisingly little in the last eight centuries. (Inscriptions may, however, have tended to aid the survival of the limited range of words they employ and beyond this range the changes may have been greater.)

There are, nevertheless, numerous puzzles for the solution of which help is required from an expert and it is only with such help that the inscriptions can be made to yield all their information. The Epigraphia Birmanica and Mr. Luce's Note on the Peoples of Burma in the 12th–13th Century A.D., Appendix F to the last Burma Census Report have shown how some of the difficulties should be tackled and how much information can be extracted by detailed comparative study. With these models a person possessed of a fair knowledge of modern Burmese, and great daring, might venture to use these inscriptions for his own purposes. But it is to be hoped that the authors will find time to publish an annotated edition, or at least a vocabulary of Burmese as found in the inscriptions, for which it is believed they have collected material. Incidentally, a similar Mon vocabulary is even more of a desideratum.

While asking for more, however, one must not forget to be grateful for what has already been given. It was a matter of urgency to publish the text of the inscriptions in facsimile, and there can be no doubt that the authors were right in their decision to give precedence to this most essential requirement. They are to be congratulated on the successful completion of their task—or rather of one stage in it, for many more inscriptions remain to be handled. And the University of Rangoon, which financed the publication, can claim to have added another item to its lengthening list of solid contributions to the cause of learning.

A. 157. J. A. STEWART.

LAWRENCE OF LUCKNOW, 1806–1857. By J. L. MORISON. 8¾ × 5½, pp. vi + 348, ills. 8, maps 2. London: G. Bell & Sons, 1934. 15*s*.

A good complete biography of Henry Lawrence has been a real want among those interested in Indian history and it is gratifying to find the need supplied by a work of the calibre of that presented to us by Professor Morison. The style without being pretentious is good, the arrangements and proportion are excellent, and the opinions put forward are well-balanced and clear. The work is that of a scholar and a gentleman: nothing in the shape of modern politics is obtruded and there is nothing of the impertinent intimacies so popular in modern biography. The central question of the differences between Henry Lawrence and his brother John is fairly discussed, and the biography is in no way an undiluted eulogy. We are made to appreciate the essential mediocrity of Henry Lawrence's early career, and his imperfections in after life are not concealed. His impatience of restraint, his soreness under official rebuff, his inveterate recourse to the Press, his dislike of detail, and—what probably more than anything else led to his departure from the Punjab—his neglect of the punctilious routine necessary for the working of an important office, all these are duly indicated. But it is clear that to Professor Morison Henry Lawrence is a hero; and we would not have it otherwise. We obtain a full insight into his earnest religious feeling, his real humility, his amazing thoughtfulness and liberality, the quickness and soundness of his instincts, the promptitude of his actions, the depth of his insight into Indian views and feelings, and the sympathy which he always manifested to those who suffered disappointment or distress. And when we read the later chapters which deal with the final episode of Lucknow, we find it difficult which to admire most, the extraordinary prescience which forestalled the crisis or the heroic energy with which it was met.

The book is probably the more valuable from the fact that it is written by a scholar from this country rather than by a writer who has lived his life in India. It is carefully based on documentary evidence, public and private, and the information thus gained has been supplemented by useful personal visits to the chief scenes of Lawrence's labours. With the exception of a possible confusion (on p. 110) between the position of a "political" and that of a "military civilian", there is little or nothing to indicate any want of acquaintance with Indian conditions. It is satisfactory to note that this biography is to be followed by a detailed account of the papers and correspondence of Henry Lawrence and in that account due notice will doubtless be taken of the very fascinating Diaries of the Lahore Agency period which are to be found in vol. iii of the "Punjab Government Records". In the meantime we owe Professor Morison our special thanks for reproducing as an Appendix to the present work the extraordinarily accurate forecast made by Henry Lawrence in 1843 of the position which would arise if a mutiny took place at Delhi.

A. 176. E. D. MACLAGAN.

A HISTORY OF JEWISH LITERATURE. From the Close of the Bible to our own days. By MEYER WAXMAN. 9 × 6. Vol. I: From the Close of the Canon to the End of the Twelfth Century. pp. xvi + 501, ills. 8. 1930. $2.50 Vol. II: From the Twelfth Century to the Middle of the Eighteenth Century. pp. x + 698, ills. 4. 1933. $4. New York: Bloch Publishing Co.

In undertaking to write a comprehensive history of post-Biblical Jewish literature, Dr. Meyer Waxman imposed upon himself, as he frankly admits, a task of considerable magnitude. But the task was worth attempting, because on the one hand the last century has witnessed a remarkable efflorescence of Jewish scholarship and research in the various branches of Jewish literature, and on the other hand this literature as a whole is not by any means as well known to Jews and non-Jews as it deserves to be. Many people indeed seem to imagine that there is little literature beyond the Old Testament, the Talmud, and the Midrashim.

Dr. Waxman naturally deals fully with these. But he has much to tell us also about geographical, philosophical, theological, mystical, and poetical writings. If readers desire more detailed information, they are provided with a bibliography to each chapter of the book. If they wish to use the work for reference they will find a good index added to each volume. Hence it is obvious that Dr. Waxman's History will be a valuable addition to the libraries used by students and general readers.

A writer who does not quote Hebrew texts labours of course under a great disadvantage. Thus he finds it very difficult to explain adequately the peculiarities of such writings as the poems known as *Piyyuṭim.* The author of the present work also for the most part eschews footnotes which would often have proved useful for the further elucidation of difficult points. More serious is the failure to present a methodical and scientific system of transliterating Hebrew words. Even a Jew familiar with Hebrew will be puzzled often by the strange forms assumed by Hebrew words. The non-Jew who knows only a little Hebrew and is anxious to avoid confusion will be driven to distraction.

A. 131. MAURICE A. CANNEY.

ÉTUDES D'ORIENTALISME. Publiées par le Musée Guimet à la mémoire de Raymonde Linossier. Two vols. 10 × 6½. Vol. I, pp. vii + 290, pls. 27; Vol. II, pp. iv + 286, pls 43, figs. 11. Paris: Librairie Ernest Leroux, 1932.

It is a rare and significant proof of the esteem in which such a young scholar as Mlle Raymonde Linossier was held by her friends and collaborators of the Musée Guimet that not only the first volume of the *Bibliographie Bouddhique,* among the editors of which she was mentioned, but also the two volumes of the *Études d'Orientalisme* have been dedicated to her memory. The first part opens with a short In Memoriam by M. René Grousset, followed by an accurate catalogue of the Tibetan paintings in the collection of Mr. Loo by Mlle Linossier herself. The translation she made of Mr. Minamoto's *Iconography of the descent of Amida,* which was originally written in Japanese, has also been inserted. It is only natural that the greater part of the other contributors consists of French scholars, though we notice also the names Coomaraswamy, Fábri, Sirén, Vogel, and Waley. It would claim too much space to discuss or even to mention the titles of all articles, not less than thirty in number and relating to the religion and the arts of India, Indochina, Tibet, and the Far East. Most of them are illustrated with excellent plates or text-illustrations. We may refer the reader to *Bibliographie Bouddhique* iv–v, No. 38 and *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology for the year 1932*, No. 28, and confine ourselves to state that the *Études d'Orientalisme* form a highly interesting and valuable collection.

778. A. J. BERNET KEMPERS.

PICTORIAL HYDERABAD. By K. KRISHNASWAMY MUDIRAJ. Vol. i, 11½ × 9, pp. xii + 348, ills. 306. Hyderabad (Deccan): Chandrakunth Press, 1929.

Thirty years ago, the present reviewer was urged by the late Lieut.-Col. D. C. Phillott to visit Hyderabad before it was too late, if he wished to understand fully the conditions of life in Moslem Bengal of the sixteenth century. To-day Arabs still wander about the old city " with regular arsenals packed about their waists ", but the amazing change that has occured in the modernization of Hyderabad State in other directions, under the enlightened guidance of the present Nizām, is well described in Mr. K. K. Mudiraj's book.

The author is evidently fully aware of the importance, in relation to his general survey of present conditions, of the historical remains that are found in such profusion in the State of which he is proud to be a subject, for not only does he devote considerable attention to Golconda, Ajanta, Ellora, and other sites, but the book concludes with no less than 116 pages of archæological photographs, supplied by the courtesy of Mr. G. Yazdani, the well-known Director of the

State Archæological Department. The number of illustrations in the book is more than 300 (two in colour).

Apart from the rather large number of printer's errors, the only real defect in Mr. Mudiraj's production is the absence of a map, without which the reader who has not visited Hyderabad may find it somewhat difficult to locate the places that are being described. It is to be hoped that in the promised second volume this omission will be rectified.

A. 126. H. E. STAPLETON.

A HISTORY OF PALI LITERATURE. By B. C. LAW. In two vols. 10 × 6¼. Vol. I, pp. xxviii + 342; Vol. II, pp. xvi + 689. London: Kegan Paul, 1933.

The scope of the work is a presentation of the "Buddhist" Pali literature in contents, arrangement, chronology, general history, textual criticism, style, language, and importance. Dr. Law has divided it into two parts: canonical and post-canonical literature. Several chapters had already appeared in the course of the last few years as separate publications. Of these the best is undoubtedly the chapter on chronology (pp. 1–42). Two short appendixes, of which the first one has since been published in an enlarged form ("Geography of Early Buddhism"), the second one being a rather scanty survey of "Pali tracts in the Inscriptions", close the work.

The would-be exhaustiveness of the work is its deficiency, for the former through accumulation of detail often falls into mere pursuit of quantity and loses sight of essentials. The author's many-sidedness has sometimes bewildered himself. A considerable amount of criticism in detail could be applied to the work, but that would not detract from its merit and usefulness in general. Its main purpose is to give the contents of the whole Canon in a condensed form, thus applying a descriptive rather than genetic method.

Dr. Law's book will be a great help to the student of the Canon, in giving him a complete review of the Piṭakas and leading him up to the point where the problems of higher criticism begin. As the author remarks: "We are still on the threshold of the study of Pali literature" (p. 646). In this respect we owe a debt of gratitude to the author. His unfamiliarity with German has been the cause of many misprints in the quotations from German sources.

994. W. STEDE.

HISTORY OF THE PANJAB HILL STATES. By J. HUTCHISON and J. PH. VOGEL. 9½ × 7. Vol. I, pp. v + 372; Vol. II, pp. xiii + 357, map 1. Lahore: Government Printing Press. Rs. 7.8 or 11*s*. 6*d*. per volume

The States with which these volumes deal form a very interesting group of almost immemorial antiquity, many of which survived through centuries of warfare with little change until modern times, though nearly all of them ultimately fell to the rapacious grasp of the Sikhs, or to the acquisitive policy of Maharaja Gulab Singh, himself a cadet of one of the ruling families. The oldest of the still surviving States, Chamba, dates back to A.D. 550. The ancient titles and tenures are fast disappearing, and it is a matter of satisfaction that so much of historical interest has been preserved in these volumes by two such competent authorities. In volumes compiled from a series of papers in the *Panjab Historical Journal* there is naturally a good deal of repetition, but the information given is so full and up to date that they should long remain the standard authority for the area with which they deal.

A. 158. P. R. CADELL.

HINDU LAW OF EVIDENCE. By AMARESWAR THAKUR. 9½ × 6¼, pp. xvi + 277. Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1933.

The conception of a law of judicial proof marks the arrival of a community at that stage of social development when it becomes conscious of the need of providing some other means of adjusting quarrels between its members than the crude and violent method of private reprisals. With the establishment of courts of justice, organized by the State and armed with authority to compel the submission of disputes to their judgment, there arises the necessity of creating a code of rules designed for the discovery of the truth, and the form and content of such a code will be determined by the prevailing standards of knowledge and morality.

Thus in highly-developed legal systems it will be found that the greatest importance is attached to written proof, which, in certain circumstances, will exclude all other methods. In primitive societies, however, in which the art of writing is unknown or is still in its infancy, where the community is still in an unsettled state and mutual dealings are few and immediate, there will naturally be no place for documentary evidence. The courts, such as they are, must depend upon oral testimony, the probative force of which will vary with the character and habits of the people. Where religion is deep-seated there may be a lively sense of the obligation of an oath, the violation of which will expose the offender not only to temporal punishment but to divine vengeance as well. It is for this reason that we find in early times strong reliance placed upon statements fortified by the sanction of an oath. Gradually, as the sway of religion is relaxed, the resort to the oath comes to be regarded rather as a form of superstition and but an indifferent guarantee of truth.

Formalism, again, is a common characteristic of early systems of procedure, and in these the process of eliciting the truth is controlled by elaborate and artificial rules invented for the elimination of falsehood. Arbitrary, and often fantastic, tests are prescribed to determine the competency of witnesses in judicial proceedings. The law defines not merely the modes of proof which it considers legitimate but actually fixes beforehand the value of each form and the quantum of proof which the judge is bound to accept as satisfactory in each particular case. Under systems such as these the function of the judge is almost mechanical; he is left little or no discretion in the matter of appraising the worth of the testimony. Such practice is far removed from that of modern times in which the tendency is to abolish formalism, to admit as evidence all material which possesses a probative value, to provide tests for the scrutiny of the evidence at the time it is being offered, and to leave to the tribunal the responsibility of determining the weight which should be assigned to it. These principles, obviously, can be acted upon only where there is the assurance that the courts are competent, independent, and worthy of confidence by their integrity.

In the book now under notice the author has, for the first time, collected the provisions of the ancient Hindu law relating to judicial proof. He has gathered his materials from the early Smritis and the later commentaries and digests and has traced the development of the Hindu law of evidence through the course of the centuries covered by these writings. It is not possible to exhibit this development by reference to authentic judicial records; we are unable so to speak, to see the law in action. The reason for this is, as the learned author is careful to point out, that judge-made law was unknown to the Hindus. The only law they knew was the so-called "codified" law evolved from the ancient sacred texts by the labours of generations of jurists. Taking it as it stands in its latest form, it may, as the author observes, be fairly claimed that the Hindu law of evidence was at once rational and comprehensive, in both of which respects it presents a favourable contrast to the Muhammadan system which followed and to a certain extent supplanted it in India.

When the administration of justice in India devolved upon the British, the Moslem system of evidence was the only one known to be followed in practice. The Muhammadan courts could apply only Muhammadan law and the rigid and formal rules of evidence were such as no English court could reasonably adopt. For a considerable period English practice was followed in a haphazard fashion until, finally, the law was codified in a more or less English shape in 1872.

A comparison of the Hindu law of evidence with our present law in India will show that most of the principles now accepted had been anticipated by the early Hindu jurists and that, apart from a certain lack of precision and a strong infusion of formalism, their law was closely akin in spirit to the law of to-day.

It is interesting, for example, to notice the high value assigned to documentary evidence. We find it declared in the writings of Brihaspati (6th or 7th century A.D.) that documents are superior to oral testimony and "are not to be overruled by witnesses or by an oath".

The Islamic law, on the contrary, does not recognize documentary evidence *per se* as a legitimate medium of proof. Oral testimony is the proof *par excellence* and must be received in all matters of whatever importance. Outside *Iqrār* (i.e. the admission of a party) it is stated to be the only form of evidence which affords complete judicial proof. It is strange that this should be so, for the Moslems were alive to the importance of agreements in writing which are actually prescribed in the Quran. But the jurists of Islam seem to have agreed in holding that the Quranic precepts were never intended to substitute written for oral proof. The oath of a party is the strongest form of evidence, though curiously enough the taking of an oath is not required from witnesses.

As for oral testimony the Hindu law lays down a formidable list of tests of competency. The general principle was that no one was allowed to testify unless he had in him "guarantees of the truth", and the stringency of the rules must have disqualified a large proportion of possible witnesses. Like the Muhammadans, the Hindus did not, in general, approve of women as witnesses "on account of the fickleness of their nature". With the Moslems the two main tests of competency were religion and probity. No witness, not a Moslem, was allowed to depose against one of the Faithful, and the Moslem witness must be just and of good repute; one text goes so far as to insist that the evidence of a person who is not "ādil" (i.e. of irreproachable character) is not to be believed even if the Qāzi knows him to be speaking the truth. It was the duty of the Qāzi to make inquiry regarding the reputation of proposed witnesses and his investigations were usually made secretly through a confidential agent.

On the score of interest in the matter in dispute the parties to a litigation in the Hindu courts were ineligible as witnesses as, indeed, they were in England until the middle of the last century. The rule is different under the Muhammadan law by which the parties are allowed to testify upon oath.

Both the Hindu and Muhammadan systems insist upon the necessity of a plurality of witnesses. With the Hindus no definite number was prescribed. The Islamic law is more precise in this respect. Thus, on a charge of adultery, the minimum number of witnesses must be four and they must all be of the male sex; in other cases of a criminal nature there must be at least two witnesses, also males. It is also declared that in the exceptional cases where women are allowed to give evidence the statement of two women are to be treated as the equivalent in weight to that of one male. Irrational as some of these rules may appear to us at the present day, it is well to remember that our English law still retains survivals of similar formulae in the rules relating to bastardy proceedings, to actions for breach of promise of marriage, and to charges of treason and perjury.

Lastly, as indicating the high pitch of development reached by the Hindu law, we may refer to its treatment of circumstantial evidence. Many of the texts reproduced in this book demonstrate that there was a vivid appreciation both of the value and of the dangers of such evidence. But subject to the exercise of due care and caution in avoiding hasty and ill-considered inferences, it was obviously regarded as one of the most potent instruments of proof. From this fact it may reasonably be deduced that the Hindu judiciary enjoyed the confidence of the people and that their intelligence and independence were recognized in the large powers of discretion left to them in the direction of determining on their own responsibility the value of the testimony brought before them.

While many other comparisons might be drawn, sufficient has, we think, been said to justify the conclusion that the ancient Hindu law of evidence was a highly rational and practical system, in many respects as advanced and refined as any of those which obtain to-day. The thanks of all those interested in legal history and in the study of comparative law are owing to the author of this book both for his diligent research and his lucidity of exposition.

A. 250. B. LINDSAY.

HISTORY OF PALESTINE AND SYRIA TO THE MACEDONIAN CONQUEST. By A. T. OLMSTEAD. 9½ × 6¾, pp. xxxii + 664, ills. 187, maps 19. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1931. 30*s*.

This large volume of 700 pages traverses the familiar ground of Old Testament history, but links it up with an account of Syria. The author's aim (in which he has not been wholly successful) has been to set the story of Palestine and Syria against a background of contemporary history. The merit of this book does not lie in any new interpretation of Jewish history, or in a critical evaluation of the Old Testament, but in its *resumé* of the latest archæological investigations. The author is particularly to be commended for summarizing the ever-expanding knowledge which the excavations of the last fifty years have yielded, and for this he deserves well of students of the Old Testament, who would otherwise be compelled to wade through scores of books and periodicals to find what they wanted. If this book is not likely to supersede the classical histories of Israel like those of Kittel and the more recent one of Pedersen, it possesses distinct merits of its own.

It is to be regretted, however, that the author writes in a style so crude and littered with *clichés*. This handicap is particularly noticeable when the author retells in his own words the classical stories of the Old Testament, where the contrast between the vivid and direct style of the original and the author's *réchauffé* is most striking.

Here is a specimen (taken from page 273) of the Professor Olmstead's manner in his account of Samson :—

" Samson rushed back home in anger. Left in the lurch, the unfortunate bride-to-be was hastily married to Samson's best man. His anger cooled, Samson returned with a kid as gift of reconciliation."

And so on. But this sample of the author's prose style pales into insignificance when he essays metrical experiments :—

" Given the god of us
Into the land of us
The enemy of us
And waster the land of us
And who greatened the slain of us."

(This is offered as a rhythmical translation of Judges xvi. 24.)

We think that Professor Olmstead was ill-advised to give his own crude attempts at literal translation. He would have done better to have followed the example of Professor Pedersen and have used the Revised Version, only diverging from it in such cases where our increased knowledge suggests a better translation. We frankly cannot see that any useful purpose has been gained by this innovation. In effect, the opposite result will be obtained, for many readers will be repelled by these extraordinary renderings, and will find it hard to continue reading the book. If it was considered necessary to publish these translations at all, they should have appeared separately.

The many plates, diagrams, and maps have been excellently chosen and well reproduced, but we cannot be equally enthusiastic over the type, which, though large and legible, fails to be æsthetically satisfying.

446. J. LEVEEN.

TRANSLATION OF "KO-JI-KI" OR "RECORDS OF ANCIENT MATTERS". By BASIL HALL CHAMBERLAIN. Second edition with annotations by the late W. G. ASTON. 8¼ × 5¾, pp. lxxxvi + 498, map 1. Kobe: J. L. Thompson, 1932; London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner. 20*s*. and 35*s*.

This is a reprint of Professor Chamberlain's translation of the *Kojiki* which appeared as a supplement to vol. x of the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* in 1882. The stocks of this publication having perished in the great Japanese earthquake of 1923, the present edition has been printed from a copy belonging to the late Mr. W. G. Aston, and includes a number of annotations made by him in the margins of his copy, as well as a bibliography of works on the *Kojiki* which have appeared since 1883.

In his introduction Professor Chamberlain claims that "of all the mass of Japanese literature which lies before us as the result of nearly twelve centuries of book-making" the *Kojiki* is the "most important monument", and he gives it this eminence because it is the best guide to "the mythology, the manners, the language, and the traditional history of Ancient Japan". Elsewhere he declares that it has "no beauty of style", from which we must infer that he does not think very highly of "all the mass of Japanese literature". But for literary value the *Kojiki* cannot compare at all with the poetry of the *Manyō* or the prose of the *Genji Monogatari*; it certainly cannot be regarded as the most important monument of Japanese literature if the word "literature" is allowed its usual meaning. As a document it is extremely valuable and interesting, and it has an additional importance in that it is the chief text of the Shinto religion; even so, it is evidence only for the earliest period of Japanese history and the most primitive stratum of Japanese culture.

The translator declares that his only object in translation has been a "rigid and literal conformity with the Japanese text", and he has brought to the task his great knowledge of the language together with a wide learning in the field of *Kojiki* commentaries. If the English version he has produced appears somewhat bizarre, he can justly plead that "the Records sound queer and bald in Japanese, and it is therefore right that they should sound bald and queer in English". The queerness of the *Kojiki* is certainly preserved; baldness, however, is hardly the effect produced by the "literal" translation of all Japanese honorifics, which might well have been omitted. When we read that the Deity-of-Eight-Thousand-Spears sang a song "with one august hand on the saddle of his august horse and one august foot in the august stirrup", the pomposity of the language is far greater in English, which has no regular system of honorifics, than in Japanese, which has. Next after "august" about the most frequent word in the translation is "deity", which Chamberlain warns us "is taken in a sense not sanctioned by any English dictionary". It is a rendering of *kami*, and the fact that it is impossible to find a better one is in itself significant of the extremely primitive character of the legendary material included in the *Kojiki*. Chamberlain points out that the proper meaning of *kami* is "top" or "above", and that in modern popular Japanese the Government is *O Kami*. In the *Kojiki* anything marvellous, mysterious, potent, or terrible may be a *kami*, and the connotation corresponds closely to Otto's "category of the numinous". The same Japanese conservatism which has preserved the original form of the Ise Daijingū has in the *Kojiki* reproduced the religious consciousness of an earlier age with a minimum of sophistication.

707. G. F. HUDSON.

HERKUNFT ENTSTEHUNG UND ANTIKE UMWELT DES HEBRÄISCHEN VOLKES: EIN NEUER BEITRAG ZUR GESCHICHTE DER VÖLKER VORDERASIENS. By S. SPINNER. 8¾ × 6, pp. viii + 540. Wien: Verlag Joh. N. Vernay Z.-G., 1933.

Few persons would be competent to criticize this book, of which the pages exhibit jumps, long and high, from cuneiform or hieroglyphic documents of remote antiquity to others which are well within the Christian era and in more familiar languages. There is no room for doubt about the width of the author's erudition; but the same cannot easily be said about the soundness of his judgment, as one or two examples of his reasoning will show. He wishes (p. 136) to prove that there must have been a cuneiform text of the Mosaic documents—a view which the recent discoveries at Ras Shamra render conceivable. He finds evidence of this in 2 Sam. i, 18, "David bade teach the children of Judah bow". "Bow" he interprets as arrow-headed characters; one would have supposed a bow and an arrow to be of a very different shape. Another passage cited for the same purpose is Hosea viii, 12, "I write for them," רבו תורתי; this is misquoted as רובי and interpreted as "cuneiform doctrine", the Hebrew word being given the very doubtful sense "shooters"; where again it must be observed that an archer is not identical with an arrow. A further argument is no better. This is that according to a tradition in the *Jer. Talmud* there was a copy of Exodus in the Temple which had the word זאטוטי in xxv, 4, in lieu of נערי. This, inaccurately transliterated *satutu*, is said to be a cuneiform phrase for *Kindergestalt* or *Jüngling*, and it is inferred that as late as the time of the Second Temple cuneiform elements were to be found in the Hebrew text. Since cuneiform is not a language, but a form of writing, its meaning here is far from clear; but since the Hebrew or Aramaic word (of which neither the sense nor the etymology is known) is found in the Targum of Canticles vi, 5, and must therefore have been in use in Jewish Aramaic, its occurrence in a copy of Exodus (supposing that there is any truth in the story) admits of a far easier explanation than that which Herr Spinner offers.

In the main the book is an elaboration of a thesis which had an exponent in Clement of Alexandria, viz. that the Israelites were the source of all civilization, morality, and philosophy; Clement found that Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle were all disciples of Moses; Herr Spinner enlarges on this theme, and has hard words for those who think otherwise. Hesiod is made out to have plagiarized the Hebrew Book of Proverbs unscrupulously.

The author propounds vast numbers of etymologies, many of which resemble those which the late Adolf Neubauer published with the view of ridiculing the Anglo-Israelites, who, he was mortified to find, took him seriously. His etymology of London as לן דן "Dan pernoctates" is decidedly more plausible than Herr Spinner's פרוע אפון *nudus veretri* for Priapus, and בי תנינא *das Gebiet der Schlangenverehrer* (? *der Schlangen* would be more correct) for Bithynia.

Admirers of Josephus and Clement of Alexandria will find much in this volume to confirm their opinion.

887. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

LECTURES ON JEWISH LITURGY. By RABBI ABRAHAM I. SCHECHTER. 9¼ × 6, pp. 60. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America. 1933.

This is a noteworthy attempt at a history of Jewish liturgy. It begins with prayers culled from the Talmud, and continues with the ancient compilers of standard prayers. Then follow the earliest compilations of complete prayer books, such as Saadyah's and after him Maimuni's. To the latter the author devotes an unusually large number of laudatory remarks, but it is somewhat strange that he deals rather summarily with Saadyah, who had a larger share in the early consolidation of Jewish philosophic thought and worship than

Maimuni. Without Saadyah Karaite influence might have overgrown Rabbinic theory and practice to a very large extent.

In the description of the festivals, notably Tabernacles, the author is guilty of a singular but very popular slip. When speaking of the festivities connected with the prayers for rain he reads "Simhat bet Hashoēvah", which should be *Hashėēvah*, a form like Terēphah, Gezērah, etc. *Shoevah* would mean a woman drawing water.

Apart from this the author writes *Abudraham* which should be *Abudarham* or, more correctly, *Abudirham*.

The author's contention that the prayers were shortened by copyists is not very probable as, on account of the scarcity of written copies, the worshippers could not be expected to be so familiar with the texts as to rely on their memories to fill in the missing lines. Also it is clearly an exaggeration to state "that a point or note by Maimonides—however insignificant—was as important in liturgy as a law in any other branch of Jewish lore".

In the rivalry of the two rituals, the Babylonian did not entirely supersede the Egyptian. Saadyah had been asked to compile a "Siddur" for his native country, and when he had done so it became the official prayer book of Egypt. It is therefore not surprising that when Mainuni came to Egypt he found points in common between the two rituals.

The wanderings and persecutions of the Jews were also responsible for the insertion of many penitential and bewailing prayers, which have not been mentioned in this work.

It is to be hoped that the author will continue his studies in this field, including the points of contact, as well as discrepancies, between the *Spanish*, *German*, *Italian*, and other rites, and thus furnish a supplement to Zunz's well known work *Die Ritus*.

Rabbi Schechter has given us an interesting work, which will earn him the thanks of all friends of Jewish literature.

916. H. HIRSCHFELD.

MONGGO HAN SAI DA SEKIYEN: DIE MANDSCHUFASSUNG VON SECEN SAGANG'S MONGOLISCHER GESCHICHTE. Edited by ERICH HAENISCH. 9½ × 6½, pp. ii + 124. Leipzig: Verlag Asia Major G.m.b.H., 1933.

The Mongol History of "Sanang Setsen", or Secen Sagang as we now know that his name should be pronounced, has been well known to scholars since it was published by Schmidt in the Mongol version with a German translation a little over one hundred years ago. A Chinese version has been known for some time and Professor Haenisch recently discovered in the Pekin Palace Library a block-print of a Manchu version made in the second half of the eighteenth century, which he has now published with a brief introduction on the somewhat complicated textual history of the work and a few notes. The work is to be welcomed not only for the sake of its contents, but also because it is very difficult to get hold of Manchu texts of any kind. Professor Haenisch's name is by itself sufficient guarantee of its accuracy.

983. G. L. M. CLAUSON.

LES MANUSCRITS MINEURS DES RUBÂ'IYÂT DE 'OMAR KHAYYÂM DANS LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE. (Travaux de la Bibliothèque Universitaire de Szeged, No. 2.) By Dr. BARTHÉLEMY CSILLIK. 6¾ × 9½, pp. viii + 154. Szeged: Imprimerie de la Société Anon, 1933.

This small volume contains reproductions of nine minor MSS. out of the complete collection of seventeen MSS. of the *Rubā'iyyāt* of 'Umar Khayyām belonging to the Bibliothèque nationale of Paris. Dr. Csillik was precluded by technical reasons from making a fuller reproduction, and has selected for the present only those MSS. containing less than one hundred quatrains each. These have been reproduced by lithography or some similar process in a naskh hand which, though clear and legible, can hardly be considered pleasing to the eye. The texts are preceded by an introduction in Hungarian of 69 pages, which in turn is preceded by a French abridgment of 8 pages, to which latter this notice must be confined. Of the nine MSS. dealt with only the first, *Pa*, comprising fifty-six quatrains, is older than the famous Bodleian MS., which it precedes by twelve years. Dr. Csillik's object may be given in his own words.

"It is with a view to simplifying a little the labours of those who are occupied in research work on 'Umar Khayyām and to contribute in some slight degree to the solution of the problems concerning him that I decided to publish in its entirety the material I had identified."

Presumably the longer MSS. will be published in a later volume, and any extended criticism of the conclusions now arrived at by Dr. Csillik seems premature, but all those engaged in "Omarian" research will be glad to have this collection of MSS. to aid them in their labours.

965. M. L. FERRAR.

ADATRECHTBUNDELS. XXXIV: Java en Madoera; XXXV: Sumatra; XXXVI: Borneo, Zuid-Selebes, Ambon enz.; XXXVII: Bali en Lombok. 9¾ × 6¼; (i) pp. v + 433, Gld. 5.50; (ii) pp. xvii + 570, Gld. 6; (iii) pp. vii + 514, plates 2, map 1, Gld. 6; (iv) pp. vi + 584, map 1, Gld. 6. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934.

From the geographical point of view the contents of these volumes are sufficiently indicated by their several titles, while the general title of the series proclaims that they deal with customary law. As in previous issues, this covers a great variety of documents, such as monographs on particular districts or special departments of law and custom, also lists of technical terms in some of the native languages, and a number of texts in the same, some vocabularies, and much else. Vol. xxxvi contains two obituary notices (one of them by Professor Snouck Hurgronje) of Professor C. van Vollenhoven, to whose unflagging energy and enthusiasm the whole series has really owed its existence and whose death on 29th April, 1933, was an irreparable loss to this work, which lay nearest to his heart.

873, 874, 996, A. 209. C. O. BLAGDEN.

LES ARABES CHRÉTIENS DE MÉSOPOTAMIE ET DE SYRIE DU VII^e^ AU VIII^e^ SIÈCLE. Par FRANÇOIS NAU. Cahiers de la Société Asiatique, 1ère Série. 9 × 5½, pp. 135. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1933. Fr. 30.

This is a posthumous work of the celebrated editor of the *Patrologia Orientalis*. The author refers to all the Syrian writers who speak of Christianity in Arabia or of Christian Arabs in general. A whole passage of a Syrian author is often translated in full, and the work is thus invaluable to all students interested in the Arabs before the time of the Prophet and in the period immediately following the Arab invasion of the countries of the Near and Middle East.

The book is followed by a chapter (p. 95) on the Arabic alphabet, and another chapter (p. 113) on the Jews of Arabia. All the chapters are not of equal importance, and I find that the subject that has been best treated is that of the Arabs of Syria, while the chapters dealing with the Arabs of the Ḥijāz and of Mesopotamia are left in a more or less incomplete form. They would probably have been lengthened and their subject more thoroughly examined, if death had not struck suddenly one of the most prominent French Orientalists. The author's references to Arab writers are taken at second hand, mostly through Lammens and Huart, and are not drawn from original sources. It is surprising that his references to Syriac writers should omit the most important of them, John of Phenek, an eye-witness of the first Arab invasions, who speaks so clearly and so authoritatively of the first contact of Christians with Muslims. Is it possible that the first volume of my *Sources Syriaques*, in which the history of John of Phenek is published and which has been translated into so many languages, has escaped the author's notice?

The main thesis developed in the work is that, if the

Byzantine Emperors had not ill-treated and misused the Christian Arabs of Syria and North-West Mesopotamia, there would probably have been no large-scale invasion of the Byzantine and Persian Empires by the Arab tribes of the Ḥijāz. The Christian Arabs of Syria and North-West Mesopotamia formed a bulwark between the desert of Arabia and the Empires of Byzantium and Persia, but they seized the first opportunity to pay off old scores and to join their brothers of the south against their paymasters, who were torn by political divisions and theological dissensions. Nau's work is indispensable to all scholars interested in the important questions of the early Arab conquests, and of the first Muslim impact with Christianity.

It is to be regretted that French authors still write *'Amru* for *'Amr*. The letter *Wāw* placed at the end of the word عمرو is a device used by Arab copyists to distinguish the word from عمر before the invention and popularization of the vowels. When transliterating the work into Roman characters it would be meaningless and even erroneous to reproduce the *Wāw* by the vowel *u*, and consequently to read the word as *'Amru* instead of *'Amr*.

967. A. MINGANA.

ZUR OSTSYRISCHEN LAUT- UND AKZENTLEHRE. Von THEODOR WEISS. Bonner Orientalische Studien, Heft 5. 10 × 7, pp. vii + 93 + 7, pls. 25, facs. 50. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1933. RM. 7.50.

This is the fifth volume of the Oriental Studies of the University of Bonn, edited by P. Kahle and W. Kirfel. The work, as its title implies, deals with the various *Puḥḥāmé* used in the East Syrian Massorah. It is rather technical in character, but very useful to all those who are interested in the history of the Syriac Bible and the method used by the Syrian scholars for an intelligent and good reading of their sacred Book. The author has used as his text the British Museum MS. Add. 12138, of which he gives fifty pages of facsimiles at the end of his book. As no press could have reproduced clearly all the intricate signs used by the Syrian Massoretes, the author has typed his text and himself written all the Syriac words used in it.

The work marks a painstaking effort to popularize the intricacies of the East Syrian Massorah, and deserves all praise. It is surprising, however, that in a work dealing exclusively with the East Syrian Massorah and enumerating all the signs used by the East Syrian Biblical scholars, the best East Syrian grammarian, who treated extensively of the subject, should have been omitted in the list of authorities quoted at the beginning, and in the footnotes. The author refers to the *Grammar of Barhebræus*, but he does not mention the excellent grammatical work of John Bar Zu'bi, which contains a long treatise on the East Syrian *Puḥḥāmé*, and is more reliable on the subject of the East Syrian Massorah than the work of the West Syrian writer, Barhebræus, who is so frequently quoted. Although Bar Zu'bi's work is unpublished, there are good MSS. of it in many libraries, the oldest of which is Mingana Syriac 120, which dates from about A.D. 1250, and is thus more or less contemporary with its author.

I compared some signs used by Weiss with those given by Bar Zu'bi, and found that in general they conform with each other, but I would point out a discrepancy with regard to the *Zauga Genīwa* (p. 43), which Weiss gives as formed of two perpendicular dots, with a single dot above and slightly to the right of them, while this same Massoretic sign is given by Bar Zu'bi [1] as consisting of two almost parallel sets of two perpendicular dots, one set placed above and slightly to the right of the other. Further, Weiss constantly spells the word *'Ellāya* (with a reduplicated *Lamadh*) as *'Elāya*. He spells also throughout the word *Pāqōdha* as *Pāqōdā*. The *Dalath* in this word has a lenient sound (*rukkākha*). He also writes always *Medammerāna* for *Medhammerāna*. The *Dalath* has here also a lenient sound.

---

[1] Mingana Syriac 94, fol. 128^b.

While the Old Testament Massorah is represented in a unique MS. in the British Museum, the New Testament Massorah is represented by a unique MS. in my collection (Mingana Syriac 148[1]), and it is to be hoped that Weiss, who has had the praiseworthy diligence to investigate such a complicated subject as the Massorah of the Old Testament, will some day do the same for the less complicated text of the New Testament.

It should be noted here that the majority of the Massoretic signs spoken of by Weiss, and found in the works of early grammarians, are not represented in late MSS. and in printed books. They began to fall into disuse when the vowel system was developed. I mentioned those of them that are used in modern books in my *Syriac Grammar*, but did not refer to those that have only a historical interest. Weiss, however, is to be congratulated on having given them to us in a systematic way which can be followed with ease by all Biblical students.

979. A. MINGANA.

KITĀB AL-ZAHRAH (THE BOOK OF THE FLOWER). The first half composed by ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD IBN ABĪ SULAIMAN DĀWŪD AL-IṢFAHĀNĪ (A.H. 297/A.D. 909). Edited from the Unique Manuscript at the Egyptian Library by A. R. NYKL in collaboration with IBRAHIM TUQAN. 9¾ × 6¾, pp. viii + 406. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932. 11*s*.

Mr. Nykl, who describes himself on the Arabic title-page as *al-Būhīmī*, has already displayed his interest in the erotic literature of the Arabs by his translation of Ibn Ḥazm's *Dove's Neckring*, of which the Arabic text was published by D. K. Pétrof in 1914, and a charming analysis is to be found in Professor Asin Palacios's introduction to the same author's treatise on sects. The *Book of the Flower* is in the main an anthology of verses dealing with the erotic sentiment, divided into sections of which this volume contains fifty. The titles of the sections are in rhymed prose, and consist of maxims, e.g. "Whoso gazes frequently is in constant sorrow," "He is unwise who fails to tell his state to a physician," "It is a trait of the well mannered to humiliate himself before the beloved." There are prose introductions to the sections, and occasional remarks also in prose on the verses cited. The editing is exceedingly careful, and errors in vocalization rare, though every word is vocalized. In Tanūkhī's *Table-talk* (Part viii, § 64) a scene is recorded in which the author defends his work against a slighting reference to it.

---

[1] pp. 341–5 of the printed catalogue.

895. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

BEITRÄGE ZUM VERSTÄNDNIS RELIGIÖSER MUSLIMISCHER TEXTE. By A. FISCHER. Des XLL Bandes der Abhandlungen der Phil.-Hist. Kl. der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Nr. IV. 11½ × 7¾, pp. 56. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1933. Mks. 4.50.

Professor Fischer begins his essay with a brief summary of the history of Islamic studies (*Islamkunde*, *Islamwissenschaft*, etc.) and continues with the statement, which none will dispute, that it is the duty of those engaged seriously in such studies to be proficient philologists, so that they may have the capacity to handle accurately the Arabic, and other, texts which are their raw material. The author maintains that some "Islamists" are not proficient Arabists, etc., and then passes from the general to the particular and so into the realm of controversy. Since the details which form the bulk of the essay have been answered in a separate publication, there is no need to expatiate on the theme here.

A 97. R. LEVY.

THE CHINESE PERIODICAL PRESS, 1800–1912. By ROSWELL S. BRITTON. 9½ × 6½. pp. vi + 151, pls. 24. Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, Ltd., 1933. $7.50.

Mr. Britton is to be congratulated on having written a very interesting and well documented history of the Chinese Press during the time when modern journalism took the place of the older native or indigenous press, the chief organ of which was the *Peking Gazette* or *Ching Pao*. In Chapter I Mr. Britton gives an account of indigenous newspapers and gazettes and then proceeds in a series of eleven chapters to deal with the introduction into China of the modern press and to give an account of those, both Chinese and foreigners, who played a prominent part as pioneers and who aided in its development. Among the early foreign pioneers occur the well-known names of Milne, Medhurst, Morrison, Legge, and Wells Williams, and in later times those of the Major brothers, founders of the *Shên Pao*, Timothy Richard, Y. J. Allen, all of whom well deserve due recognition. Of the Chinese, the two outstanding names are Wang T'ao and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, whose work in connection with the press is dealt with in Chapters IV and VIII. A very useful and carefully compiled bibliography adds greatly to the value of a work which deserves a much more detailed account than space allows here and which is bound to become a book of reference on the subject of the Modern Press in China. Mention must be made of the twenty-four plates, giving facsimile reproductions from the British Museum, Bibliothèque Nationale, and other sources of specimen pages of the *Peking Gazette* and various Chinese newspapers published at various dates. Great credit is due to Messrs. Kelly and Walsh, Ltd., for the excellent manner in which they have produced the work.

A 141. J. H. STEWART LOCKHART.

THE HUNDRED NAMES: A short introduction to the Study of Chinese Poetry with illustrative Translations. By HENRY H. HART. 8 × 5¼, pp. 231. U.S.A.: University of California Press; Great Britain: Cambridge University Press, 1933. 11*s*. 6*d*.

The title of this book gives no hint of the subject, which is, however, shown by the sub-title. The very lucid popular introduction of thirty-four pages, from which we gather that the author agrees with Dr. Florence Ayscough (though that lady is not named) about translating Chinese with reference to the apparent composition of the characters, is followed by versions of 175 short poems. In what sense they are illustrative is not very clear, as few of them are referred to in the introduction. No Chinese texts and no references are given, so that criticism of the versions as such is not easy. Many of them read pleasantly enough and well reveal a beauty which indeed it would be hard to conceal, but if—

> " From my calabash jug
> I drink good old wine
> Until I am jolly drunk."

is a fair version of its original, would it not have been kinder to have drawn over it a veil ?

A. 115. A. C. MOULE.

AANWISTEN OP ETHNOGRAFISCH EN ANTHROPOLOGISCH GEBIED VAN DE AFDEELING VOLKENKUNDE VAN HET KOLONIAAL INSTITUUT. (1) OVER 1932, (2) OVER 1933. 8⅝ × 6¼, (1) pp. ix + 186, pls. 6, fl. 1.50 ; (2) pp. vii + 90, pls. 5, fl. 1.0 Amsterdam : Uitgave van het Instituut, 1933–4.

These are Mededeeling Nos. xxxii (Afdeeling Volkenkunde No. 5) and xxxiv (Afdeeling Volkenkunde No. 6) of the Royal Colonial Institute at Amsterdam and each contains a list of accessions arranged in the order of their donors, etc. In both cases this is followed by a geographical table of contents and an index of native words. The objects registered illustrate native cultures, arts, and crafts, etc., mainly in the Dutch East Indies, but also in the West Indies, Melanesia, China, Japan, Korea, Siam, Tongking, the Straits Settlements, British India, Turkey, Europe, Africa, and South America. A few of the items concern physical anthropology and prehistoric implements, and there are also some manuscripts in native languages.

892. C. O. BLAGDEN.

De Dorpsrepubliek Tnganan Pagringsingan. By Dr. V. E. Korn. 9½ × 6¼, pp. vi + 335, ills. 37, maps and plans 4. Santpoort: C. A. Mees, 1933.

This monograph, issued by the Kirtya Liefrinck—v. d. Tuuk of Singaradja with the assistance of the Royal Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences, is a very interesting account of a village community in Bali, which has preserved many ancient rules and customs apparently peculiar to itself. After some general description of the place and its inhabitants, the work proceeds to deal with its customary law under various aspects, such as administration, the family, land and water rights, debts and offences, the social organization of the community, their religion (which is in origin Hindu), and their calendar of festival days, etc. The final section is also of linguistic interest as it consists of documents in the native languages, with translations, including the records of actually decided cases. A list of native words completes the volume.

897. C. O. Blagden.

Alexanders Kampf gegen Porus—Bonner Orientalistische Studien, Heft 3. By Bernhard Breloer. 9½ × 6½, pp. xii + 208, pls. 5, sketch-plans 7, and map 1. Stuttgart, 1933.

After surveying all the extant classical texts dealing with Alexander's campaign in the Panjāb, the author subjects to a detailed and critical examination those portions which relate to the encounter with Porus, and specifically with the information given regarding (1) the orders issued by Alexander, (2) his crossing of the Jhelum, and (3) the decisive battle. He then proceeds to deal with the topographical questions involved. Though many interesting suggestions have been made as to the value and interpretation of the evidence on particular points, the attention of scholars is likely to be directed chiefly to the proposed site-identifications. The writer would place the great camp at Jhelum, where Krateros was stationed with the main body of the Greek army; the reserves under Meleager, Attalos, and Gorgias he locates about 6½ miles north-west of Jhelum, to the north of the 110th milestone on the road to Rawal Pindi; as the site where Alexander with the attacking force crossed the river he fixes on a spot about 2½ miles south of Mangla Fort, or practically where the Jhelum debouches from the hills; while we understand him to hold that the final decisive battle was fought round about the village of Naurangābād, opposite the town of Jhelum, at the foot of the northern slopes of the Pabbi Hills. These views approach most nearly to those expressed by General Abbott so long ago as 1852, and followed to great extent by the late Mr. V. A. Smith. Meanwhile the question of the site of Alexander's crossing has been the subject of a paper by Sir Aurel Stein in the *Geographical Journal* of July, 1932, in which, after detailed local inspection, he has stated his reasons for concluding that Alexander marched from Taxila through the Salt Range farther west, emerging at Baghanwālā; that his great camp lay approximately at Haranpur; that he crossed the river near Jalālpur, and that the battle was fought somewhere on the south side of the river opposite these places. Sir Aurel has been largely influenced in his decision by his identification of the *'άκρα* of Arrian with the spur that juts out by Jalālpur, and the *praealta fossa* of Curtius with the little valley of the Kandar Kas torrent, these being the two physical features mentioned in the texts best calculated to help in the identification of the crossing place, inasmuch as they cannot have altered, whereas the islands in the river may have completely changed in position and size in the course of more than twenty-two centuries. The writer, on the other hand, would identify the *'άκρα* with the high ground on the west bank of the river where the village of Baral is situated, and the *fossa* with the ravine of the Pothawālā Kas behind it. Leaving aside the question whether the high bank beneath Baral would be described as an *'άκρα*, these identifications would involve a long, and, we think, in view of the nature of the ground and the violent rainstorm in the night, impracticable route for Alexander's troops. When making them, Herr Breloer had not yet seen Sir Aurel's paper: an Appendix, however, has been added, in which the latter's conclusions have been controverted.

Apart from the unsuitability of the terrain to the north of the Pabbi Hills, so fully demonstrated by Sir Aurel, for the movements of elephants, chariots, cavalry, and infantry, and particularly for the wide outflanking movement of Koinos, the whole tenor of the stratagems and preparations described seems directed towards a rapid surprise crossing and attack from no distant point, instead of a lengthy detour that would have involved both delay and fatigue. It is difficult, moreover, to conceive how the material of the fleet of boats and rafts and the horses could have been conveyed to the Pothawālā Kas site without being observed by enemy spies and observers posted on the Mangla and other hills that overlook that area. We think also (cf. Arrian, v, 20) that for the passage of unwieldy boats and rafts built on stuffed skins, a passage would be selected, not where the river issued from the hills, where the bed was pebbly and the current likely to be stronger, but where the bed was wider and the current less rapid. The direction of Alexander's march from Taxila to the Hydaspes, and thence to the Hypanis, as given by Strabo, and the distance recorded by Pliny as that given by Alexander's own surveyors, cannot safely be brushed aside by the arguments used by V. A. Smith. Nor can we neglect the statement of Curtius that one of the boats was wrecked on a rock: and Cunningham has told us that rocks are still to be found in the river only between Dilāwar and Jalālpur. Another point may be briefly noticed: the position assigned by Herr Breloer, influenced apparently by his identification of the crossing place, to the reserve force under Meleager and others, being surrounded on most sides by higher ground (as the 1 in. = 1 mile S.S. would indicate) and being some 5 miles distant from the river, is hardly acceptable.

903. C. E. A. W. Oldham.

MYSTIK UND GLAUBE IM ZUSAMMENHANG MIT DER MISSION AUF JAVA. By DR. B. M. SCHUURMAN. Haag, 1933.

This is a learned study of the various streams of cultural influence that have been brought to bear on the Javanese, with special reference to the mysticism of Islam which merged with, and to a certain extent replaced, both the primordial beliefs of the Javanese and the teachings inculcated by Hinduism. The author makes a careful analysis of Javanese mystical thought and therefrom deduces the methods which should be employed for introducing the teachings of Christianity. Though written primarily for the mission to Java, and from a missionary viewpoint, it is evident that the author has devoted much study to the works of the best authorities on the subject; and it is gratifying to note this consideration for the beliefs and opinions of the Javanese people.

906. H. G. QUARITCH WALES.

INDIA AND JAVA. By BIJAN RAJ CHATTERJEE, M.A., Ph.D. Calcutta, 1933.

This is a revised edition of the author's Greater India Society's Bulletin No. 5, to which has been appended a collection of inscriptions from the Malay Peninsula, Borneo, Java, and Sumatra, with translations for which Dr. N. P. Chakravarti is responsible, though most of them appear to have been previously published and discussed by other scholars. Dr. Chatterjee's portion of the work, though not remarkable for much originality, is a very useful outline of Javanese history and clearly indicates the extent of Indian cultural influences in this direction. It is the more welcome since most of the material for the study of the subject, on which the author relies, is in the Dutch language, and hence is not generally available to English-speaking students.

A. 2. H. G. QUARITCH WALES.

ARTA ȘI ARCHEOLOGIA: Revista. Fasc. 7–8, 1931–2. By O. TAFRALI. 12⅜ × 9¼, pp. 104. Iasi: Institutul de Arte Grafice "Brawo", 1933. Lei 350, Frs. 60.

This review, edited by Professor Tafrali of Iași, Romania, is devoted to the study of Romanian art and archæology. Most of the articles, of which some are written in French and the others written in Romanian, have a summary and are mostly written by Professor Tafrali.

The most important article is on the art treasure of the church of Sucevitza.

In another article the author deals with supposed neolithic inscriptions showing the existence of an alphabet which, in the belief of the author, resembles the signs of the Glozal finds. In three places in Northern Moldavia a potsherd and a bone, also a handle of a jar, and finally two pieces of sandstone were found; on the latter a picture of an animal with a few letters near the head and on a second the figure of a human being, very crude, with two lines of signs, twenty-four in all. Of these the author finds twenty-three chiefly in the Glozal inscriptions and others of a similar kind like Alvao, etc.

But this conclusion is somewhat vitiated by the fact that, in the first place, the articles were not found at a very great depth and, secondly, by the assertion of the peasant who discovered them that he found, quite near them, an axe and a coin as well as other potsherds with coloured designs which may all be of a recent origin.

There are also other articles of minor importance in the review, all well illustrated, together with a bibliography.

989. M. GASTER.

SANGIT BHĀVA [I, RĀG BHAIRAV]. By MAHARANA VIJAYADEVJI OF DHARAMPUR. 12 × 9, pp. xvi + 316, pls 11. Bombay: Taraporevala Sons and Co. [1933].

This work does not claim to be a learned treatise on Indian music. Indeed, the author assures us that "all technical details . . . have been rigidly excluded" because the primary motive for publication has been to place "within easy reach and by simple means practicable knowledge of the main melodies and modes of Indian music". Yet it is not merely the native whom the author has in mind but rather "the student of Indian music abroad", and on this account the letterpress is also in English and French.

There is a "foreword" by the well known Indian art critic K. H. Vakil, who tells us that this book "presumes the necessity for the adaptation of Indian music to modern requirements". What this latter may be is not explicitly stated, but one can only hope that it does not mean a further lease of life for the Western harmonium (or piano-accordion) and violin in Indian music and the adoption of the saxophone and flute of the West which we see on the "jacket" of the book and in the borders of the illustrations.

At any rate the author's notation of the *Rāg Bhairav* and the *Rāginis Bengāli*, *Bhairavi*, *Madhumādhavi*, *Bairāri*, and *Sindhavi* in the scale of the West (which will be interpreted by the West in its equally tempered scale) cannot possibly prove "helpful to those generally interested in Indian music". I am afraid that "the student of Indian music abroad" will not find much in this book that cannot be more readily turned to in works on Indian music by Europeans. They will certainly be perplexed by the music table on page 235. Here the form of the sharp is given quite a novel outline whilst in the E flat Clarinet (and elsewhere) the F sharp should not be above the line.

The book is well printed, on excellent paper, by the *Times of Indian Press*, Bombay, and there are eleven well produced plates although the contents pages only mention eight. These latter are the work of an Indian (?) artist M. B. Sawant.

A. 6. H. G. FARMER.

ARCHIVES FROM ERECH. Neo-Babylonian and Persian Periods. By RAYMOND PHILIP DOUGHERTY. Goucher College Cuneiform Inscriptions. Vol. II. 11¾ × 9, pp. lxv + 76. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1933. £1 4*s*. 6*d*.

This second volume of the Goucher College Cuneiform Inscriptions has a melancholy personal interest as being presumably the last work of its much-regretted author. In contents it is a continuation of the first volume, which was devoted to documents of the reigns of Nebuchadrezzar and Nabonidus, whereas the present includes most of the reigns between Kandalanu and Cambyses. The substance of the tablets is in the usual range of Neo-Babylonian "contracts", and hence very miscellaneous. Some thirty of the more interesting have been selected and translated by the author in his introduction, and to these there is added a complete list of names and a register of all the texts published, with their dates, and a summary note of the contents of each. Both in the translations and in the name-list a few criticisms of detail might be suggested, and the proof-reading is occasionally defective, but a collection of texts can be properly judged only as a result of detailed study, which has but seldom fallen to the share of this class of "contracts"; it must be hoped that the work so promisingly begun by Ungnad and San Niccolò may again be carried on. Meanwhile the late Professor Dougherty has done full justice to his part as a publisher of new material. His copies, in particular, are admirable in decision and clarity. C. J. GADD.

A. 30.

IRANISCHE DENKMÄLER. By E. HERZFELD. 16 × 11. Lieferung 1, Reihe 1, A, Tafeln I–XVIII; pp. 12. Lieferung 2, Reihe 1, A, Tafeln XIX–XXX; pp. 10. Lieferungen 3/4, Reihe 1, B, Tafeln I–XXVII; Tabelle 1; pp. 26. Berlin: Dietrich Reimers, 1933.

With these parts Professor Herzfeld begins the series of his larger publication of the monuments of Persia, announced some time since. In a preface to the first part he outlines his programme; six series, each with subdivisions, ranging from pre-historic to Islamic antiquities, and he looks forward to a work comprising in all about a thousand plates which, both in size and cost, will be suitable only for libraries. Fullness, sumptuosity, and high cost seem to be so generally accepted now as the rule for archæological publications that it must be presumed that this limitation, and all it implies, has been taken into account.

The first two parts, 30 plates, are occupied the first with water-colour drawings, the second with photographs, of pottery and small antiquities from a pre-historic settlement at Persepolis. No metal of any kind having been found with them, the author is no doubt entitled to assign them to the stone-age, hazardous as the term is in these regions. In a short introduction he studies the forms and ornaments of the pottery and of the other remains, making many comparisons with the bewildering wealth of such material now obtained from a multitude of ancient sites extending from the Mediterranean to the Indus, and even to China. As a result of these stylistic comparisons he comes to the conclusion that the Persepolis pottery is the oldest of all as yet found in Persia or Mesopotamia. Perhaps the most interesting feature is the distinct relationship of these sherds with others from farther east in Persia and from Baluchistan, in view of the known connections between Babylonia and the Indus valley at a rather later period.

Parts 3 and 4 (27 plates) are devoted to the pottery which has lately come upon the antiquity-market from Nihavand (which the author calls by a classical form Niphauanda). The actual place of origin is the mound Tepe Giyan, a little to the south-west of the town, now said to have argely disappeared as a result of native zeal in the acquisition of fertilizing earth and, later, of antiquities. These plates, too, are preceded by a short but careful study of the types and dates of the characteristic vases now to be found in many museums, but hitherto unclassified owing to lack of scientific data. Professor Herzfeld provides also a table of the various classes of this pottery, and an assignment of them to a chronological order. His arrangement does not appear to differ very materially from that established by excavations made at the place by MM. Contenau and Ghirshman, though Professor Herzfeld's table was made up before their results were known. There is, however, a notable divergence in the absolute chronology suggested from the two sides, which is partly due to a difference of opinion as to the absolute date of the Susa potteries, but partly concerns also a matter which should be capable of more positive decision, the date of the end of the Nihavand series. Here the other discoveries of the French excavators, particularly the daggers, give evidence which seems decisive.

A. 53. C. J. GADD.

DIE CHRONIK DES IBN IJĀS IN GEMEINSCHAFT MIT MORITZ SOBERNHEIM. Herausgegeben von PAUL KAHLE und MUHAMMED MUSTAFA. Fünfter Teil A.H. 922–8/A.D. 1516–1522. 10 × 7, pp. 493. Leipzig: D. M. G. (Bibliotheca Islamica, Band 5), 1932. (See *JRAS*. 1934, p. 639, for Vierter Teil.)

The Egyptian History of Ibn Iyas, who witnessed the conquest of the country by the Osmanli Sultan Selim I, was printed in Cairo A.H. 1311–12 in three volumes. The period covered by Professor Kahle's edition is that of the third Cairene volume. The editors have prefixed a preface in which the MSS. of the work are classified and described; these are very numerous, the most important being an autograph of the author preserved in the Library of Muḥammad al-Fātiḥ at Istambul. The Cairene edition has a lacuna for the period between A.H. 906 and 922. This could according to the German editor's preface be supplied from MSS. in Paris and Leningrad, and it is to be regretted that this task was not executed before reprinting matter already in the hands of students.

The difference in quantity between the two editions does not seem to be very considerable for, though the new edition has 490 pages to 322 of the other, the latter contains 29 lines to 22 or 23 of the former, and probably contains more words to the line. Perhaps the most important addition is the supplement to a serious lacuna which occurs on page 109 of the Cairene copy, and fills pages 160–2 of the new text. In the main the relation of the Cairene text to the other would seem to be that of a corrected copy to a rough draft; for not only does the autograph teem with forms which violate Arabic grammar, but the original verses introduced by the author are at times quite unmetrical. Thus the following (p. 109) is given as a *Khafīf* line.

فهو شافعى قطب ولى   نجل ادريس عمدة الاسلام

The Cairene edition has a correct verse

حبرنا الشافعى قطب ولى   نجل ادريس عمدة الاسلام

On page 111 the following figures as a *Sarī‘* line

تعجبوا مما جرى فى الوجود   بين ابن موسى كان والشيخ سعود

The Cairene copy has a line which gives the second name correctly and which it is possible to scan.

It must be observed that though the autograph occasionally offers better readings than the Cairene edition this is by no means invariably the case; thus p. 46, l. 3, خيوله ونعاله وخامه is clearly corrupt for خيوله وبغاله وخيامه (Cairene ed., p. 33, l. 7).

Although, then, the amount furnished by the new edition is not negligible and the editors' preface is of great value, students of the work will do well to consult both texts.

A. 28. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

Nouvelles Recherches Archéologiques a Bāmiyān. Par J. Hackin, avec la collaboration de J. Carl. Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan, Tome III. 15 × 11, pp. iv + 90, pls. 84 (12 in colour), figs. in text 12. Paris: Éditions G. Van Oest, 1933. Frs. 300.

This is the third volume of the *Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan.* In the previous volume (*Antiquités bouddhiques de Bamiyan*), which appeared in 1928, MM. Godard and Hackin described the results of their explorations at this site up to the end of 1924, when want of funds and of the mechanical appliances required to reach the more inaccessible grottos precluded further work. The present volume presents the results of the fresh researches so skilfully carried out from May to October, 1930, by M. Hackin assisted by MM. Jean Carl and Émile Bacquet. This later exploration has enabled the author to supplement (in Part 1) the details and conclusions previously recorded in respect of the sites examined in 1923–4. Part 2 is devoted to a description of the grottos which were not visited in those years. Part 3 contains a most interesting account of the exploration at the foot of the cliff to the east of the 35 metres Buddha, in the vicinity of which must have stood the convent of the ancient king mentioned by Hsüan-tsang, where one of the oldest grottos (G) was completely excavated, disclosing remains which M. Hackin assigns to the third century of our era. It was here that M. Hackin recovered a mass of bark MSS., unfortunately all stuck to each other or to the debris of earth owing to the percolation of water. Such fragments of these as could be detached and set up under glass have been examined and described (*JA.*, ccxx, Jan.–Mars, 1932) by M. Sylvan Lévi, who has assigned them to periods between the third to fourth and seventh to eighth centuries, thus corroborating M. Hackin's dating of the sculpture and decoration of the grotto. Part 4 is devoted to a detailed account of the decorative painting in an octagonal grotto in the cliff at Kakrak, great part of which was found preserved beneath an adhesive coating of clay, which had evidently been laid on by pious hands to protect the paintings from mutilation. The removal of this coating, through the skill and patience of M. Bacquet, revealed some striking work showing unmistakable Īrānian influences. The elaborate character of the designs, the fineness of execution, and the colours employed will be seen from plates lv–lviii (figs. 64, 65, I and J). Part 5 contains a descriptive list of the objects found at Bāmiyān and Kakrak now deposited in the Kabul Museum and in the Musée Guimet; while in Part 6 M. Hackin states briefly the general conclusions he has been able to formulate in regard to the different styles represented and their chronological sequence.

M. Hackin and his collaborators must be congratulated on the marked success with which these difficult operations were carried out, on the promptitude with which the results were made public, and on the abundance and excellence of the photographs that illustrate the *mémoire*, many of which disclose photographic skill of high order. The artistic talent of M. Carl has preserved to us several specimens of the colour effects, thus providing an invaluable permanent record of some of these fast perishing early decorative paintings.

956. C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

L'OEUVRE DE LA DÉLÉGATION ARCHÉOLOGIQUE FRANÇAISE EN AFGHANISTAN (1922–1932). 1. Archéologie bouddhique. Par J. HACKIN. 10¼ × 7½, pp. 79, figs. 61. Tokyo: Maison Franco-Japonaise, 1933.

This brief, yet comprehensive, survey of the work achieved by the French Archæological Mission to Afg͟hānistān, fuller details of which, with a wealth of admirable plates, have been published in three folio volumes of *Mémoires*, is based on a series of lectures delivered by the author at the Maison Franco-Japonaise at Tokyo in November, 1932 – January, 1933. Initiated under the skilful guidance of the great expert in Buddhist art, M. Alfred Foucher, the aim of the Mission was to explore in a methodical and scientific manner those areas in northern Afg͟hānistān which were intermediary from the point of view of Buddhist archæology between Central Asia and India, and which had only been examined more or less superficially by a few travellers in the past. Apart from certain important identifications of ancient sites visited by the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, Hsüan-tsang, in the seventh century A.D., the results of the Mission have been to throw a flood-light upon the cultural history of these parts during the early centuries of our era and to provide a reliable record of the remains still existing. The excavations at Haḍḍa (Hsüan-tsang's *Hi-lo*), near Jalālābād, produced an unexpectedly rich harvest, revealing in an abundance of stuccos a very remarkable development of "Greco-Buddhist" art, of which the somewhat stereotyped sculpture of Gandhāra and Udyāna previously known to us gives little or no conception. M. Hackin draws special attention to the marked affinity of some of the figures with Grecian sculptures preserved in museums in Europe. In some features, moreover, the work reminds us of Gothic and medieval art; and we are tempted to speculate as to what artistic development might have been accomplished in this region had it not been overrun by the Hūṇa hordes, and later by the iconoclastic armies of Islām. The explorations at and around Bāmiyān and Kakrak, so skilfully carried out in the face of many difficulties, have provided us with an invaluable record of the sculpture and, perhaps even more important, of the decorative paintings surviving at these sites, which have enabled M. Hackin to assign certain remains to specific periods, to trace the different influences, Hellenistic, Sassanian, Kushān, and Indian, that are disclosed, and to suggest the route by which these influences passed to the Far East. Short notes are given of the excavations at Pāitāvā and Begrām, near the modern Charikar, at Dok͟htar-i-Noshīrwān, some eighty miles north of the Kakrak grottos, and at a few sites in Baktria. The poverty of the finds at Balkh itself and in its vicinity have been emphasized and explained by M. Foucher elsewhere.

The figures in the plates, which have been excellently prepared, furnish an appropriate selection of the more representative objects recovered. The one desideratum is a map showing the position of all the sites referred to.

This little volume will serve as a handy synopsis for those who can not afford the more costly tomes of the *Mémoires* of the notable work done by a band of eminent French scholars towards filling a large gap in our knowledge of the contacts between Central Asia, Īrān, and India.

958. C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT OF H.E.H. THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS for the year 1929-30. By G. YAZDANI. 13 × 10, pp. x + 64, plates 14, map 1. Rs. 5. Ditto for the year 1930-31. pp. x + 55, plates 10. Rs. 5. Calcutta, Baptist Mission Press, 1933.

These two well printed reports, with their excellent plates, show the valuable work of conservation and exploration that continues to be carried on by the Archæological Dept. of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions under the expert guidance of Mr. Yazdani. The first volume describes the remains of the hill fortresses of Raichur and Yādgīr, and a few other sites, as well as the extensive conservation work in progress at Bīdar. The second volume deals chiefly with the work in hand at Bīdar, and is illustrated by ten most attractive photographs of local monuments, including the unique *Chaubāra* tower that dominates the city and its surroundings, erected apparently in the Bahmani period. Among new inscriptions discovered here during the year is one recording that the Great Mosque in the fort was built by Muḥammad Shāh II in A.D. 1423. We look forward to the early appearance of the monograph on Bīdar, to the preparation of which

Mr. Yazdani has been devoting such labour and care. Under the heading of Conservation, brief reference is made to two valuable discoveries at Ajanta, namely of another fresco, painted in several episodes, in Cave XVI, and of a new subject, hitherto hidden by overlying dirt and varnish, in Cave X. We may take this opportunity of congratulating H.E.H. the Nizam's government on the very important work accomplished at Ajanta and Ellora.

977. C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

A GUIDE TO ISMAILI LITERATURE. (Prize Publication Fund, Vol XIII.) By W. IVANOW. 8½ × 5½, pp. xii + 138. London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1933. 6*s*.

Mr. Ivanow has based this extremely useful bibliography on an Ismaili *Fihrist* which he found in Lucknow a few years ago. The full title of the work is *al-Majmū‘ fī Fihristi'l-kutub* and the author was Isma‘īl b. ‘Abd-al-Rasūl of Ujjain, who died about 1183–1769.

In the present work the editor has given us not the ill-arranged partisan work of Ujjainī, but an orderly summary, under appropriate headings and in chronological order, of all Ismaili books known by name or in fact. To this he has prefixed an interesting account of modern Ismailis, their origin, and their literature.

The flood of light that has been thrown on the Ismaili movement in the last few years is astonishing. Mr. Ivanow's bibliography will be invaluable to any who are able to gain access to the hidden libraries of which he speaks.

932. ALFRED GUILLAUME.

THE JEWISH FOUNDATION OF ISLAM. By CHARLES CUTTER TORREY. la. 8vo, pp. vi + 164. New York (Jewish Institute of Religion Press).

Five lectures given by Professor Torrey in 1931 are gathered in this volume. He finds that the Jews most probably settled in Arabia after the destruction of Jerusalem in 586.

They established a chain of trade settlements at Teima, Khaibar, Yathrib, and Mecca. Whatever view may be taken of the author's emphasis on Jewish influence, there can be no doubt that his criticism of the assertion (often made) that the Jews of Arabia were ignorant and mostly proselytes deserves careful consideration. He thinks that Muhammad learned of the first chapter of St. Luke's Gospel from the Jews and that the story of 'Īsā and His mother came from the Prophet's "own imagination". He denies (against Wellhausen) that the Qurân exhalts 'Īsā above the saints of the O.T. In that case what are we to think of the miraculous birth of Īsā ?

Professor Torrey discusses the Meccan and Medinan *sūras* in a fresh and interesting way, avoiding the theory of interpolation of Medinan verses in Meccan chapters by making them refer to Jews in Mecca.

I feel misgivings about the author's emphasis on Jewish influence. One might pass a title such as "The Jewish foundation of the Qurân", which after all is what the author deals with; but the foundation of Islam is something much larger than Judaism. Nevertheless the book is one that provokes further study of a field that has lain fallow over long.

A. GUILLAUME.

987.

THE HISTORICAL INSCRIPTIONS OF SOUTH INDIA COLLECTED TILL 1923 AND OUTLINES OF POLITICAL HISTORY. By ROBERT SEWELL, edited by S. KRISHNASWAMY AIYANGAR. 11 × 8½, pp. xiv + 452, map 1. Madras: Diocesan Press, Vepery, 1932. £1 1*s*.

This is a book of unusual value. It is a digest of the inscriptions of South India, at least of all those that are of the slightest historical value, arranged in chronological order, undated inscriptions being given their approximate place. A running commentary is provided which when possible fills up gaps from other sources. The result is much more readable than a mere digest would be. The book makes accessible the vast stores of epigraphical material not hitherto available in English, and with its full references to sources will be indispensable to all classes of students. It is interesting to see how rival rulers contradict one another in their accounts of their exploits, and the fact that a statement is engraved on stone or copper is no guarantee of veracity.

The book is in the main the work of the late Mr. Robert Sewell, who had been engaged in its preparation for many years. The Government of Madras has undertaken its publication through the University of Madras. Professor Krishnaswamy Aiyangar has seen it through the press, added many valuable notes which bring the text quite up to date, and generally devoted a great deal of time and labour to the book. The text occupies some 300 pages and the genealogical tables, many of them now put together for the first time, with the notes on them, occupy nearly 100 pages. In a book like this, which is so full of proper names, there are a good many misprints which we hope to see corrected in the next edition, when a more rigid uniformity in nomenclature should also be observed. The Index on the whole is good, but could be considerably improved; care should have been taken that there should be only one entry for each individual. It is, however, the matter that counts, and the author and editor have given us a most solid work which will form the foundation of future research on the history of the Tamil country.

759. J. ALLAN.

THE BRONZES OF NALANDA AND HINDU-JAVANESE ART. By DR. A. J. BERNET KEMPERS. 9¾ × 6¼, pp. iv + 88, plates 33, text illustrations 2. Leiden: Late E. J. Brill, Ltd., 1933.

In this monograph, which is a reprint from *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, vol. 90, fasc. 1, the author discusses in minute detail the characteristics of a number of bronzes found in the ruins of a Buddhist monastery at Nālandā. They include images of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and various divinities, male and female; and their iconography is considered with reference to their postures, attributes, details of costume, and so forth, comparatively and carefully. The general conclusion arrived at is that these bronzes are of the Pāla style and period, and show some affinities with the art of other countries which have been influenced by Magadha and Bengal. Some of them have a good deal of resemblance with some specimens of Hindu-Javanese art; and this the author attributes to the importation of Pāla images into Eastern Java, for Central Java was apparently not affected at all. So far as a layman can judge, this conclusion is right, on the evidence produced, which is well illustrated by the plates, although their scale is rather small. They are, however, only a part of the author's evidence, which included a much larger number of photographs duly enumerated on pp. 78–84. The notes give copious references to the existing literature on the subject, which is scattered and fairly considerable.

907. C. O. BLAGDEN.

JUBILÄUMSBAND HERAUSGEGEBEN VON DER DEUTSCHEN GESELLSCHAFT FÜR NATUR- UND VÖLKERKUNDE OSTASIENS ANLÄSSLICH IHRES 60 JÄHRIGEN BESTEHENS 1873–1933. Teil I. 9¾ × 7½, pp. xxii + 409, pls. 51 (including one in colour and five maps), maps 2 (one in text, one folding). Tôkyô: im Selbstverlag der Gesellschaft, 1933.

The occasion for the publication of this work is indicated by its title. The present volume, after a preface signed by the members of the publication committee, half a dozen letters of good wishes from honorary members of the Society (among whom the venerable scholar Basil Hall Chamberlain is of special interest to British readers), and a table of contents, consists of twenty-two articles dealing with a great variety of subjects. Two of them are concerned with natural history and one with statistics relating to cancer, but the rest are all more or less on matters falling within the sphere of Oriental studies, as usually understood. Two writers deal with specimens of Chinese literature, viz. Dr. E. von Zach, "Aus dem Wên Hsüan. Lu Chi's erweiterte Perlenkette in 50 Abschnitten," and Dr. F. X. Biallas, "Aus den 'Neun Liedern' des K'ü Yüan"; Dr. Walter Fuchs records what the Chinese of the seventeenth century knew about Germany, while Dr. Fr. Hübotter writes of Chinese medicine and H. Stübel and Li Hua-Min present a brief but well illustrated preliminary report of an ethnological tour in the island of Hainan.

The lion's share, however, naturally falls to Japan, which is represented by Kashiwa Ohyama on the prehistoric Yayoi culture, Dr. Arnold Gubler's description of the two small islands Rishiri and Rebun off the north-west coast of Hokkaido, Dr. Alfred Bohner's account of the traces of sixteenth and seventeenth century Christians in Iyo, Father Georg Schurhammer on the Jesuit missionaries of the same period and their influence on Japanese painting, the late Dr. Shûzô Kure on the influence of foreign (especially German) medicine on Japanese methods, Professor Dr. K. Haushofer on the foreign policy of Japan in connection with the increase of its population and the urge towards expansion and emigration, Professor Johannes B. Kraus on the family and economics in old and new Japan, Dr. Karl Weidinger on the legend of the foundation of an ancient Kwannon temple in Tokyo, and seven short Japanese poems set to music by Jos. Laska, while three articles on Japanese literature, viz. J. Barth on the drama, with special reference to two Nô plays in which the hero is the legendary Kagekiyo, Dr. Hermann Bohner's translation, etc., of Okamoto Kidô's play *Ôsaka Schloss*, Dr. F. M. Trautz's translation of the seventeenth century poet Bashō's Genjuān no ki, with introduction, transcription, facsimile and notes, and Dr. Walter Donat's annotated translation of five stories, under the title "Aus Saikaku: fünf Geschichten von liebenden Frauen", complete this long and varied list. It will have been gathered that most of the contents appeal mainly to specialists, but that there is also a great deal of more general interest in the volume, which is entirely worthy of the occasion.

984. C. O. BLAGDEN.

CATALOGUE DU MUSÉE ARABE DU CAIRE.

1. LES BOIS A ÉPIGRAPHES JUSQU'À L'ÉPOQUE MAMLOUKE. Par M. JEAN DAVID WEILL. 14 × 10, pp. viii + 89, 31 plates. Cairo, 1931.
2. LES BOIS SCULPTÉES JUSQU'À L'ÉPOQUE AYYOUBID. Par M. EDMOND PAUTY. 14 × 10, pp. vii + 75, 104 plates. Cairo, 1931.

The Islamic woodwork in the Museum earlier than the beginning of the Aiyubid period (sixth to twelfth century) includes more than 300 pieces, of which a respectable proportion is attributable to the first centuries of Islam. Generally the pre-Aiyubid series consists of beams, friezes, doors, panels, prayer niches, and other fixtures from buildings, and these objects, which are often fragmentary, are decorated by carving usually admirable for its design and execution and sometimes magnificent in its art and unsurpassed in its way. Nearly all the pieces came from Cairo or its neighbourhood, some excellent ones having been obtained from the exploration of Fusṭâṭ and from the recent discoveries at 'Ain Ṣîra near by. A good many of them bear inscriptions.

M. Weill establishes the text of the inscriptions, translates it, and comments on it. M. Pauty describes every piece that is ornamented and adds observations on artistic relations and style. Each book has an introduction showing briefly the results in its own subject and each has illustrations representing nearly all the objects with which it concerns itself. As indicated by its title, M. Weill's book covers the Aiyubid period as well as the time before it.

M. Weill's treatment of the inscriptions is able and thorough;

he succeeds in overcoming a number of difficulties of decipherment and brings out various points of interest not apparent at first sight. For the most part the texts consist of Qur'anic and other formulas and their obvious value consists of the view of the development of the Arabic script in Egypt that they afford when placed in order and a number of dates of objects that they give. There are few dated pieces earlier than the eleventh century, the earliest are some taken from the mosque of Ibn Ṭûlûn and belonging no doubt to the time of its foundation (265–879). Some of the pieces appear to be older than the mosque, but it is not easy to estimate their dates precisely. It may be worth noting, therefore, that the formula فسيكفيكهم الله, which occurs on two of them and not on any of the others as may be seen from the index, is part of the text which El Manṣûr "ordered his followers to write on their backs (Aghânî ix, 121)" and is found on a textile bearing the name of Hârûn er Rashîd which was published by Dr. Kühnel in Islam, so that there is some ground for supposing that it was a device of the first Abbasids indicating a date perhaps as early as the second half of the eighth century.

M. Pauty groups his carvings together according to types under a chronological arrangement, for which he obtains a departure from a dated pre-Islamic work and later is able to utilize the results of M. Weill. In the absence of any guide for the Ikhshīdid period, he is obliged to make some reserve in assigning pieces to this time. It may be felt also that there is a good deal of unavoidable uncertainty as to the dates of some of the pieces ascribed to periods earlier than the third century of the Hijra. Generally, however, his results are not likely to be disputed. They enable one to see the great changes in the design and style of wood-carving in Egypt that were produced in the course of a few centuries. The work of classification, which must have involved much patient labour, has been carried out in a way that will be generally appreciated.

N.R. 23, 24. R. GUEST.

Padmānanda Mahākāvya by Amaracandra Sūri. Critically edited with Introductions, Indices, and Appendices by H. R. Kapadia. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, LVIII. 9½ × 6, pp. 99 + 667. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1932. Rs. 14.

Śaktisaṅgama Tantra. Critically edited with a preface by Benoytosh Bhattacharyya. In four volumes: Vol. I, Kālīkhaṇḍa. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, LXI. 9½ × 6, pp. xiii + 280. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1932. Rs. 2.8.

The first of these books, a poem by a thirteenth century Jaina writer, some of whose works are already known to us, narrates at length the life of the first Tīrthaṁkara in full *kāvya* style. The author displays his mastery of all the recipes for the manufacture of verse, including a full knowledge of metre and of the rhetorical figures; but something more than that is needed for creating poetry, and that something is lacking. But, if of little value as an addition to Sanskrit literature, it will be of interest to students of Jain legends. The editing is good and the glosses at the foot of the pages useful. An appendix gives the text of a shorter work by the same author, the *Jinendracarita*, describing the twenty-four Tīrthaṁkaras.

The other work is the first instalment of a Tantric text of some importance dating from the second half of the sixteenth century, and is likely to enlarge our knowledge of the later Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava sects. Comment on it is best reserved till publication is completed, but I would express the hope that the editor will provide us in the final volume with a full synopsis. As it stands, it is none too easy to extract the points of interest.

867, 870. E. H. Johnston.

THE COMMENTARIES ON THE PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀS : Volumen 1st. THE ABHISAMAYĀLAṀKĀRĀLOKA OF HARIBHADRA, being a commentary on the Abhisamayālaṁkāra of Maitreyanātha and the Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā. Edited with Introduction and Indices by GIUSEPPE TUCCI. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, LXII. 9½ × 6, pp. vi + 55 + 589. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1932. Rs. 12.

The nature of the various Mahāyāna sūtras grouped under the heading of Prajñāpāramitā is such that without help we cannot be sure of grasping the meaning read into them by contemporaries ; the appearance of this, the first published commentary on any of them, is thus an event of great importance to Buddhist scholars. As the real introduction is to appear in a later volume, readers will be well advised, before starting on it, to consult Stcherbatsky's edition of the *Abhisamayālaṁkāra* and a recent article by Dr. Obermiller in *Acta Orientalia*, xi, 1–131. As for the former work, according to the title page of this book Maitreyanātha composed the *kārikās*, that is, the editor accepts the conjecture that Āsaṅga had a real teacher of that name. But Haribhadra, whose work was written in the Trikuṭaka Vihāra in the reign of Dharmapāla (described as *rājyabhaṭādivaṁśapatita*), makes it clear that, like Sthiramati in his just published commentary on the *Madhyāntavibhāga*, he understands Maitreya to be the future Buddha,[1] whence it follows that he believed in the story that the teaching was revealed to Āsaṅga by him ; and, as the form Maitreyanātha occurs nowhere in the text, the editor might have been better advised to avoid its use and the insinuation thereby of a theory not held by his author.

The *Abhisamayālaṁkāra* consists of a set of mnemonic verses, almost unintelligible by themselves, setting out the doctrinal scheme for the attainment of Buddhahood, and ostensibly it is based on the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*; this commentary accordingly expounds the latter in the light of the former so as to bring them into unison. It has therefore a double value, as explaining the difficult terms in the sūtra and as elucidating the dogmatic position of the *kārikās*. Though written from the Mādhyamika-Svātantrika standpoint, it elaborates a system which in essentials does not differ from that of the Yogācāras except in the capital point of denying any reality to *vijñāna*, and it would seem that the two schools differed only on certain philosophic questions, and not on the practical application of their tenets. Put together for the use of Buddhists, it confines itself in the main to the above-mentioned objects, frequently quoting various interpretations of the same passage without deciding between them. It further avoids polemics with the Brahmanical schools except for a scornful refusal to admit the principle laid down in *Nyāyasūtra*, v, 2, 13 (p. 545), and an examination of causality with special reference to Sāṁkhya views (p. 548 ff.). There are also a few set pieces dealing with controversial issues, such as the hotly debated question of the Buddha's omniscience (pp. 325 ff.); that which is most likely to attract the attention of the philosophically minded is a long argument with the Yogācāras about the nature of knowledge (pp. 372–393). A translation of these passages, whose arguments are often hard to follow, is certainly a desideratum, even though I see not much reason to hold Haribhadra to have been a great thinker. Their value lies rather in their reproducing the stock arguments of his school, of which we have only a limited knowledge. Minor points of interest abound. Thus on a matter which has lately been the subject of renewed discussion, I note that the commentator describes the *jāla* on the Buddha's fingers and toes as like the webbing on a goose's foot (p. 526) and that he mentions among the eighty minor marks the lines of his hands (p. 529).

---

[1] Tucci omits in *Animadversiones Indicae*, 125 (*JASB*. 1930), those words in Sthiramati's statement which, as now supplied by him, prove my statement above to be correct.

A work so voluminous and varied naturally makes great demands on the editor and it is satisfactory to record that a really high standard is attained and that every page bears witness to Professor Tucci's mastery of his subject. Just because it is so good, I think it worth while considering in detail where it falls short of perfection Difficulties of proof-reading are no doubt responsible for the extraordinary number of misprints, but only a portion of them are set right in the corrigenda, which are not themselves free of mistakes. The text is therefore often hard to read and in places taxes the reader's ingenuity to an unwarrantable degree, while naturally he is tempted to seek for the explanation of difficulties in an insoluble misprint. Some can be cleared up easily enough; thus the strange *yogānuyogayor vāparyam* at 415, l. 1, should evidently be *yogānuyogapaurvāparyam*. Again, while 318, l. 1, takes from the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* the remarkable *pratisaṁlapanam*, the gloss indicates Haribhadra's reading as the more natural *pratisaṁlayanam*. But what is one to make of *parāpabhrajanād uccagdhayantaḥ* ([*sic*] for *uccagghayantaḥ*) at 316, l. 14? I cannot find any word *apabhrajana*, nor is it given in the index, and no obvious correction presents itself (*apatarjana* perhaps ?). I cannot multiply instances here, but I note that so few variants are given as to afford little help towards determining the probable nature of corruptions and that they are placed all together at the end of the volume, where they easily escape notice. The Tibetan version is frequently quoted in them, but personally I think it better to give the Sanskrit equivalent as well when it is not adopted in the text, not merely to assist the reader but also as a useful discipline for the editor. Thus *tarkavisyanda*° at 85, l. 14, should on the strength of the Tibetan *ḥjug-pa* presumably be the more probable °*vispanda*°, " action ", " operation ", a word I have recently discussed elsewhere. Similarly in the only passage queried by the editor, at 13, l. 20, °*aratirāgābhighaṭṭitaḥ* the Tibetan has for the last word *yid-mi-bde* = *viṣāda*, *vimanas*; therefore °*rāgavighātataḥ*, as required by the context. The complete Tibetan text is available in print only for the *kārikās*, in which Professor Tucci usually, but not always, gives better readings than Professor Stcherbatsky; but at iv, 21 (345, l. 21), this text runs *sarvatra vṛttimaj jñānam* and the Russian one *sarvatravṛttisaṁjñānam*, while the Tibetan had *sarvatra-vṛtti yaj jñānam*, better than either. Such evidence as there is does not therefore altogether bear out the editor's claim to have compared the Tibetan with care throughout.

He has also provided an admirable synopsis of the text as well as indices of verses quoted, proper names, and special words. In the first of these his learning has enabled him to identify many of the verses, but there are many omissions among the proper names; the word index, too, long and extremely useful though it is, fails to supply many rare or practically unknown words which should have found a place there. To conclude, detailed study of the text has forced on me the conclusion that what might well have been a perfect edition has been spoiled by overhaste in its production, and it is to be hoped that more time and care will be given to the later volumes.

871. E. H. JOHNSTON.

A LEXICON OF ACCADIAN PRAYERS IN THE RITUALS OF EXPIATION. By CECIL J. MULLO WEIR. 7½ × 5, pp. xix + 411. London: Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, 1934. £1 1*s*.

The author of this useful work is to be congratulated on several accounts, but not least upon his patience and accuracy in compiling his material, and his reserve in withholding for the present, in order to secure publication, much more which he had prepared, no less valuable, it may be presumed, than what here appears. He is also to be congratulated on the manner in which the Oxford University Press has presented a work which might have been fatiguing to use in a less perspicuous form. His lexicon may be regarded as an excellent example of the kind of task which should be done (and, if possible, published) for several other classes of texts as preliminary studies for the general Accadian lexicon, such as that now under compilation in Chicago.

An excellent feature is the use of a straightforward arrangement of words according to the Latin (indeed, the English) alphabet, accompanied by a no less happy brevity in the remarks on etymology. The two evince a thoroughly sound understanding of the present position and need of the Accadian vocabulary, which is now based upon such abundant material that appeal to the other Semitic languages has lost, if none of its interest, certainly much of its value for the actual purpose of fixing significations, and attempts to arrange words according to their presumed Semitic roots only too often beg the question. Instead of this the author is content to quote practically all the passages in which the respective words occur in the texts which he has in view, and though the homogeneity of these passages in style and context does not always allow the full meaning of the word to be developed, yet the conclusion obtained is adequate for the immediate purpose, and it would have been an inconsistency of treatment to search outside the given area. If the citations seem sometimes almost unnecessarily exhaustive, it must be remembered that the book has another very practical purpose which the author mentions, namely, to enable students to identify duplicate texts which undoubtedly exist or remain to be discovered.

The title of the work is the only clue given to the literature which forms the object of the study, and, though the list of abbreviations and the "key" provide some further guidance, it would have been an advantage to have a plain statement of what is being studied, for the distinction between what is included in "rituals of expiation" and other incantation-texts is not very clearly drawn in the material. The want of such a conspectus is possibly due to the absence of the other portion of Dr. Mullo-Weir's thesis, which it is to be hoped may not be long in following the lexicon.

Concerning the words themselves, the reviewer has very few observations to make—*anzillu* seems to be, more exactly, something repulsive to the sense of smell upon which the suppliant has trodden before coming into the god's presence: one of the entries *aḳû* or *ḳa'u* appears superfluous; *gugallu*, applied to Adad, refers to his control of rain; *kamu* (as Professor Langdon notes) is the "outer" or street door, the word being perhaps applied also to fortifications; *manzazu* and *tiru* are not adequately translated as "attendant" and "guardian"—they are court-terms and virtually synonyms, the latter being defined as *mari ekallim*, so that the recurring sentence *tiru manzazu liḳbu damiḳtim* means "may courtier and chamberlain speak me fair"; *tušaru* in the passage quoted has more probably the sense of "plain", opposed to *šadu*; *zisurru* surely not "gruel" which, whatever its composition, is a fluid. Misprints seem to be exceedingly rare, the only one observed being *limnēri* for *limnēti* (under *namburbû*, p. 232).

A 178. C. J. GADD.

THE FLOWING VASE AND THE GOD WITH THE STREAMS. By E. DOUGLAS VAN BUREN. 11½ × 8½, pp. xvi + 150, pls. 23, figs. 60. Berlin: Hans Schoetz & Co., 1933.

A well documented collection of material, presented in a very attractive manner. Chapter I defines the subject: the beneficent divinity who pours the waters of life and fertility on man and nature, and the "flowing vase" as symbol of the same. Chapter II distinguishes it from more or less kindred subjects. In Chapter III it is argued that the persons represented with the streams or vase are either Ea or some member of his circle. This simple and satisfying conclusion seems to be successfully established in the remaining chapters, in which numerous relevant seals and other monuments are carefully considered in detail. A chapter is given to each of the principal periods. It is found that there is no indubitable example of the flowing vase before the Agade period. The concluding chapters deal with the Syro-Cappadocian art and that of the Ḫabur region. The author finds that there is no instance of the motif in art that is of purely and unquestionably Hittite origin.

One of the bearers of the flowing vase, the fish-man, is identified by the author with the god ḪA-ni, and he with Berossos's fish-man Oannes (after Hrozný, *MVAG.*, 1903, 99 f.). At least for the late period this seems a probable synthesis.

Another bearer of the streaming vase is the " Wild Man " or " nude hero " (so-called Gilgamesh). Mrs. van Buren would identify him with Dumu-zi-abzu, Tamuz. Heidenreich pointed out in 1926 that on certain seals there are three pairs of exactly similar combating wild men, who would be the six sons of Ea of whom Dumu-zi-abzu is the first (*CT.*, 24, 16, 30 f.), and suggested that the combats of the paired brothers might allude to a lost myth in which Tamuz was slain by a brother. The hypothesis has gained by the recent discovery of the Rās Šamra myth in which Mot slays Alein : for both are " Tamuz-forms ". However, there are difficulties in an unqualified identification of the Wild Man with Tamuz.

A sealing in the Louvre (p. 75) shows, in the place commonly occupied by a sprout of vegetation, a youthful robed figure rising from the flowing vase ; if, as is likely, he is Tamuz, Tamuz can hardly be represented by the contemporary figures of the nude bearded hero. Perhaps the thesis that the Wild Man was the original Tamuz could be supplemented by the concession that sooner or later—hardly later than Ur Dynasty III—Tamuz acquired a character very different from that of the Wild Man, and that the traditional figure of the latter may thenceforward have become a nameless genius of the waters. He survives, probably to this day, in uranography as Aquarius. The Babylonian figure in this constellation was neither Ea (though he belonged to his circle) nor Tamuz, but was named *gula* (without determination of divinity), i.e. probably " big man " (Weidner). Such a name might well be given to the water-pouring hero when he had lost his proper name. Nearby, in Piscis Austrinus, is the Fish of Ea, perhaps a form of his colleague, the fish-man. The presence of the fish-man in this constellation, in the extreme south of the Babylonian horizon, could be related to the myth of Oannes rising from the Persian Gulf, in agreement with the author's theory of this personage.

844. E. BURROWS.

JAYĀKHYASAṂHITĀ. Critically edited with an Introduction in Sanskrit, Indices, etc., by EMBAR KRISHNAMACHARYA. With a foreword by the General Editor. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. 54. 10 × 6½, pp. 78 + 48 + 454. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1931. Rs. 12.

PĀRĀNANDA SŪTRA. Critically edited with an Introduction and Index by SWĀMĪ TRIVIKRAMA TĪRTHA. With a foreword by B. BHATTĀCHĀRYYA. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. 56. 10 × 6½, pp. 30 + 106. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1931. Rs. 3.8.

The literature of the Pāñcarātra or Sāttvata school of Vaishnavism was little known before Dr. F. O. Schrader's study of the *Ahirbudhnya-saṃhitā*. The present work, described as one of the three jewels of this religion, is an important addition to our knowledge of the developments of Vaishnavism. Among the chief features discussed by Dr. Bhattāchāryya and the Sanskrit editor are the elaborate cosmogony with the doctrine of a triple creation and a form of Sāṃkhya doctrine which should contribute to the history of that system. Starting from the same fundamental principles as Sāṃkhya the Saṃhitā develops a largely independent scheme of evolution, and naturally diverges greatly in its doctrine of salvation.

On the question of the date of the work Dr. Bhattāchāryya has a careful and elaborate discussion from the doctrinal and palæographical points of view, and reaches the conclusion that it belongs to the fifth century A.D. The question of the origin of the system is a very different matter. There is evidence which points to its existence in a much earlier period; but when Dr. Bhattāchāryya says that the mention of the Sāttvatas in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa "will prove beyond doubt that the Pāñcarātra school existed in the tenth century B.C. if not earlier", and states that "the Mantras and Tantras are as old as probably the Indian civilization itself", he rather indicates the gap that still exists between eastern and western thought.

Vaishnavism became more or less infected with Tantrism, but in the *Pārānanda-sūtra* we have a work claiming to be orthodox and ancient, and definitely devoted to that unsavoury subject. It is in sūtra form and modelled on the Vedic Kalpa-sūtras. The learned Swāmī concludes that the author Pārānanda was a contemporary of king Sudarśana of the Solar dynasty, whose time is taken to be between 2400 B.C. and 1800 B.C., a date which looks somewhat early even for the Vedic Kalpa-sūtras. Dr. Bhattāchāryya prefers to place it not earlier than A.D. 900, but some of his arguments from negative evidence do not always appear conclusive. He puts the Buddhist *Guhyasamāja-tantra* in the third century A.D., and then concludes *ex silentio* that "the Vāmācāra and permission given to the ascetics to take recourse to women cannot be earlier than the time of the composition of the Guhyasamāja", apparently because he finds such practices first mentioned in that Tantra. The theology as well as the ethics of the *Pārānanda-sūtra* is peculiar, and the systematic character of the work makes it highly valuable for the study of a system that embodies, as the editor says, the principles and doctrines of a new religious sect hitherto quite unknown.

732, 715. E. J. THOMAS.

JRAS. January, 1934, p. 199. Review: *Les Mosquées du Caire*. By L. Hautecœur and G. Wiet. 2 vols. 1932.

Le compte rendu qu'a fait M. Creswell des *Mosquées du Caire* renferme des erreurs tellement graves qu'il nous est impossible de garder le silence. Il ne discute pas nos opinions, mais nous en attribue d'erronées: sans prétendre que ses objections soient dues à des falsifications, on est bien obligé de constater qu'elles dérivent d'étourderies ou de contre-sens.

"The plan of the Dome of the Rock is Byzantine": or, nous avons écrit que le Dôme du Rocher, "par son plan et par son décor, se rattache à l'école byzantine," ce qui n'est pas tout à fait la même chose. Que M. Creswell consulte n'importe quel manuel d'art byzantin, il verra que le parti de cette mosquée c'est-à-dire, un plan central avec cercles ou polygones inscrits, était déjà fréquent. De Syrie (Ezra, Bosra) le système était passé à Constantinople (Saint-Serge et Bacchus) et en Asie mineure byzantine (Hiérapolis, Derbé, Déré Algy). M. Ghyka a montré que le tracé géométrique se trouvait à la mosquée dite d'Omar et à Saint-Vital de Ravenne.

M. Creswell nous fait dire que le plan de la mosquée d'Amr daterait de 827, alors que nous avons énuméré (p. 200) toutes les modifications survenues en 1399, 1468–1496, 1798. Nous avons écrit que des arcades ont pu être primitivement construites par Abd-Allah ibn Tahir en 827, ce qui ne veut pas dire que ces arcades soient les arcades actuelles, mais qu'il n'est nullement impossible qu'elles aient existé en 827. M. Creswell a lu trop vite.

M. Creswell, citant une de nos phrases sur la mosquée de Bagdad, s'imagine que l'emploi du présent en français suppose l'existence du sujet. M. Creswell ignore évidemment les nuances de notre langue. Il n'a pas compris que nous nous placions à l'époque de la conquête de l'Islam, et que nous devions respecter la concordance des temps. D'ailleurs nous citons dans la même phrase les mosquées de Bagdad et de Samarra, et M. Creswell nous fera la grâce de croire que nous n'ignorons pas l'état de la mosquée de Samarra ; M. Creswell ajoute que nous n'avons pas lu le texte de M. Herzfeld. Si nous n'avions pas lu ce texte comment aurions-nous pu citer la date que nous reproche M. Creswell. M. Creswell se contredit.

Nous ne pouvons pas discuter toutes les critiques de M. Creswell qui ont semblable valeur. Nous voulons seulement montrer comment procède ce censeur sévère. M. Creswell nous fait dire " Tous les mâchicoulis datés sont du XIII^e siècle ". Or nous avons écrit : " les bretèches datées." M. Creswell ne distingue pas bretèches et mâchicoulis, ce qui est fort regrettable pour un archéologue. Il s'imagine nous surprendre en flagrant délit de contradiction parce que (p. 256) nous avons pu supposer que Saladin avait introduit cette forme en Egypte. Or il n'y a aucune contradiction à soutenir que les bretèches datées sont du XIII^e siècle et qu'elles aient pu être rapportées de Syrie dans les dernières années du XII^e. M. Creswell estime que ce fut seulement Malik Adil son successeur, qui introduisit cette forme en Egypte. Or Malik Adil avait surveillé les travaux de Saladin. M. Creswell est vraiment fort habile s'il distingue la part de ces deux hommes ; et, quand même il pourrait le faire ce serait faire preuve d'une extrême malveillance que de chicaner pour une différence minime d'une dizaine d'années.

M. Creswell nous attribue une sottise. Le malheur est qu'il en est l'auteur. Nous aurions écrit que Bab el-Foutouh (1087) aurait été bâti par des architectes français venus au Caire avec l'ambassade de 1095. Or nous avons dit qu'à l'église de Saint-Waast en Boulonnais avaient été imités certains motifs de Bab el-Foutouh et que ces formes avaient été transmises par un des membres de cette ambassade, et nous avons renvoyé à un article d'Enlart sur cette question.

Dernier argument : nous n'avons pas inséré de plans nouveaux dans le texte. Nous avons dû nous contenter des crédits mis à notre disposition par l'éditeur. En outre, nous n'avons pas cité le photographe Lekejian comme auteur de

la plus grande partie des planches. M. Creswell se trompe. Lekejian avait exécuté quelques photographies lorsqu'il est mort, et comme les autres clichés sont l'œuvre de photographes divers, l'éditeur qui les avait fait travailler n'a pas cru devoir les citer.

Nous pourrions discuter de la même manière, par exemple, les omissions bibliographiques. M. Creswell pourrait retrouver dans notre table les noms qu'il nous accuse de ne pas citer, à l'exception d'un ou deux, dont les ouvrages ne nous ont pas semblé, après lecture, d'un caractère qui leur permette de figurer dans un travail scientifique.

Louis Hautecœur.
Gaston Wiet.

Dear Colonel Hoysted,

Hautecœur doubts that the bretèche at the Bab an-Nasr is original, for if it were " elle serait antérieure de plus d'un siècle aux bretèches connues ". Not at all; there is one at Dèr Qità in north Syria, dated A.D. 551, and the larger enclosure at Qasr al-Hair, in which there are four, is dated A.D. 729. Therefore he is not justified in saying that they " semblent être nées en Syrie au XIe siècle ".

As regards the sneer that I am very clever if I can distinguish between the work of Saladin and al-Adil in the Citadel of Cairo, I reply: Not in the least, for I cleared 750 m. of *chemin de ronde* and two gateways in 1923 by removing 2,000 cubic metres of débris, and anybody can now satisfy himself that there are two basic periods, that of Saladin and that of al-Adil. The work of Saladin formed a complete enclosure, consisting of curtain walls flanked by half-round towers 20 feet in diameter. This work was finished in 1184. Some thirty (not twelve) years later, al-Adil strengthened the enclosure of Saladin in two ways. (1) He set rectangular towers *astride* the curtain wall like saddles, leaving the partly mutilated curtain wall *inside*; and (2) he reinforced two half-round towers facing Abbasiya by enveloping them so that their diameter was increased from 20 to about 70–80 feet; the arrow-slits of the original towers being cut away so as to form doorways into the casements of the added part. This work was finished in 1214. Now the masonry of the added part is rusticated, whereas that of the half-round towers and curtain wall is smooth, and the arrow-slits differ also, those of the added part being V-shaped recesses covered by a vault like half a cone laid on its side, whereas those of the older part are each covered by a lintel with a relieving arch of three blocks. These clearly defined differences enable us to identify other work of the second (al-Adil) period. All this was published ten years ago in my "Archæological Researches in the Citadel of Cairo", in the *BIFAO.*, t. xxiii, together with 7 sheets of drawings, on which the different periods are clearly marked. Unfortunately, Hautecœur does not appear to be well acquainted with the literature of his subject, as I remarked in my review. As regards *bretèches* there are none whatever in the part due to Saladin, nor in his east wall of Cairo, although it is preserved up to the crenellations, but they *are* to be found in al-Adil's work at the Citadel. Hautecœur is therefore not justified in attributing their introduction into Egypt to Saladin.

On p. 237 Hautecœur discusses the origin of certain decorative features of the Bab al-Futuh. By way of explaining one of them he says: "On sait le goût que manifestaient à cette époque les Maghrébins pour les arcs festonnés: Cordue, Tlemcen, Marrakech, Rabat en fournissent des exemples." All the monuments of Tlemcen, Marrakech, and Rabat are later in date than the Bab al-Futuh, which was built in A.D. 1087; nevertheless, he seeks to explain a feature of the Bab al-Futuh by reference to them. He continues: "Ce décor se retrouve fort loin du Caire, à Saint-Wast en Boulonnais. Peut-être quelque artiste franc accompagnait-il les ambassadeurs Croisés qui séjournèrent durant dix mois au Caire en 1095." Taken in connection with the context, this looks like an alternative to the Maghrébin explanation.

Hautecœur now says that he meant that Saint-Wast may have been influenced by the Bab al-Futuh. He may have meant this, but he does not say so; in the previous sentence he was seeking to explain a feature in the Bab al-Futuh, not the influence of the Bab al-Futuh. He cannot blame his reviewer for his own want of lucidity.

He says that he did not give new plans in his book on account of the limited sum of money put at his disposal by the publisher. It is quite true that blocks can sometimes be borrowed free of cost; well and good. But one cannot utilize a steel engraving made in 1839; one must have a new "zinco" made, and this would cost just as much as making a "zinco" of the same size from a new and accurate drawing. Some of the other figures are reproduced from later publications, but as many of them have been reduced in scale, this must have involved making new blocks also. It is a pity these new blocks were not made from new and accurate drawings. Hautecœur's explanation is therefore farcical. As I said, his part of the book bears every sign of having been written in haste, and doubtless he had no time for making plans of complicated buildings.

On p. 208 he says: "Les mosquées primitives de la Mésopotamie, plus encore celles de la Syrie, de l'Egypte et de l'Afrique du Nord, *furent* des mosquées militaires. Non seulement elles *étaient* destinées aux armées conquerantes, mais elles *prenaient* l'aspect d'un camp. Elles rappellent les châteaux mésopotamiens qui imitèrent eux-mêmes les camps romains. Comme dans les châteaux d'Oukhaidir, Touba, Ladjdjoun, des tours *flanquent* les courtines à la mosquée de Bagdad, dont la partie centrale *date* de Mansour (149 H. = 766) et d'Haroun el-Rachid (193 H. = 808), à la grande mosquée de Samarra (232 H. = 847) et à la Moutawakkiya ou mosquée Abou Doulaf (234 H. = 849) [should be 246 H. (860) [1]] dans la même ville." This cannot be explained away as he suggests, for he has used the imperfect in the first part of this extract. It is clear that he has seen the plan in Herzfeld's book, showing an addition to the north-east and south-west, and when he speaks of this mosque and says that the central part *dates* from al-Mansur it is clear that he has not read Herzfeld's text and that he believes it still exists.

---

[1] Tab., iii, 1452.

He asks the childish question: "If we had not read the text of Herzfeld, how could we cite the date of the mosque?" He has already forgotten that the date is marked on Herzfeld's plan! But even apart from this he might easily have obtained the date from the same source as Herzfeld, viz. Al-Khatib's *History of Baghdad*, of which, incidentally, the part in question has been translated into French by Salmon, unless it is too much to expect him to consult original sources.

Re the Dome of Rock. All authors who have made a special study of the Christian architecture of Syria before Islam, regarded it as a school of its own, quite distinct from Byzantine architecture properly speaking. The oldest existing annular rotundas are Sta. Costanza at Rome and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. Both consist of a circle within a circle. Then came the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives, a circle within an octagon, then the Cathedral of Bosra, A.D. 513, a circle within an octagon, within a circle; then the Dome of the Rock, a circle within an octagon, within an octagon. The last links of the chain of development were therefore forged in Syria. I am unable to bring the Church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus (an octagon within a square) into this line of descent.

Yours sincerely,
K. A. C. CRESWELL.

OBITUARY NOTICES

Dr. Hartwig Hirschfeld

Dr. Hartwig Hirschfeld, who died on the 10th January, 1934, was born in Thorn, Prussia, in 1854. He was educated at the Royal Marien Gymnasium in Posen, at the University of Berlin, and later, at Strasburg, where he became a pupil of Professor Noeldeke, the most learned Arabist of his time. There he graduated, proceeding Ph.D. in 1878.

After a year's compulsory service in the Prussian Army, he obtained a travelling scholarship which enabled him to go to Paris. Here he read Arabic and Hebrew with Professor Derenbourg, subsequently returning to Berlin to continue his studies. He concentrated his attention upon Hebrew-Arabic literature and upon the Koran.

In 1889, as Principal of the Montefiore College, Ramsgate, I offered Dr. Hirschfeld the post of Professor of Semitic Languages, Biblical Exegesis, and Philosophy; and in 1901 he was appointed to a similar position at Jews' College, London. He filled the University College lectureship in Semitic Epigraphy from 1903; was appointed Reader in Ethiopic in 1906, and Goldsmith Lecturer in Hebrew in 1924, retaining the latter post almost until his death.

Hirschfeld was a man of high character, strong principles, marked erudition, and pre-eminently sound, reliable, scholarship.

Of his many works only the more important can be referred to here, *Jüdische Elemente im Koran* and a German translation of the original Arabic of Judah ha-Levi's *Kuzari* (1885); a critical edition of the Arabic text (1887); an English translation (1905), of which a revised edition appeared in 1932; the *Assabinya* (an Arabic philosophic poem by Musa b. Tubi) in the *Report of the Montefiore College, Ramsgate*, for 1894; *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Koran* (1886), elaborated into

New Researches into the Composition and Exegesis of the Koran, published by our Society in 1902; *Sketch of Hebrew Grammar* (1913); *Quirquisani Studies* (1918); *Commentary on Deuteronomy* (1925), and among his bibliographical writings, a *Descriptive Catalogue of the Hebrew MSS. of the Montefiore Library* (1904).

A number of his essays and reviews appeared in this and other Oriental journals.

M. Gaster.

Berthold Laufer

The tragic death of Dr. Berthold Laufer on 13th September, 1934, has robbed the world of a fine scholar and a charming and sympathetic personality.

"Dr. Laufer was born in Cologne on 11th, October, 1874. He was educated at a Cologne gymnasium, the University of Berlin, and the Seminary for Oriental Languages in Berlin. In 1897 he earned the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Leipzig. He came to the United States in 1898 and soon gained high repute as an ethnologist and anthropologist. Between 1899 and 1904 he conducted expeditions among the native tribes of Siberia and in China. For several years he served as a lecturer on anthropology and Asiatic languages at Columbia University. In 1907 he joined the staff of the Field Museum and in a short time became Associate Curator of Anthropology. Since 1915 he had been Curator of the Department. In recognition of his important researches and other work he was recipient of many honors from learned societies, Universities, and other scientific organizations." [1]

Laufer's principal field of research was in the Far East. Some of his earliest published work deals with Tibetan and Mongolian subjects, but he is best known in Europe for his numerous publications on Chinese art and archæology.

---

[1] From the *Field Museum News*, October, 1934. I am indebted to Professor Yetts for drawing attention to this article and to other items of information used in this notice.

His book on *Chinese Pottery of the Han Dynasty* published in 1909 brought him world-wide and well deserved recognition. It was the first serious attempt to investigate the early phases of Chinese ceramic history, and it remains to this day a standard work. *Chinese Grave-sculpture of the Han Period* (1911) and *Chinese Clay Figures* (1914) were further scholarly contributions. But probably his great work on *Jade* (1912) has done most to spread Laufer's reputation in Europe. It is the book to which all students of jade have had recourse, and it is a characteristic work of the author, the fruit of painstaking research made palatable by a pleasant literary style and frequent touches of humour. In it Laufer based himself on Chinese text books which his good working knowledge of the language enabled him to read and quote, and his book is full of interesting information liberally illustrated. It is true that some of the authorities on which he relied at the time have suffered from subsequent criticism; but if Laufer had been spared he would certainly have published a revised edition of his *Jade* and have given us the authoritative book which we have all been awaiting with eager expectation. It is to be hoped that the material for this important work may yet be used by his literary executors.

His shorter monographs and articles range over a great variety of subjects and represent an immense amount of original work and research. *The Beginnings of Porcelain in China* (1917), *Ivory in China* (1925), *Chinese Baskets* (1925), *Insect Musicians and Cricket Champions of China* (1927), *Paper and Printing in Ancient China* (1931), *The Lemon in China* (1934), and *The Swing in China*, to mention only the definitely Chinese subjects on which he has given us the benefit of his extensive and peculiar information. In Laufer's works one was always apt to meet with surprises and some of his long, but far from tedious, digressions would have sufficed for separate monographs. Thus while the first part of his *Chinese Clay Figures* is mainly a discourse on the *History of Defensive Armour* (for this we are prepared by the sub-title), a hundred pages on the history of the rhinoceros present a totally unexpected interposition.

Interesting monographs other than the Chinese are his *Turquois in the East* (1913), *Sino-Iranica* (1919), *Agate* (1925), *The Ostrich* (1926), *The Giraffe in History and Art* (1928), *The Pre-history of Aviation* (1928), *Introduction of Tobacco into Africa* (1930), *Early History of Polo* (1932), and *Felt* (1933).

The bulk of his literary output appears in the publications of the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.

Laufer's long stays in the interior of China gave him an intimate understanding of Chinese habits and mentality, as his knowledge of the language allowed him to go back to original Chinese sources for his information on archæological matters. Thus equipped he was able to collect for the Field Museum material which is unrivalled in its scientific value, and to classify and explain it in admirable labels and handbooks. His work at the Field Museum and elsewhere places him in the front rank of Orientalists and Ethnographers, and the collections which he made and arranged will be a lasting monument to his name.

The list of his publications given above (though by no means complete) shows that Laufer was an indefatigable worker. Like many studious people he was inclined to be shy and sensitive ; but to those who had the privilege of his friendship he was warm-hearted and affectionate and a delightful and entertaining companion. I had only the good fortune to meet him once, in January, 1914, when I spent a few days at the Field Museum under his kindly guidance. But I carried away a lasting memory of his warm welcome, his untiring attentions, his inspiring zeal and withal of the modesty with which he imparted his profound knowledge.

8. R. L. HOBSON.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Alexander Csoma de Kőrös

In 1934 Oriental Societies have a double anniversary to celebrate in connection with a very remarkable Hungarian traveller and scholar. It is 150 years since Alexander Csoma de Kőrös was born and 100 years since he published his great standard works, the *Tibetan Grammar* and *Dictionary*. His name and career well deserve to be remembered in Great Britain, for, outside his own country, no other nation of the world appreciated his researches as much as the English. He spent the larger part of his life in the north of India with the support of the British Indian Government; all his writings were published in English at Calcutta, where he lived during the last years of his life. He was Librarian of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

His life is full of vicissitudes and hardships of all sorts.[1] He was born on the 4th April, 1784, in the village of Kőrös, named later Csomakőrös after him, in the county of Háromszék in Transylvania. Descended of a noble but poor family, he finished his studies as a pupil-servant at the Bethlen College of Nagyenyed, which sent him with a scholarship to the German University of Göttingen. There he heard from Professor Eichhorn that certain Arabic MSS. must contain valuable information, unknown to European scholars, regarding the Asiatic migrations of the Hungarians during the early Middle Ages. This induced Csoma to study Arabic and to travel in Central Asia rather than enter upon the quiet academic career that waited for him in his country.

Certainly, no man was better fitted to cope with the privations inherent in such a venture into distant parts of the world than Csoma de Kőrös. Endowed with a sound constitution and infinite bodily tenacity, well trained in Oriental studies pursued over a period of ten years, he was still very simple and unpretending. With the assistance of 100 florins a year provided by one of his countrymen, Councillor Michael de Kenderessy, Csoma started from Transylvania at the age of 36, on the 1st November, 1819, for his arduous expedition, most of which he carried out on foot. Travelling over the Balkan Peninsula, Syria, and Baghdad, he stopped at Tehran for four and a half months to learn English and Persian. Then, disguised as an Armenian, he planned to go eastwards to Mongolia "to develop some obscure points of Asiatic and of European history" and to search there for the original home of the Hungarians. On account of the impending Russian war in Central Asia, however, he turned off to India with the object of getting from there to his objective.

---

[1] For his biography and an account of his works see Theodore Duka, M.D.: *Life and Works of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös*. London: Trübner & Co., 1885.

Leaving Kabul on the 19th January, 1822, he went to Lahore; then to Srinagar, visiting Leh, the capital of Ladakh in Western Tibet, but, again, he found himself stopped because "the road to Yarkand was very difficult, expensive, and dangerous for a Christian". Returning to Lahore, he met the English traveller, William Moorcroft, on the 16th July. This event proved to be a decisive point in Csoma's life, for Moorcroft persuaded him to go to Tibet instead of to Mongolia and to specialize in Tibetan. Csoma willingly accepted Moorcroft's proposal and his promise to provide him with the necessary funds. Doubtless he was influenced in this decision by his gratitude to the English. He was not unaware of the fact that his ancient college at Nagyenyed had been restored, under Queen Anne, with the help of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the English aristocracy and the citizens of London, after the devastations of the Hungarian civils wars at the beginning of the eighteenth century. On his way to Tibet he was assisted by the English residents of Baghdad and Tehran, and again William Moorcroft, who helped and directed him. Moorcroft foresaw that the accomplishments of a man of the type of Csoma could usefully be employed in the service of British interests in that part of Asia. Csoma actually accompanied him to Leh again where he made himself proficient in Tibetan and Persian. In May, 1823, he set out once more from Kashmir to Leh and was sent on from there to the province of Zanskar, in the south-west of Ladakh, for further studies.

At the lamasery of Zangla he spent sixteen months in further study of Tibetan language and literature with a learned Lama. They were confined to a room 9 feet square without a fire, and exposed to "privations such as have been seldom endured", as his epitaph says. On the 22nd October, 1824, Csoma left Tibet and went to Subathoo on the Indian frontier where he was detained by the commanding officer, Captain Kennedy, under further instructions from Calcutta. In May, 1825, the Government of India granted him a regular stipend of 50 rupees a month, which enabled him to continue his studies. In June he returned to Zanskar, to the lamasery of Phuktal for one and a half years: he was, however, dissatisfied with his second stay in Tibet, so that in 1827, with the permission of the Indian Government, he went to Kanum, in Upper Besarh, for three more years to complete his studies.

In April, 1831, we find him at Calcutta again. On the basis of the valuable material collected by him during many years, he was commissioned by the Government to write his *Tibetan Grammar* and *Tibetan Dictionary*, containing 40,000 words, and to draw up a catalogue of Hodgson's Tibetan MSS. The first two works were published in 1834, and in the same year, on the 6th February, he was unanimously elected Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

At Calcutta Csoma lived a modest life in retirement, such as he was used to in Tibet. As early as 1829, the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal resolved to grant him 50 rupees a month in addition to the payment he received from Government: Csoma, however, refused the Society's support.

In July, 1831, the Government allowance to him was increased to 100 rupees a month; with exception, however, of the first two months, Csoma never drew any part of it and continued to live on the slender savings he had lodged with the treasurer of the Society. In the same manner he refused to receive the pecuniary supports of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, of the Hungarian Diet of 1830, and of some Hungarian nobles, but returned them to found scholarships at home. It is only from the letters of his friends that we gain an insight into the unparalleled privations and unpretentious way of life of Csoma, for, as his biographer, Th. Duka, puts it, his "regrettable diffidence" always forbade him to refer to any particular events of his life.

In 1836–7 we find him in the Upper Provinces studying Sanskrit, Mahratta, and Bengali. Then, between 1837 and 1842 he is in Calcutta again, arranging the Tibetan works of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal as its librarian, and translating into Tibetan the Prayer Book, the Psalms, and the Liturgy for English missionaries. After finishing this work he set out for his last journey in 1842. Seeing that he had not yet achieved the goal for which he had originally gone to the East, he arranged to visit Lhasa in order to study the MSS. of the Lama's library which he hoped might contain valuable information about the Uyghurs who lived to the east and north of Lhasa, and whom he supposed to be the next-of-kin of the Hungarians; his further object was to go from Lhasa to Mongolia. When he reached Darjeeling, however, he fell ill with malaria which in six days extinguished his noble life. He died on the 11th April, 1842, at the age of 58.

Though Csoma did not attain his object, yet his laborious life and scientific results are worthy of remembrance. His researches opened up a new field in Oriental studies. With the exception of Father Giorgi's primitive *Alphabetum Tibetanum* (Rome, 1762) and T. Marshman's *Tibetan Dictionary* (Serampore, 1826),[1] Tibetan philology was entirely unknown to Europe. His two great works are the foundation stones of this branch of science to which also his smaller papers form precious contributions: one of these is his "Analysis of the BKahgyur and the BStangyur", published in the *Bengal Asiatic Researches*, vol. xx, and the rest—fourteen in number—appeared in the *JRAS. of Bengal* and were edited in a separate volume entitled *Tibetan Studies* by Sir E. Denison Ross at Calcutta in 1912.

---

[1] This work had not been seen by Csoma.

In Hungary it is the Hungarian Academy of Sciences at Budapest that has always kept alive since 1900 the memory of Csoma with festival meetings held in April—the month of Csoma's birth and death—of every third year: in 1928 the memorial lecture was given by Sir E. Denison Ross, Foreign Member of the Hungarian Academy. A valuable collection of manuscripts, books, and photographs belonging and relating to Csoma was presented to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences by Theodore Duka. A society of Hungarian Orientalists[1] and its *Archivum* also bears the name of Csoma.

In England our Royal Asiatic Society commemorated this anniversary of Csoma de Kőrös at its meeting on 13th December, 1934. Our *JRAS.* contains interesting information about Csoma in its volumes for 1834 (Vol. I, p. 128) and 1843 (Vol. VII, Proceedings, p. v). In India the *JRAS. of Bengal* published important articles on him in vols. ii, xi, xiv, and xvi.

Not only as a scholar but also as a man Csoma deserves that his name should for ever remain in our memory. His career proves the truth of Francis Bacon's saying, "knowledge is power." His life shows to everybody what man can attain if this power is combined with enthusiasm and perseverance. *Sic itur ad astra!*

JOSEPH DE SOMOGYI.

---

[1] This is the Kőrösi Csoma Society, founded in 1920 on the initiative of J. Németh, Z. de Takács, and Count Paul Teleki.

Firdausi: The Poet and his Work

On 4th October, 1934, Professor R. A. Nicholson delivered a lecture before the Royal Asiatic Society and the Royal Central Asian Society at the rooms of the Royal Geographical Society, in order to inaugurate the celebration of the Thousandth Anniversary of the Persian poet Firdausi in London.

He described how Firdausi is to Persia what Homer was to Greece, and though for obvious reasons a comparison of the Sháhnáma with the Iliad would be out of place, in each poem there are scenes and episodes that may be set one beside the other as masterpieces of epic narrative. It is remarkable that E. G. Browne, with his enthusiasm for almost everything Persian, should have seen so little to admire in the national poet. The artistic side of Firdausi's work did not appeal to him. On the other hand, no European scholar since Browne has possessed the knowledge of Persian life, literature, and history that is needed in order to trace the far-reaching influence of Firdausi down to the present day. Moreover the old Iranian background of the Epic calls for special study. The Sháhnáma has its roots in the Avesta, whereas the later Persian poetry grew up and flourished under the shadow of the Qur'án.

Few facts are known about the poet's life. He belonged to the class of *dihqáns*, who at that time were generally what is called in Northern England "statesmen", farming their own land and often finding it hard enough to make both ends meet. He looks down upon artisans—"a turbulent crew given much to thinking" (so rendered by Warner, i, 132, but perhaps the usual meaning of *pur andisha* "full of care", would be a safer translation, less reminiscent of the modern industrial revolution)—and contrasts them with the "independent tillers of the soil", whom he regards as the backbone of the Persian nation. His complaints of poverty and ruinous taxes need not be taken too seriously. According to the *Chahár Maqála* he had an income sufficient for his wants and only turned poet to provide his daughter with a dowry. That may have been one motive, but no doubt there were stronger incitements, such as patriotism, fame, and the desire to enrich himself. It is clear that most of the poem was finished before the accession of Sultan Mahmúd, to whom the complete work is dedicated. Though probably true in substance, the picturesque story of his relations with that sovereign has little or no historical value. After leaving Ghazna, he took refuge with the Buwayhids in Western Persia, where he composed his *Yúsuf ú Zalíkhá*, in which his inspiration is drawn from Moslem sources and produces an inferior result. While his belief in Islam, so far as its essential principles are concerned, was sincere and deep, yet in him the dominant feeling is always national. This note makes itself heard even at times when a more worldly-wise and cautious man would have taken care to suppress it, as when he proclaims himself a lover of 'Ali in the introduction to the Sháhnáma. Although he was no fanatic and was paying the Sultan no ordinary compliment, it appears surprising that an avowed Shi'ite of any persuasion should have counted on a handsome reward from such a patron in these circumstances; nor can the prospect have been improved by his attitude towards Zoroastrianism and the allusions which he makes to indulgence in the forbidden pleasures of wine.

Firdausi was a gentle soul, and his humanity has left its mark on Persian culture. In a volume of selections from poets, recently published by the Persian Ministry of Education, sixty pages are allotted to him, and these are entirely filled with moral lessons and maxims. His teaching is singularly pure. It may be said of him, what cannot be said of Sa'di, that he has written nothing, or next to nothing, unfit to be read by children.

After some remarks on the origin, contents, and style of the Sháhnáma, the lecturer took as a typical specimen the episode of Bahrám and Tazháv (ed. Turner-Macan, 606 *sqq.*) and translated into literal English prose a passage which

had first been recited to the audience in the original Persian by Sayyid Fakhru'ddín Shademan. Finally, reference was made to the distinguished part played by this country in introducing Firdausi to Western readers through the editions of Lumsden and Turner-Macan and the translations of Champion, Atkinson, and Arthur and Edward Warner.
4.

The Millenary of Firdausi

By way of participating in the celebration of the millenary of the poet Firdausi, organized by the Persian Government, the Royal Asiatic Society joined with the Central Asian Society in inviting Professor R. A. Nicholson to give a lecture on the life and work of the poet: this was delivered in the Hall of the Royal Geographical Society on 4th October, and was well attended. His Excellency the Persian Minister and Sir Percy Sykes spoke after the lecture. On 1st November His Excellency the Minister attended a reception given by the Royal Asiatic Society, and accepted from the Society as a memento of the occasion a copy of *The Shahnameh of Firdausi described by J. V. S. Wilkinson*; in replying, His Excellency read out a telegram from the Persian Prime Minister expressing the gratitude of the Imperial Government and the Society for the Preservation of Historical Monuments to the personages and societies in London which were participating in the celebration of the millenary of their national poet. He was followed by Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, C.B.E., I.C.S., who spoke of India's debt to the literature of Persia, and the Director (Sir E. Denison Ross), who had but recently returned from attending the festivities in Teheran, where he with other European delegates were entertained by the Persian Government. He recounted his experience of the enthusiasm aroused by the celebrations throughout Persia, and described some of the newly discovered monuments which he had been privileged to inspect. The Secretary and the Hon. Librarian then exhibited the Society's MSS. of the Shahnameh and some other monuments of Persian and Arabic literature together with pictures of scenes and persons connected with the subject and which are in the Society's possession.

Burton Memorial Lecture

Luristan

The Burton Memorial Lecture was delivered on 21st October, 1934, before the Society, at 74 Grosvenor Street, W. 1, by **Miss Freya Stark**, to whom the Society's Burton Memorial Medal was afterwards presented by Lord Lloyd. Miss Stark said :—

We are here to honour the memory of Sir Richard Burton —one of the great travellers, and one who had the fortune to be born into the very Golden Age of exploration. It is surprising to think how near we still are to his time ; to a time when discoveries were still thought of in terms of continents ; when Africa, Arabia, and Central Asia were still practically unknown. An old friend of mine remembers Sir Richard Burton himself as a dark, interesting and rather temperamental visitor in her drawing-room ; Charles Doughty died only a few years ago ; I myself remember as a child how a great monolith of granite was carted away from my home on Dartmoor to cover the grave of Stanley ; at the present day, Sir Aurel Stein is probably more at home in Central Asia than in London ; and Arabia has given up her secrets only within the last four years. The rapidity with which all this has happened is very surprising : in this short space of time the world, which those great men found so refreshingly empty, has become so overcrowded that it is difficult now to go anywhere for a few hundred miles without knocking up against some sort of a policeman.

But there is one form of exploration which is only just at its beginning : it deals not with geography only, but with history also, and so makes a combined study of space and time together. Any plot of ground, however familiar, has borne a number of successive layers of human life which the historical explorer can discover: this fascinating pursuit has only recently begun to show what pleasures and excitements it can give: and it is rather encouraging to think that the explorer of the future, when there is no corner of the globe left unencumbered with civilization and publicity, may still find mystery and make discoveries in his own back-yard or thereabouts.

With the aid of the slides I have described to you the general character of the landscape of Luristan—the wide and open plains of the north intersected by treeless ranges; the mountain and forest country of the west and centre, with its great dividing barrier of Kebir Kuh; the belt of waterless desolation along the Iraq border; and the connecting thread of the Saidmarreh River and its tributaries, which run through the country like the backbone of a fish and drain it from the north-west to the south-east. I must add that all the mountain ranges follow this same direction, and run from north-west to south-east like parallel waves.

You will see from this description how the features of the country are particularly useful for anyone who is trying to make historical deductions. They have not altered for many ages, and they must always have had a great influence on the life of the inhabitants and on the methods of infiltration, whether peaceful or warlike, of other nations coming from outside. No doubt there was once much more forest and, in consequence, more water: the Lurs all told me that their country is now drier than it used to be, and I expect that their charcoal trade has caused the destruction of great tracts of oakland within the last fifty years: this makes it probable that the country once supported a much larger population than now, and a more sedentary one; the numbers of mounds and cemeteries, and the ruins of old towns scattered here and there, bear out this supposition.

But several other important factors have come down unaltered through the ages. The river must always have been the gateway for invaders, and the mountain ranges a barrier against them: all people who entered Luristan must have come either downstream from the north-west or upstream from the south-east; for if they wished to come from any other direction, they would have to cross ridge after ridge of mountains. The distribution of the ancient sites, as far as I could judge, bears out the theory that the people of the bronzes spread along and lived in the fertile river lands and the plains that open out from them: gentle hills on the edge of a valley or plain are the places where the cemeteries are most likely to be found. These are now covered over, usually by 2 feet or so of earth, but the tribesman has become an expert in his own way and, after persistent looting for the last four years, can now judge fairly accurately of what is a likely spot. When first the antique dealers of places like Kermenshah and Harsin on the Luristan borderland noticed the beautiful bronzes brought down by the nomads and began to ask for more, the tribesmen used to take the skewers on which they roast their bits of meat, and probe the ground to find the buried boulders that might indicate a grave: now there is not a colony of black tents that has not got a number of useful iron spikes, 3 or 4 feet long, which they use for this purpose.

Professor Goddard has written a book with very beautiful photographs of some of these precious finds from Luristan. He thinks that there was a trade relationship with the country on the south-west shore of the Caspian, and that it was there that the ancient Lurs obtained their copper, bringing it down through Kurdistan.

I examined five graves altogether, but I was not lucky enough to find any bronzes actually in place. The tribesmen told me that they usually dig up fifty or sixty before they come upon anything. The best of the graves, according to all local accounts, and the ones which are interesting because horses with the beautiful trappings are said to be buried in them, are in the country of Tarhan, east of the Saidmarreh:

here neither I nor anyone else so far as I know have been able to penetrate since these bronzes have been found, though Major Edmonds crossed the plain long before. Whether the people who imported these horses came from the Caspian north or the Indian south is a question of which the answer probably lies hidden in the mounds that stud the banks and plains of the Saidmarreh.

This problem deals with the *incomings* of people from the north or south : but it is only one of those important questions to which an answer may be found in Luristan. Another and equally momentous one deals with their *outgoings* to the west.

The ancient Elamites correspond roughly with the Lurs. They emerge into history when they break out and ravage and conquer the Sumerian plains round Babylon. The later Kassites were mountaineers of Luristan : Professor Minorsky traces their name in the present Kashgan Rud, an eastern tributary of the Saidmarreh. He says " the lands which are now inhabited by Lurs must have played a great part in ancient times as a passage way between the important centres of the Persian Kingdom ".

The existence of this passage or channel of communication through Luristan must have continued over a very long period of time. I think that the more one discovers of the bronzes, the more one will find them to belong to a number of different periods. Under the Elamites, the union with Iraq is shown by likenesses between many Sumerian and Luristan objects. When Cyrus and Darius made Susa their capital, there must have been a busy time of traffic along the mountain tracks ; and the Sassanians had many cities along the Saidmarreh, whose ruins can still be traced. Alexander the Great's difficulties with the Kassites show that as soon as authority was relaxed, the ancestors of the Lurs took to robbery with the zest that has come undiminished down to their descendants. In Moslem times the Kurds from the north came down and gave the country a period of settled prosperity, if one can judge from the ruined cities they left, probably built on old Sassanian sites and still to be seen. I visited two of them in the folds of Kebir Kuh and dated them to the thirteenth or fourteenth century by the few bits of glazed pottery I was able to find amid the ruined houses.

The decline of Luristan probably began soon after this period: the old causeways, built of solid boulders, were left untended and gradually sank almost invisibly into the landscape: Iraq, growing ever poorer, would have less and less merchandise to send over the Persian passes: the traders who live in houses would diminish, and the shepherds who live in tents would increase: until in the last few years a climax has been reached, the modern Persian financial policy has stopped even the meagre trade in cotton, tea, and sugar which came up out of the desert, and has left smuggling as the only possible form of commerce in western Luristan.

This must be very melancholy for the patriotic Lur (though I think that, as a matter of fact, he rather enjoys the smuggling); but it makes a perfect field for the archæologist. The mounds and ruins have been untouched for centuries, ever since the nomad came back into his own. And the geography is particularly useful, as I said before, for the mountain passes regulate the traffic now exactly as they must have done from the beginning.

As far as I know, there are only four good ways into the country between Khanikin in the north and Dizful in the south. There is a broad, nearly waterless stretch of mountain all along the border, with the further obstacle of Kebir Kuh on the east of it, an enormous ridge with only two good passes. On the first part of my journey we crossed by a pass which can never under any circumstances have been a highway of commerce. We went, an old guide and I with two smugglers, from Badrah on the Iraq border. We carried our water in a small goatskin and found only one spring at which it was possible to drink at the end of the day—and that was unpleasantly salt. We were not able to sleep near it, since the landscape, though it seemed as empty as the moon, is overrun by smugglers at night, and it is to one's own interest to be as unobtrusive as possible when "the gentlemen go by": so that it is as well to avoid the only water-hole. We slept in a little gully out of sight. There are no trees in all this belt. It consists of white or reddish rock, untidy limestone, strewn with black fossil shells nearly as big as my fist. The police hardly ever come into this region, but prefer to wait and catch people as they descend into a gentler landscape.

The trade routes are made by the rivers which force their way through this God-forsaken land into the plain of Iraq, and offer not only an easier gradient, but also drink and fodder for horses. On my way back, I followed the northern of these streams, the Gangir River, which comes out at Mandali and dies there in the desert. Along its course one can trace here and there mounds and cemeteries, and later crumbling remnants of Moslem architecture, bridges or domes, and scattered stones in one or two level places, where probably some little dead commercial city lies under the ground.

It is these old highways that I think it would be interesting to investigate before new motor roads are made to overlay and obliterate their courses. The commerce and the movement of the country must have followed them from the very beginning as a matter of geographical necessity, and successive waves of people have probably left some trace along them. If, for instance, the Sumerians came down upon Iraq from the east, these gateways into their country may hold important clues. An expedition here would find a friendly people to deal with, and one particularly kindly disposed to the British: they are well under control of the Persian Government, and far easier to deal with than the more eastern Lurs.

Apart from the interest of archæology, I think one must be really lacking in imagination if one does not feel the lure and magic of an old road. I think that perhaps the most subtle charm of Asia lies in these interminable highways; they are just grassy tracks as often as not, stretching from village to village with great distances of empty land between, but their ends lie in China or Turkestan, Turkey, Russia, or the Mediterranean. They go far out of sight not only of the eye, but of the mind, fading away into distances of time as well as space, linking together centuries and civilizations, more permanent than armies, dynasties, or religions, stronger than anything except the physical changes of geography. They are the very thread on which our human life in the world is strung. The sight of them gives one a feeling of infinite time, of infinite leisure, almost of eternity. Even the lorries, that now traverse them, lose their mechanical hurry, as I know to my cost, for I drove in one from Qum to Daulatabad and took thirty-six hours instead of seven. No doubt one will soon see nothing but motors; but I am glad still to have been in time to watch the long strings of camels padding in the dust over the passes to Antioch or Baalbeck; or the droves of little Persian donkeys, with their noses slit in the most ugly manner to make them breathe better, trotting along under heavy pack-saddles day after day across the Persian plains.

In all western Luristan, however, they do most of their carrying on the backs of small black oxen, which seem to be quite sure-footed and comfortable on the stony tracks of the passes. I met a stream of these caravans constantly going north from the lands of the Saidmarreh, with grain, or gum tragacanth, or charcoal from the forest for the markets of Nihavend or Kermenshah, or even Hamadan, where groups of Lurs can be seen though it is two good days' ride from their country. In the evening they make a half-circle of their bales to keep the wind off; their animals browse untethered around them; and their fires can be seen twinkling in the solitude, with six or seven dark figures gathered around them drinking tea while their supper, which is just a wedge of dough, is getting black and burnt under the embers.

Considering the vastness of the country, the comparative handful of police could not do more than they do at present.

There was no particular reason, however, for me to be caught in so big and uninhabited a country, with the nomads all in sympathy with the bandits. They moved about it by night, and though the tribesmen knew more or less where they might be at any given moment, one was never quite sure whether one might not find them at the top of a pass or not. I usually used to walk on ahead with my hat off when we got near the top (also to encourage my wretched guide). As I was dressed in an ordinary European skirt and short jacket, I felt sure that any normal bandit would be too much intrigued by curiosity at the sight of such an unusual apparition to shoot without a little conversation beforehand. But I always had a rather uncomfortable feeling when coming to the rocky part of the ridge, rather like the helpless feeling one has in the Alps, if one is climbing an ice-slope and stones begin to roll down from above.

I must say here that I am sure that women run much less danger than men in this sort of a country, and that it is a mistake to discard one's feminine costume or to wear anything but the most modest garments one can. Tribeswomen have often expressed their approval of my high neck, long sleeves, and decent length of skirt, and the approval of the women is very useful if any difficulty does arise.

When we got over the barrier wall from Nihavend, we found ourselves in the last line of very old settled villages which still fringe the north and east of the plains of Alishtar and Khava. This country has a lot of interesting Islamic tombstones. They are especially numerous near Alishtar and the village of Dah Ram to the west of it, and possibly date from the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries like the bits of pottery I found on the site of the old Alishtar, which was a flourishing Kurdish city in the fourteenth century.

The small tombstones in the modern cemeteries are also very interesting, because the Lurs are in the habit of carving on them all the belongings which the departed was interested in—his horses, his goats, his gun, his wives. On a woman's tomb I saw a ring, a rosary, a pair of scissors, a mirror, and a comb. The most surprising of these tombstones had an elephant cut in relief. I was told that it had been carved forty or fifty years ago: and I should be glad to hear of any explanation of how an elephant came to be carved among the flocks and herds of Luristan.

I saw another elephant, on a coin found in Tarhan, and which I bought from a Lur in Khava: Mr. Walker, of the British Museum, suggests that it is a Syrian coin of the third century B.C., the king unknown. When Professor Goddard wrote about the Luristan bronzes, he thought that no evidence of Greek influence existed in these hills. However, I found one little bronze figure obviously Hellenic, which I was unfortunately not able to buy as the tribesmen wanted too much for it. I also found a drachm of Alexander the Great which had been dug up in a jar in the ruins of a village in the Pusht-i-Kuh: the ruins did not look older than the thirteenth or fourteenth century, and the finding of the drachm there goes to show how these later sites must often be looked upon as places continuously inhabited back into much earlier times. I think that intercourse with Luristan existed through all the civilizations of antiquity from the Elamites downwards and probably before. There is nothing really surprising in a Syrian coin being found here; it may possibly have been handed to a Kassite by some merchant of Alexander's day, before that monarch stopped the blackmail on the passes just as Riza Shah is doing now.

After visiting Alishtar and the governor of northern Luristan I managed to spend a few days south of what corresponds in Luristan to the "Highland Line", among the real nomads who never live in houses at all. Their tents, as might be expected, are much more substantial affairs than those which one sees near the villages. Sometimes they protect them for the winter by making all round them low mud walls, about 5 feet high to cut the wind. Otherwise the surrounding fence is made of river reeds, woven closely together with wool; the western Lurs use coloured wools, and weave these reed fences into gay patterns, like the tribal carpets.

By the end of September I found the nights cold but the days delicious. The people were going to leave in a month's time for the winter camping grounds, along the Saidmarreh and in the lowlands of Tarhan. They resent the government's efforts to make them live in one place all the year round, because they say that so much of their stock dies in the cold northern pastures in winter. Perhaps the cold, too, accounted for the fact that I found very few insects: I was not troubled by them, in spite of the fact that I was travelling very light for greater safety and had no bed with me, only a sleeping sack which I used to put on to any mattress which was offered me, only taking the precaution to spray it well with Flit beforehand.

I found that Sir Arnold Wilson and Major Edmonds were both remembered as having travelled in the south and east of the country, and they were remembered in a very friendly manner.

I like to remember this fascinating country, for the people were kind and pleasant, and kept up the fine tradition of their hospitality. But it is all changing very quickly, and no doubt has altered a good deal even in these last two years. Eighteen Luristan chiefs were hung or executed for rebellion a year or so ago; and the making of a network of roads which is to run up and down along the whole line of the western frontier is being pushed on at a great rate, and will bring more changes than anything else. I trust that somebody will go to investigate the antiquities scientifically before these changes have gone too far; and if anyone here is thinking of excavations in Luristan, I hope they will invite me to join them.

Lord Lloyd, when presenting the Medal, said that the parts of Miss Stark's lecture which had appealed most strongly to his imagination and memory were, first, her description of the endless line of the road leading across an empty land. Leading not only from the Caspian to the Indian Ocean,

from the Mediterranean to the Pacific, but from prehistory to modern times and from one civilization to another. It brought back visions of what he himself had so often seen and felt in his travels. And secondly, her fascinating and encouraging suggestions about the explorer of the future and the mysteries which were yet awaiting solution underground.
S.

Notices

Copies of every article published in the JOURNAL are available for purchase at the time of publication. In the case of a few of the older JOURNALS the copies of certain articles are sold out, but in most cases they are still obtainable. The cost varies in accordance with the number of pages and plates; the average price is about 1*s*. 6*d*. each.

Will Library Subscribers whose subscriptions are paid through agents and who desire that their names should appear in the List of Members for next year, kindly send their names to the Secretary, either direct or through their agent, before 1st April.

As it has been found necessary, owing to the financial situation, to reduce the number of pages in the JOURNAL of the R.A.S. for the present, the space available for reviews of books has been proportionately restricted and the Editor regrets that he is unable to publish a review of every book presented to the library of the Society.

FONDATION DE GOEJE

1. Le Conseil n'a pas subi de modifications depuis novembre 1923, et est ainsi composé ; C. Snouck Hurgronje (président) Tj. de Boer, J. L. Palache, Paul Scholten, A. J. Wensinck (secrétaire-trésorier).

2. Les négociations ouvertes sur de nouvelles publications ne permettent pas encore des communications ultérieures.

3. Des dix publications de la Fondation il reste un certain nombre d'exemplaires, qui sont mis en vente au profit de la Fondation, chez l'éditeur E. J. Brill, aux prix marqués :

I. The Ḥamāsa of al-Buḥturī. Photographic reproduction of the MS. . . . with indexes by R. Geyer and D. S. Margoliouth (1909), voor f. 96 ; II. The Fāk͟hir of al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salama, ed. C. A. Storey (1915), voor f. 6 ; III. I. Goldziher, Streitschrift des Ġazālī gegen die Bāṭinijja-Sekte (1916) voor f. 4.50 ; IV. Bar Hebraeus's Book of the Dove transl. by A. J. Wensinck (1919), voor f. 4.50 ; V. C. van Arendonk, De opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen (1919), voor f. 6 ; VI. I. Goldziher, Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung (1920), voor f. 10 ; VII. Averroes, Die Epitome übersetzt . . . von S. van den Bergh (1924), voor f. 7.50 ; VIII. Les "livres des chevaux" de Hišam b. al-Kalbī et Muḥ. b. al-Aʿrābī, publiés par G. Levi Della Vida (1927), voor f. 5 ; IX. D. van der Meulen and H. von Wissmann, Hadramaut (1932), voor f. 9 ; X. aṭ-Ṭabarī, Kitāb Iḫtilāf al-Fuqahā', Das Konstantinopler Fragment herausgegeben von J. Schacht (1933), voor f. 4.80.

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS

The British Museum Quarterly. Vol. ix, No. 1, 1934.

1. A Persian Drawing of Dancing Dervishes.
2. Dragon-Painting by Tani Buncho.
4. Divine and Royal Figures from Egypt.
21. Three Letters of Tischendorf.
23. Persian Poetical Manuscripts.

The Geographical Journal. Vol. lxxxiv, No. 4, October, 1934.

Visser, Ph. C. The Karakoram and Turkistan Expedition of 1929–1930.

Palestine Exploration Fund. October, 1934. Sixty-sixth year.

Starkey, J. L. Excavations at Tell Duweir, 1933–4.
Gaster, T. H. The Tell Duweir Inscription.
Burrows, E. (Father). The Tell Duweir Inscription.

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Vol. x, Nos. 1 and 2, 1934.

Ivanow, W. Genuineness of Jāmi's Autographs.
Fyzee, A. A. A. A Chronological list of the Imams and Da'is of the Musta'lian Ismailis.

Epigraphica Indica. Vol. xxi, Part v, Jan., 1932.

Chakravarti, N. P. Two Brick Inscriptions from Nalanda.
Ganguly, D. C. The Saktipur Copper-Plate of Lakshmanasena.

Vol. xxi, Part vi, April, 1932.

Konow, S. Kalawan Copper-Plate Inscription of the year 134.
Saraswati, A. R. Three Copper-Plate Inscriptions of the Reddis.
Halder, R. R. The Fourth Slab of the Kumbhalgarh Inscription of the time of Maharana Kumbhakarna of Mewar: Vikrama-Samvat, 1517.

Indian Art and Letters. New Series, Vol. viii, No. 1. 1st Issue, 1934.

Andrews, F. H. Central Asian Wall-Paintings.
Coedès, G. Archæology in Indo-China.
Hackin, J. The Recent Work of the French Archæological Delegation at Bāmiyān.

Cuisinier, J. The Sacred Books of India and the Malay and Siamese Theatres in Kelantan.
Bake, A. A. Different Aspects of Indian Music.

The Indian Historical Quarterly. Vol. x, No. 2, June, 1934.

Obermiller, E. Nirvāna according to the Tibetan Tradition.
Sarkar, Sir J. Pānipat, 1761.
Rhys Davids, C. A. F. The Relations between Early Buddhism and Brahmanism.

Vol. x, No. 3, Sept., 1934.

Przyluski, J. The Great Goddess in India and Iran.
Chakravarti, C. Ideals of Tantra Rites.
Deb, H. K. Indo-Greek Coin Types.

Journal Asiatique, Tome ccxxiv, No. 1, Jan.–Mars, 1934.

Lévi, M. S. Devaputra.
Pelliot, M. P. Tokharien et Koutchéen.

Syria. Tome xv, Fasc. 2, 1934.

Schaeffer, C. F. A. Les fouilles Ras-Shamra. Cinquième campagne (printemps 1933). Rapport sommaire.
Virolleaud, C. Proclamation de Seleg, chef de cinq peuples, d'après une tablette de Ras-Shamra.

La Géographie. Tome lxii, Nos. 3 and 4, Sept.–Oct., 1934.

Percheron, P. Magie et Sorcellerie chez les Mois.

Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië. Deel 92, Afl. 2, 1934.

Stutterheim, W. F. Oudheidkundige aanteekeningen.
Jonker, J. C. G. Soembawareesche teksten met vertaling.

Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde. Deel lxxiv, Aflevering 2, 1934.

Vonk, H. W. De " batoe tatahan " bij Air Poear (Pasemahlanden), met Naschrift.
Steinhart, W. L. Niassche Teksten met Ned. vertaling en aanteekeningen I.
Esser, S. J. Opruiming en perspectief.

Deel lxxiv, Aflev. 3 and 4, 1934.

Stutterheim, W. F. De Leidsche Bhairawa en Tjaṇḍi B, van Singasari.
Kan, J. van. Rechtsgeleerd bedrijf in de buitencomptoiren (2e vervolg).

Steinmann, A. De op de Boroboedoer afgebeelde planten.
Balasubrahmanian, S. R. The Tisai Ayirattainūṟṟuvar and the Municandai Record.

Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama. No. 23, 1934.

Amancio Gracias, J. B. Ingleses em Goa (*cont.*).
Pope, E. Chronica Geral dos Sucessos do Reyno de Gusarate a q^m chamão Cambaya (*concl.*).

O Oriente Português. No. 6, 1934.

Gracias, A. Primeiros cristãos em Salsete.
Pereira, B. de B. História religiosa de Goa (1542–1557).
Teles, R. M. Inventário dos objectos dos conventos e igrejas, palácios e fortaiezas de Goa.
Pissurlencar, P. Goa Há 1500 Anos.

Transactions of the Japan Society. Vol. xxxi, 43rd Session, 1933–4.

Somerville, J. C. The Phonetic Transliteration of Japanese : A Plea for the Retention of the Hepburn System.
Ponsonby Fane, R. A. B. The Emperor Go-Daigo and the Restoration of Kemmu.

The Tōyo Gakuho. Vol. xxi, No. 4, Sept., 1934.

Yamamoto, T. Chêng Ho's Expeditions to the South Sea under the Ming Dynasty II.

The Bijutsu Kenkyu. No. xxxiii, September, 1934.

Yashiro, Y. A Chinese Gilt Bronze Sculpture representing Śakyamuni and Prabhûtaratna dated A.D. 489.
Watanabe, H. An illustrated Scroll of the Tch'ouan-fa-tcheng-tsong-ting-tsou-t'ou in the Kanchi-in Temple, Kyôto.

The Journal of the Siam Society. Vol. xxvii, Part i, August, 1934.

Giles, F. H. An Account of the Hunting of the Wild Ox on Horseback in the Provinces of Ubol Rajadhani and Kalasindu, and the Rites and Ceremonies which have to be observed.

PRESENTATIONS AND ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

ʻAbd Allāh al-Sālimī, Nūr al-Dīn, Tuḥfat al-aʻyān. A history of Oman to A.H. 1328. *Arabic.* 2 vols. [Vol. i = 2nd ed.] 10 × 7. *Cairo,* A.H. 1350, 47 (A.D. 1931, 28).
From Mr. R. Said-Ruete.

Alakh Dhari: Raja Rai Singhji, A.D. 1541–1612 . . . (Stories of Rathpore Chivalry, vol. i.) 7½ × 5½. *Bikaner,* 1934.
From the Author.

Ānandarāyamakhi. Il Jīvānandana. La Felicità dell' Anima . . . Dramma [tr. into Italian by M. Vallauri]. (Scrittori italiani e stranieri. Teatro.) 7 × 4½. *Lanciano,* 1929.
From Dr. E. G. Carpani.

Awad, G. H., Ancient Monument in Iraq. The Monastery of Rabban Hormizd . . . *Arabic.* 10 × 6½. *Mosul,* 1934.
From the Author.

Benveniste, E., and Renou, L., Vr̥tra et Vr̥θragna. Étude de mythologie indo-iranienne . . . (Cahiers de la Soc. Asiatique, 3.) 9½ × 6. *Paris,* 1934. *From the Société Asiatique.*

Berlin. Tell Halef Museum. Führer . . . *Berlin,* 1934.
From Max Freiherr von Oppenheim.

Best, Thomas, The voyage of T. B. to the East Indies, 1612–14. Ed. by Sir W. Foster . . . (Hakluyt Soc., 2nd ser., no. 75.) *London,* 1934. *Subscription.*

Binyon, L., Painting in the Far East . . . 4th ed. 10½ × 8. *London,* 1934. *From Messrs. Edward Arnold.*

Blackwood, U. H., The warning of Ibraim Pasha of Buda . . . (Repr. from the *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Soc.,* vol. 21, Oct., 1934.) 10 × 6½. (*London,* 1934.)
From the Author.

Brierre, Jean-Joseph, Exégèse talmudique des prophéties messianiques . . . 13 × 10. *Paris,* 1934.
From Messrs. Paul Geuthner.

Bonneau, G., Préface au Kokinshu. Chefs-d'œuvre du Kokinshu. Texte intégral du Kokinshu . . . (Ann. du Mus. Guimet. Bibl.-d'Études, tom. 45, 46, 47.) 10 × 7. *Paris,* 1934.
Exchange.

—— La Sensibilité Japonaise . . . (Bull. de la Maison Franco-Japonaise, tom. 6, no. 1–2.) 9 × 6. *Paris and Tôkyô,* 1934. *From the Author.*

Breuil, H., Les peintures rupestres schématiques de la Péninsule Ibérique . . . 3. Sierra Morena. 13½ × 10½. *Lagny,* 1933.
From the Fondation Singer Polignac.

Bruyère, B., Rapport sur les Fouilles de Deir El Médineh, 1930 . . . (Fouilles de l'Inst. Francais d'Arch. Or., Rapports préliminaires, tom. 8, pte. 3.) 13½ × 10½. *Le Caire*, 1933. *Exchange.*

Budge, E. A. W., From Fetish to God in Ancient Egypt . . . 10½ × 6½.

—— Stories of the Holy Fathers . . . 8 × 5½.

—— The Wit and Wisdom of the Christian Fathers of Egypt . . . 8 × 5½. *London*, 1934. *From the Oxford University Press.*

Byng, L. C., The vision of Asia . . . (Cheap ed.) 9 × 6. *London*, (1934). *From Messrs. John Murray.*

Cairo. Catalogue général . . . du Musée du Caire. Statuen u. Statuetten von Königin und Privatleuten. Von L. Borchardt. Tl. 4. 14 × 10½. *Berlin*, 1934. *Given by Mr. W. E. Crum.*

Calcutta Gazette. Appendix . . . 2nd Aug., 1934. Catalogue of Books registered in the Presidency of Bengal during the quarter ending 31st Dec., 1933. 14 × 8½. *Calcutta*, 1934. *From the High Commissioner for India.*

The Cambridge Shorter History of India . . . By J. Allan . . . Sir W. Haig . . . and H. H. Dodwell . . . 8 × 5½. *Cambridge*, 1934. *From the Cambridge Univ. Press.*

Cassuto, U., La questione della Genesi. (Publ. della R. Univ. degli Studi di Firenze, Lett. e Fil., Ser. 3, vol. 1.) 10½ × 7. *Firenze*, 1934. *From Messrs. Felice Le Monnier.*

Census of India, 1931. Vol. 4, Baluchistan. 2 pts. 14 × 9. *Lahore*, 1934. *From the Govt. of India.*

Chabas, J., De la responsabilité civile et délictuelle en droit comparé français-japonais . . . (Bull. de la Maison Franco-japonaise, Sér. française, tom. 5, no. 3.) 9 × 6. *Tokyo*, 1933. *Exchange.*

Chassinat, E., Le Temple d'Edfou. Tom. 13, 14. (Mém., Mission Arch. Française au Caire, tom. 30, 31.) 14 × 10. *Le Caire*, 1934. *Exchange.*

Chatila, Khaled, Le mariage chez les Musulmans en Syrie . . . 10 × 6½. *Paris*, 1934. *From Messrs. Paul Geuthner.*

Chiera, E., Joint expedition with the Irāq Museum at Nuzi. Proceedings in Court . . . (American Schools of Or. Research. Publ. of the Baghdad School. Texts; vol. 4.) 11½ × 8½. *Philadelphia*, 1934. *From the Oxford University Press.*

Christensen, Arthur, Les types du premier homme et du premier roi dans l'histoire légendaire des Iraniens. 2 pts. (Archives d'Études Or. Vol. 14, pts. 1, 2.) 10 × 6½. *Stockholm*, *Leide*, 1917, 34. *Exchange.*

Contenau, G., Monuments mésopotamiens nouvellement acquis ou peu connus. (Musée du Louvre.) 11½ × 9½. *Paris*, 1934. *From Les Éditions d'Art et d'Histoire.*

Crum, W. E., A Coptic dictionary . . . Pt. 4. 12 × 9½. *Oxford*, 1934. *From the Oxford University Press.*

Darling, M. L., Wisdom and Waste in the Punjab village . . . 9½ × 6. *London*, 1934. *From the Oxford University Press.*

Difnar. The D. (Antiphonarium) of the Coptic Church. Pt. 3 . . . Ed. by Delacy O'Leary . . . 11½ × 9. *London*, 1930. *From Messrs. Luzac.*

Diringer, D., Le iscrizione antico-ebraiche palestinesi. Raccolte e illustrate da D. D. (Pubbl. della R. Univ. degli Studi di Firenze, Lett. e Fil., Ser. 3, vol. 2.) 10½ × 7. *Firenze*, 1934. *From Messrs. Felice Le Monnier.*

Dreyfus, H., Essai sur le Bahäisme . . . Nouvelle éd. . . . 7½ × 5½. *Paris*, 1934. *From Messrs. Ernest Leroux.*

Edelmann, R., Zur Frühgeschichte des Maḥzor. Genizafragmente mit palästinischer Punktation. Herausg., übersetzt und erklärt von R. E. (Bonner Or. Studien, Heft 6.) 10 × 7. *Stuttgart*, 1934. *From Messrs. W. Kohlhammer.*

Elgood, C., Medicine in Persia . . . (Clio Medica.) 7 × 4½. *New York*, 1934. *From Messrs. P. B. Hoeber.*

Epigraphia Carnatica. Vol. 13, pt. 1. General Index. Publ. by M. H. Krishna. (Mysore Arch. Survey.) 11 × 8½. *Bangalore*, 1934. *From the Director of Archæology, Mysore.*

Fawcett, Sir Charles, The first century of British justice in India . . . 9 × 6½. *Oxford*, 1934. *From the Oxford University Press.*

Forke, A., Geschichte der mittelalterlichen chinesischen Philosophie . . . (Hamburg Univ. Abhandlungen a.d. Gebiet der Auslandskunde, Bd. 41.) 12 × 8½. *Hamburg*, 1934. *From Messrs. Friederichsen, De Gruyter & Co.*

Foucher, A., On the iconography of the Buddha's Nativity . . . Tr. by H. Hargreaves . . . (Mem. Arch. Survey of India, no. 46.) 13½ × 10½. *Delhi*, 1934. *From the Director-General of Arch., India.*

Friedrich, J., Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler . . . (Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen, 163.) 8½ × 5½. *Berlin*, 1932. *Exchange.*

Garstang, J., The Heritage of Solomon. An historical introduction to the sociology of Ancient Palestine . . . (Descriptive Sociology, vol. 3.) 9 × 6. *London*, (1934). *From Messrs. Williams & Norgate.*

Ghose, N., Indo-Aryan Literature and Culture. Origins . . . 10 × 6½. *Calcutta*, 1934. *From Messrs. Kegan Paul, etc.*

Gray, L. H., Introduction to Semitic comparative linguistics . . . 9½ × 6½. *New York*, 1934.
From the Columbia Univ. Press.

Grousset, R., The Civilizations of the East. Japan . . . Tr. . . . by C. A. Phillips . . . 9½ × 7. *London*, 1934.
From Messrs. Hamish Hamilton.

—— Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume Franc de Jérusalem. 1. L'anarchie musulmane et la monarchie franque. 9½ × 6. *Paris*, 1934. *From the Author.*

Hassan, Zaky Mohamed, Les Tulunides. Étude de l'Égypte Musulmane . . . 868–905. 10¼ × 8. *Paris*, 1933.
From Messrs. Paul Geuthner.

Herzfeld, E., Der Tell Halaf und das Problem der hethitischen Kunst . . . (Sonderabdr. a.d. Arch. Mitteilungen aus Īrān, Bd. 6, Heft 3–4.) 10 × 7. *Berlin*, 1934.
From Max Freiherr von Oppenheim.

Ināyat Khān. Il Messagio di I. K. 2. Lo scopo della vita. La vita interiore. Tr. di A. C. Poletti. (Scrittori italiani e stranieri.) 7 × 4½. *Lanciano*, 1929. *From Dr. E. G. Carpani.*

India, Central Provinces and Berar. Triennial Report on Coins dealt with under the Treasure Trove Act for the years 1931–32, 1932–33, and 1933–34. 9½ × 6½. *Nagpur*, 1934.
From the High Commissioner for India.

Jäschke, H. A., A Tibetan-English Dictionary . . . to which is added an English-Tibetan Vocabulary . . . 9½ × 6½. *London*, 1934. *From Messrs. Kegan Paul, etc.*

Jodhpur. Report on the Administration of the Archæological Dept. and Sumer Public Library . . . for the year ending 30th Sept., 1933. Vol. 7. 13½ × 8½. *Jodhpur*, 1934.
From the Supt., Arch. Dept., Jodhpur.

Johnston, R. F., Confucianism and Modern China . . . 8 × 5½. *London*, 1934. *From Messrs. V. Gollancz.*

Kanakāmara. Karakaṇḍa Cariu of Muni Kanakāmara. An Apabhramśa work on the life of Karakaṇḍu . . . ed. with . . . tr., etc., by Hiralal Jain . . . (Karanja Jaina Ser., vol. 4.) 10 × 7. *Karanja*, 1934. *From the Editor.*

Kian, Ghulam-Reza, Introduction à l'histoire de la monnaie et histoire monétaire de la Perse, des origines à la fin de la période parthe . . . 10 × 7. *Paris*, 1934.
From Messrs. P. Geuthner.

Kuentz, C., La Bataille de Qadech, fasc. 3. (Mém., Inst. Français d'Arch. Or., tom. 55.) 14½ × 11. *Le Caire*, 1934.
Exchange.

Kulaśekhara: Śrimukundamāla, with Tātparyadīpikā of Rāghavānanda. Ed. by K. Rama Pisharoti . . . (Annamalai Univ. Sanskrit Ser., No. 1.) 10 × 7½. *Annamalainagar*, 1933.
From the University Office, Annamalainagar.

The Lady of the Long Wall. A Ku Shih or Drum Song of China. Tr. . . . by G. Wimsatt and G. Chen . . . 10½ × 7½. *New York*, 1934. *From the Oxford University Press.*

Landsberger, B., Die Fauna des Alten Mesopotamien nach der 14. Tafel der Serie Ḫar-ra = Ḫubullu. Von B. L. unter Mitwirkung von I. Krumbiegel. (Sächs. Akad. der Wiss., Abh. d. Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Bd. 42, nr. 6.) 12 × 8. *Leipzig*, 1934. *Exchange.*

Law, B. C., Ancient Indian Tribes . . . Vol. 2. (Law's Research Ser., No. 1.) 10 × 6½. *London*, 1934. *From the Author.*

Leumann, Manu, Sakische Handschriftproben. Als Privatdruck herausg. von M. L. 12½ × 8½. *Zurich*, 1934. *From the Editor.*

Mackintosh, J., Roman Law in Modern Practice . . . (Tagore Law Lectures, 1933.) 7½ × 5½. *Edinburgh*, 1934. *From the Registrar, Calcutta University.*

MacMichael, Sir H., The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan . . . 9 × 6. *London*, 1934. *From Messrs. Faber & Faber.*

Madhva. The Catus-Sūtrī Bhāṣya of Śrī Madhvācārya . . . with the commentaries Tattvapradīpa, Sattarkadīpāvali, and Tattvaprakāśikā . . . Ed. . . . by B. N. Krishnamurti Śarma . . . 10 × 7. *Madras*, 1934. *From the Editor.*

Madras. Records of Fort St. George: Fort St. David Consultations, 1742. Vol. 13. 13½ × 8½. *Madras*, 1934. *From the High Commissioner for India.*

—— Letters from Tellicherry. 1729–31, vol. 1. 1734–36, vol. 4. 1750–51, vol. 8. 13½ × 8½. *Madras*, 1934. *From the High Commissioner for India.*

—— Letters to Tellicherry. 1739–40, vol. 4. 1740–41, vol. 5. 1741–42, vol. 6. 1746–47, vol. 9. 1748–49, vol. 10. 1749–50, vol. 11. 13½ × 8½. *Madras*, 1934. *From the High Commissioner for India.*

Mahābhārata. The M. (Southern Recension) . . . Ed. by . . . P. P. S. Sastri . . . Vol. 8. Bhīṣma Parvan. 7½ × 5½. *Madras*, 1934. *From Messrs. V. Ramaswamy Sastrulu.*

Maillart, E. K., Turkestan Solo . . . Tr. . . . [from *Des Monts Célestes aux Sables Rouges*] by J. Rodker. 9½ × 6½. *London*, (1934). *From Messrs. Putnam.*

Majumdar, N. C., Explorations in Sind . . . Exploratory survey . . . during . . . 1927–28, 1929–30, and 1930–31 . . . (Mem. Arch. Survey of India, No. 48.) 13 × 10. *Delhi*, 1934. *From the Government of India.*

Manipur. List of Ruling Princes, Chiefs and Leading Personages. 5th ed. 10 × 7. *Delhi*, 1934. *From the Government of India.*

Maqrīzī. Chronicle . . . entitled Kitab al-Sulūk li-ma'rifat duwal al-mulūk. Ed. by M. Mustafa Ziada . . . Vol. 1, pt. 1 . . . *Arabic*. 11½ × 8½. [Cairo], 1934. *From the Egyptian Library Press.*

Masson-Oursel, P., Willman-Grabowska, H. de, and Stern, P., Ancient India and Indian Civilization . . . (Tr. from the French by M. R. Dobie.) 10 × 6½. *London*, 1934.
From Messrs. Kegan Paul & Co.

Meriggi, P., Die längsten Bauinschriften in "hethitischen" Hieroglyphen nebst Glossar zu sämtlichen Texten . . . (Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-aegyptischen Gesellschaft, Bd. 39, Heft 1.) 10 × 6½. *Leipzig*, 1934.
From Messrs. J. C. Hinrichischen Buchhandlung.

Mohan Singh: Kabir and the Bhagti Movement. Vol. 1: Kabir, his biography . . . 7½ × 5. *Lahore*, 1934.
From Messrs. Atma Ram and Sons.

Mond, Sir Robert, and Myers, O. H., The Bucheum. 3 vols. (Egypt Exploration Soc., Mem. 41.) 12½ × 10. *London*, 1934. *From the Egypt Exploration Soc.*

Nielsen, K., Lappisk Ordbok . . . Bd. 2. G–M. *Oslo*, 1934.
From the Inst. for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning.

Nguyen van Huyen. Les chants alternés des garçons et des filles en Annam . . . (Austro-Asiatica, tom. 3.) 9½ × 7½. *Paris*, 1934. *From Messrs Paul Geuthner.*

—— Introduction à l'étude de l'habitation sur pilotis dans l'Asie du sud-est. (Austro-Asiatica, tom. 4.) 9½ × 7½. *Paris*, 1934. *From Messrs. Paul Geuthner.*

Ochikubo Monogatori, or The Tale of the Lady Ochikubo. A tenth century Japanese novel. Tr. by W. Whitehouse . . . 9 × 6. *London*, 1934. *From Messrs. Kegan Paul & Co.*

Oesterley, W. O. E., and Robinson, T. H., An introduction to the Books of the Old Testament . . . 9 × 6. *London*, 1934.
From the S.P.C.K.

Page, W. Sutton, An introduction to colloquial Bengali . . . (James G. Forlong Fund, vol. 13.) *Cambridge*, 1934.

Pahlavi Codices. The Pahlavi Codex K. 35. Pt. 2. Containing the Epistles of Manushchihr and the selections of Zādhsparam . . . (Codices Avestici et Pahlavici, vol. 4.) 13½ × 9½. *Copenhagen*, 1934. *From Messrs. Levin and Munksgaard.*

Palestine. The Handbook of Palestine and Transjordan. Ed. by Sir H. Luke . . . and E. Keith-Roach . . . 3rd ed. 7½ × 5½. *London*, 1934. *From Messrs. Macmillan.*

Patna. Annual Report of the Managing Committee of the Patna Museum . . . 31st March, 1933. 13½ × 8½. *Patna*, 1934.
From the Government of India.

Peshwa Daftar. Selections from the P. D.
41. The last days of the Maratha Raj (1779–1818).
42. Papers referring to Pratapsinh, Raja of Satara.
43. The Social and Religious Matters under the Peshwas, 1727–1797.
44. Some Historical Families.

45. Documents illustrating Maratha Administration.
. 10 × 6½. *Bombay*, 1934. *From the Government of India.*

Peshwa Daftar. Marathī Handbook to the Records in the Alienation Office . . . *Marathī.* 10 × 6½. *Bombay*, 1934.
From the Government of India.

Prabhākara Miśra. Bṛhatī of P. M. . . . with the Ṛjuvimalāpañcikā of Śālikanātha (Tarkapada). Ed. by S. K. Ramanatha Sastri . . . (Madras Univ. Sanskrit Ser., no. 3, pt. 1.) 10 × 7. *Madras*, 1934.
From the Registrar, Madras Univ.

Punjab. Catalogue of Books registered in the Punjab . . . during the quarter ending 30th June, 1934.
—— 30th September, 1934. 13½ × 8½. *Lahore*, 1934.
From the Government of India.

Rama Krishna, L., Les Sikhs. Origine et développement de la communanté . . . 1469–1930 . . . 10½ × 7. *Paris*, 1933.
From Messrs. Adrien Maisonneuve.

Rāmabhadrāmbā. Raghunāthābhudaya . . . A historical poem. Ed. by T. R. Chintamani . . . (Bull. of the Skr. Dept., No. 2.) 10 × 7. *Madras*, 1934.
From the Registrar, Madras University.

Read, A. F. C., Balti Grammar . . . (James G. Forlong Fund, vol. 15.) 10 × 6½. *London*, 1934.

Rettig, D., Memar Marqa. Ein samaritanischer Midrasch zum Pentateuch. Untersicht D. R. (Bonner Or. Studien, Heft 8.) 10 × 7. *Stuttgart*, 1934. *From Messrs. W. Kohlhammer.*

Rūpa Gosvāmin. The Padyāvalī. An anthology of Vaiṣṇava verses in Sanskrit . . . ed. by S. K. De . . . (Dacca Univ. Or. Publ. Ser., no. 3.) 10½ × 7. *Dacca*, 1934.
From the Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University.

Rustum, A. J., Materials for a Corpus of Arabic Documents relating to the History of Syria under Mehemet Ali Pasha . . . Vols. 3–4. Political papers . . . A.H. 1251–55 . . . (American Univ. of Beirut Publications.) *Arabic.* 11½ × 7½. *Beirut*, 1934. *Bought.*

Salmon Ben Yeruhim. The Book of the Wars of the Lord, containing the Polemics of the Karaite S. B. Y. against Saadia Gaon. Ed. by I. Davidson. *Hebrew.* 11 × 8½. *New York*, 1934. *From the Editor.*

Santa Cruz. Chronique de Santa-Cruz du Cap de Gué (Agadir). Texte portugais du XVIe siècle tr. . . . par P. de Cenival. (Publ. de la Section hist. de Maroc. Documents d'histoire et de géographie marocaines.) 10 × 7. *Paris*, 1934.
From Messrs. Paul Geuthner.

Sarkar, Sir J., Fall of the Mughal Empire . . . Vol. 2. 1754–1771. 7½ × 5½. *Calcutta*, 1934. *From Messrs. Luzac and Co.*

Saunders, K., A Pageant of Asia. A study of three Civilizations . . . 9 × 6. *London*, 1934. *From the Oxford University Press.*

Sauvaget, J., "Les Perles Choisies" d'Ibn Ach-chihna. Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la ville d'Alep. Tome 1. (Mém. de l'Inst. Francais de Damas.) 10½ × 7. *Beyrouth*, 1933. *From the Inst. Francais de Damas.*

Sbath, P., Bibliothèque de Manuscrits P. S. . . . Catalogue. Tom 3 . . . 10 × 6½. *Cairo*, 1934. *From M. Sbath.*

Scherman, L. and C., Im Stromgebiet des Irrawaddy. Birma und seine Frauenwelt. *München*, 1922. *From Herr Lucian Scherman.*

Schwab, R., Vie d'Anquetil-Duperron. Suivie des Usages civils et religieux des Parses par A.-D. . . . et deux essais du Dr. Sir J. J. Modi . . . 9½ × 6. *Paris*, 1934. *From Messrs. Ernest Leroux.*

Seeger, Elizabeth, The pageant of Chinese history . . . 9 × 6. *London*, 1934. *From Messrs. George Routledge & Sons.*

Shahani, R. G., The Coming of Karuna . . . (Wisdom of the East Ser.) 7 × 5. *London*, (1934).

Shahrastānī. The Summa philosophiae . . . Kitāb Nihāyatu'l-iqdām fī 'ilmi 'l-kalām. Ed. with a tr. . . . by A. Guillaume . . . 10½ × 7. *London*, 1934. *From the Oxford University Press.*

Spies, O., Mu'nis al-'Ushshāq. The Lover's Friend, by Shihābuddīn Suhrawerdī Maqtūl. Ed. by O. S. (Bonner Or. Studien, Heft 7.) 10 × 7. *Stuttgart*, 1934. *From Messrs. W. Kohlhammer.*

Srī Citrodayamanjarī Bhāṣā Series. Ed. by K. Sāmbaśiva Śāstrī.

No. 1. Kaṇṇaśśabhāgavata (Part 1).
No. 2. Rāsakrîda.
No. 3. Palavaka Ottaślokas.
9½ × 6. *Malayalam. Trivandrum*, 1932.

Srî Vañci Setu Lakṣmî Series.

No. 15. Bâlaśaṅkaram. A commentary on Kâladîpam. Vol. 3.
No. 16. The Aṣṭâṅgasâra, ed. by K. Sāmbaśiva Śāstrī.
No. 17. Nârâyanuya. With the Malayalam Commentary Lakṣmîvilâsa of K. Sāmbaśiva Śāstrī. Part 2.
No. 18. The Keralacaritam, ed. by K. Sāmbaśiva Śāstrī.
No. 19. The Yogâmrita, ed. by K. Sāmbaśiva Śāstrī.
9½ × 6. *Malayalam. Trivandrum*, 1931.
From the Curator, Dept. for the Publication of Or. MSS.

Ssu K'u Ch'üan Shu: Title Index to the Ssu K'u Ch'üan Shu. Compiled by P. Y. Yü . . . under the supervision of I. V. Gillis. 11 × 8½. *Peiping*, 1934. *From the French Bookstore, Peiping.*

Stark, F., The Valleys of the Assassins and other Persian Travels . . . 9 × 6. *London*, (1934).
From Messrs. John Murray.

Suali, L., Gotama Buddha. (Storia delle Religioni, vol. 10.) *Bologna*, 1934. *From Messrs. N. Zanichelli.*

Tamil Lexicon. Vol. 6, pt. 2. 10½ × 8. *Madras*, 1934.
From the Tamil Lexicon Committee.

Trivandrum Sanskrit Series :—

No. 106. The Prakriyāsarvasva of Śrī Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa. With commentary.

No. 107. The Kâvyaratna of Arhaddâsa.

No. 108. The Bālamārtāndavijaya of Devarājakavi.

No. 109. The Nyāsāra of Bhâsarvajña. With the Commentary Padapañcikā of Vāsudeva Sūri.

No. 110. The Āryabhatīya of Aryabhatācārya. With the Bhāsya of Nīlakaṇṭhasomasutvan.

No. 111. The Hridayapriya of Paramesvara. Ed. by K. Sāmbaśiva Śāstri.

No. 112. Kucelopākyyāna and Ajāmilopākhyāna by His Highness Svāti Tirunal Srī Rama Varma Kulasekhara Perumal Maharajah of Travancore.

No. 113. The Saṅgītakṛtis of Svati Śrī Rāma Varma Maharaja. Ed. by K. Sāmbaśiva Śāstri.

10 × 6½. *Trivandrum*, 1931, 32.
From the Curator, Dept. for the Publication of Or. MSS.

Tucci, G., and Ghersi, E., Cronaca della Missione scientifica Tucci nel Tibet Occidentale, 1933. (R. Accad. d'Italia. Viaggi di Studio ed Esplorazioni, 2.) 10½ × 7½. *Roma*, 1934.
From Professor G. Tucci.

Tuḥfa. Tuḥfat al-Aḥbāb. Glossaire de la matière médicale marocaine. Texte . . . avec tr. . . . par H. P. J. Renaud . . . et G. S. Colin . . . (Publ. de l'Inst. des Hautes-Études marocaines, tom. 24.) 10 × 6. *Paris*, 1934.
From Messrs. Paul Geuthner.

The Uṇādisūtras in various recensions. Pt. 6 . . . Ed. by T. R. Chintamani. (Madras University Sanskrit Ser., no. 7.) 10 × 6½. *Madras*, 1934.
From the Registrar, Madras University.

Väth, A., Die Inder . . . (Geschichte der Führenden Völker, Bd. 28.) 9½ × 6. *Freiburg-in-Breisgau*, 1934.
From Messrs. Herder and Co.

Waddell, L. A., The Buddhism of Tibet . . . 2nd ed. 9½ × 6. *Cambridge*, 1934. *From Messrs. Heffer.*

Yahuda, A. S., The accuracy of the Bible . . . 9 × 6. *London*, 1934. *From Messrs. W. Heinemann.*

Pamphlets

Abdul Ghaffar. A short biography of my Huzur . . . 3rd ed. 7½ × 5½. (*Calcutta*, 1934.) *From the Author.*

Andrews, Frederick H., Central Asian Wall-paintings . . . (Lecture delivered before the India Soc., 11th July, 1934. Repr. from ***Indian Art and Letters***, vol. 8, no. 1.) *From Sir A. Stein.*

Buddha. Buddha, Truth, and Brotherhood. An epitome of many Buddhist scriptures, tr. from the Japanese. American ed. 8 × 6. *Santa Barbara*, 1934. *From Mr. Dwight Goddard.*

Caspani, E. G., Quattro note sul Krishnaismo. [3 copies.] 7½ × 5½. *Reggio-Emilia*, 1934. *From the Author.*

Collins, William F., The corrosion of early Chinese bronzes . . . (Institute of Metals, London.) 8½ × 5½. *London*, 1931. *From the Author.*

Coomaraswamy, A. K., The technique and theory of Indian painting . . . (Repr. from Technical Studies in the field of the Fine Arts, vol. 3, no. 2.) *n.pl.*, 1934.

Figueiredo, N. (ed.), St. Thomas the Apostle in Mylapore. Three documents . . . with appendix by P. J. Thomas. 11 × 8½. *Madras* ?, 1934. *From the Author.*

Goddard, Dwight, and Wai-Dau, Bhikshu, Buddhist practice of concentration. Dhyana for beginners. Tr. from the Chinese by Bh. Wai-Dau and D. G. 8 × 5½. *Santa Barbara*, 1934. *From Mr. D. Goddard.*

Goetz, H., Een belangrijk Indisch Miniaturen-Album in het Rijksprentenkabinet te Amsterdam . . . [Article published in Maanblad voor Beeldende Kunsten, Jaarg. 11, no. 10, 1934, along with letter on contents by Dr. C. O. Blagden.]

Husaini, Q. S. Kalimullah, The importance of the "Tarikh-I-Bayhaq". (Repr. from the Journal of the Osmania University College . . . Vol. 1, 1933.) 11 × 8½. *Hyderabad*, 1933. *From the Author.*

Iyengar, K. Krishna, An introduction to Indian civics . . . 7½ × 5. *Bangalore*, 1934. *From Sathyosadhana Publishing House.*

Krishna Menon. Dravidian culture and its diffusion (Madras Univ. Extension Lecture, 17th October, 1933.) 10 × 6½. *Ernakulum*, 1934. *From the Author.*

Minorsky, V., Exquisse d'une histoire de Nāder-Chah. (Publ. Soc. des Études Iraniennes . . . No. 10.) 9½ × 6. *Paris*, 1934.

Morgenstierne, Georg, Additional notes on Ashkun. (Saertrykk, Norsk. Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap, Bd. 7.) 10 × 6½. *Oslo*, 1934. *From the Author.*

Müller, Reinhold F. G., Zur anatomischen Systematik im *Yajus*. (Sonderabdr. aus Suhhoffs Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin. Bd. 27, Heft 1 u. 2.) 9 × 6. *Leipzig*, 1934. *From the Author.*

Mus, Paul, L'Inde vue de l'Est. Cultes indiens et indigènes au Champa . . . 11 × 7½. *Hanoi*, 1934.
From École Française d'Extrême-Orient.

Nguyen van Huyen, Le repêchage de l'âme. (Extr., Bull. de l'École Fr. d'Ex.-Or., tome 33, fasc. 1.) 11 × 7½. [*Hanoi*], 1933. *From the Author.*

Notton, Camille, P'ra Buddha Sihiṅga. Tr. by C. N. . . . (*Bangkok*), 1933. *From Messrs. P. Geuthner.*

Pusalker, A. D., Critical study of the works of Bhāsa . . . (Repr. Journ. of the Univ. of Bombay, vol. 2, pt. 6.) 9½ × 6½. *Bombay*, 1934. *From the Author.*

Safrastian, Arshak, The itinerary of Xenophon's retreat (with map). (Repr. from *The Asiatic Review*, Oct., 1934.) 10 × 6. *London*, 1934. *From the Author.*

Sharpe, Elizabeth, The India that is India . . . 8½ × 5½. *London*, 1934. *From Messrs. Luzac and Co.*

Takács, Zoltán, Sino-Hunnica. (Repr. from the Alexis Petrovics Anniversary Vol.) 10½ × 8. *Budapest*, 1934.
From the Author.

Traffic in Women . . . report of a conference of British and international representatives. 7 × 5. *London*, 1934.
From the Secretary, British Social Hygiene Council.

Wolfenden, Stuart N., A specimen of the Kûlung dialect . . . (Ex *Actorum Orientalium* volumine xiii excerptum.) 9 × 6½. [1934.] *From the Author.*

Yetts, W. Perceval, A method of reproducing inscriptions . . . (The Museums Journal, vol. 34, no. 9.) 10½ × 7. *London*, 1934. *From the Author.*

TRANSLITERATION

OF THE

SANSKRIT, ARABIC

AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

TOGETHER WITH

NOTES ON CHINESE AND JAPANESE

THE system of Transliteration of the former, as shown in the Tables given within, is based on that approved by the International ORIENTAL CONGRESS of 1894. A few optional forms have been added so as to adapt it to the requirements of English and Indian scholars. The Council earnestly recommends its general adoption (as far as possible), in this country and in India, by those engaged in Oriental Studies.

SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

अ	*a*
आ	*ā*
इ	*i*
ई	*ī*
उ	*u*
ऊ	*ū*
ऋ	*ṛ* or *ṛ*
ॠ	*ṝ* or *ṝ*
ऌ	*ḷ* or *ḷ*
ॡ	*ḹ* or *ḹ*
ए	*e* or *ē*
ऐ	*ai*
ओ	*o* or *ō*
औ	*au*
क	*ka*
ख	*kha*
ग	*ga*
घ	*gha*
ङ	*ṅa*
च	*ca* or *c̲h̲a*[1]
छ	*cha* or *c̲h̲ha*[1]
ज	*ja*
झ	*jha*
ञ	*ña*
ट	*ṭa*
ठ	*ṭha*
ड	*ḍa*
ढ	*ḍha*
ण	*ṇa*
त	*ta*
थ	*tha*
द	*da*

---

[1] In modern Indian languages only.

ध	*dha*
न	*na*
प	*pa*
फ	*pha*
ब	*ba*
भ	*bha*
म	*ma*
य	*ya*
र	*ra*
ल	*la*
व	*va*
श	*śa*
ष	*ṣa*
स	*sa*
ह	*ha*
ळ	*ḻa* or *ḷa*
ं (*Anusvāra*)	*ṁ* } or ~
ँ (*Anunāsika*)	*m̐* }
ः (*visarga*)	*ḥ*
ᳵ (*jihvāmūlīya*)	*ẖ*
ᳶ (*upadhmānīya*)	*ḫ*
ऽ (*avagraha*)	'
Udātta	´
Svarita	^
Anudātta	`

ADDITIONAL FOR MODERN VERNACULARS

ड़	*ṛa*
ढ़	*ṛha*

Where, as happens in some modern languages, the inherent *a* of a consonant is not sounded, it need not be written in transliteration. Thus Hindī करता *kartā* (not *karatā*), making; कल *kal* (not *kala*), to-morrow.

The sign ~, a tilde, has long been used by scholars to represent *anunāsika* and *anusvāra* and *nūn-i-ghunna*—when these stand for nasal vowels—in Prakrit and in the modern vernaculars: thus अँ *ã*, आँ *ā̃*, and so on. It is therefore permitted as an optional use in these circumstances.

ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

ا at beginning of word to be omitted ; hamza elsewhere ʼ or alternatively, hamza may be represented by َ or ِ

ب	*b*	ط	*t̤* or *ṭ*[1]
ت	*t*	ظ	*z̤* or *ẓ*[1]
ث	*t̮* or *t̲h̲*	ع	ʻ
ج	*j* or *d̲j̲*[1]	غ	*g̮* or *g̲h̲*
ح	*ḥ*	ف	*f*
خ	*ḫ* or *k̲h̲*	ق	*q*
د	*d*	ک	*k*
ذ	*d̮* or *d̲h̲*	ل	*l*
ر	*r*	م	*m*
ز	*z*	ن	*n*
س	*s*	و	*w* or *v*
ش	*s̮* or *s̲h̲*	ه	*h*
ص	*ṣ*	ة	*t* or *h̤*
ض	*ḍ*	ي	*y*

vowels َ *a*, ِ *i*, ُ *u*

lengthened اَ *ā*, ـِي *ī*, ـُو *ū*

also *ē* and *ō* in Indian dialects, *ü* and *ö* in Turkish

Alif maqṣūrah may be represented by *ạ̄*

diphthongs ـَيْ *ay* and ـَوْ *aw*, or ـَيْ *ai* and ـَوْ *au* respectively

Also in India, in transliterating Indian dialects, and for Persian, will be recognized *s̤* for ث, *z̤* for ذ, and *ẓ* for ض

waṣla ʼ

---

[1] Although allowed by the Geneva system, the use of *dj* for ج in England or India is not recommended ; nor for modern Indian languages should ط be transliterated by *ṭ* or ظ by *ẓ*, as these signs are there employed for other purposes.

A final silent *h* need not be transliterated,—thus بنده *banda* (not *bandah*). When pronounced, it should be written,—thus گناه *gunāh*.

ADDITIONAL LETTERS

Persian, Hindī, Urdū, and Paṣḥtō.

پ	*p*
چ	*ç*, *c*, or *c̱ẖ*
ژ	*ẓ* or *ẕẖ*
گ	*g*

Turkish letters.

ک	when pronounced as *y*, *ḳ* is permitted
ڭ	*ñ*

Hindī, Urdū, and Paṣḥtō.

ٹ or ټ	*ṭ*
ڈ or ډ	*ḍ*
ڑ or ړ	*ṛ*
ں (*nūn-i-g̱ẖunna*)	˜ as in the case of the Nāgarī *anunāsika*

Paṣḥtō letters.

ځ	*ṡ*, *ż*, *ṯs̱* or *ḏẕ*
ږ	*ẓḥ* or *g̱* (according to dialect)
ڼ	*ṇ*
ښ	*ṣḥ* or *ḳḥ* (according to dialect)

HEBREW

א	ا = ’		דּ	د = *d*
בּ	ب = *b*		ד	ذ = *ḏ*
ב	= *ḇ*		ה	ہ = *h*
גּ	ج = ‘*g* or *j*		ו	و = *w*
ג	= *g*		ז	ز = *z*

ח ح = *ḥ*
خ = *ḫ*
ט ط = *ṭ*
ظ = *ẓ*
י ى = *y*
כּ ك = *k*
כ = *ḵ*
ל ل = *l*
מ م = *m*
נ ن = *n*
ס س = *s*
ע ع = ʿ

غ = *ġ* (or *ṛ*)
פּ = *p*
פ ف = *f*
צ ص = *ṣ*
ض = *ḍ*
ק ق = *ḳ* or *q*
ר ر = *r*
שׁ ش = *š*
שׂ = *ś*
תּ ت = *t*
ת ث = *ṯ*

CHINESE AND JAPANESE

For Chinese the use of the Wade system is requested, and for Japanese that of the Rōmaji-kwai (Romanization Society).

Authors and Reviewers who use Oriental names, words, or quotations in the text of their writings for the JOURNAL are requested, as a convenience for the general reader, to append a translation (into English) of all quotations and also a transliteration of all names or single words.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS

ASIATIC SOCIETY MONOGRAPHS.

Vols. XX–XXI.

A Study in the Economic Condition of Ancient India. By Dr. Pran Nath. 1929. Price 12*s.* 6d.

The Kumzari Dialect of the Shihuh Tribe, Arabia, and a Vocabulary. By Bertram Thomas. 1930. Price 2*s.* 6d.

PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND.

Vols. XII–XIII.

Outlines of Tibeto-Burman Linguistic Morphology. By S. N. Wolfenden. 1930. 15*s.*

A Guide to Ismaili Literature. By W. Ivanow. 1933. 9*s.*

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND.

Vol. XXXI.

Vicitrakarṇikāvadānoddhṛta. Nevāri Text and Translation. Edited by Dr. Hans Jórgensen. 1931. 12*s.* 6*d.*

JAMES G. FORLONG FUND.

Vols. VII–XI, XV.

The Elements of Japanese Writing. By Commander N. E. Isemonger. 1929. £1 5*s.*

Falaki-i-Shirwāni. His Diwān. By Hādī Ḥasan. 1929. 10*s.*

Ta'rīkh-i-Jahān-Gushāy of Juwayni, Vol. III, Facsimile of MS. dated A.H. 690, belonging to Wahīd-ul-Mulk. With Introduction by Sir E. Denison Ross. 1931. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Dialogues in the Eastern Turki Dialect on Subjects of Interest to Travellers. By R. O. Wingate and E. Denison Ross. 1934. 4*s.* 6*d.*

Phonetic System of Ancient Japanese. By S. Yoshitake. 1934. 6*s.*

An Introduction to Colloquial Bengali. By W. Sutton Page. 1934. 10*s.* 6*d.*

Balti Grammar. By A. F. C. Read, Central Asian Mission. 1934. 8*s.* 6*d.*

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

74 Grosvenor Street, W. 1.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

The JOURNAL of the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY is published quarterly. It is frequently illustrated and it contains Original Articles on the Languages, the Archæology, the History, the Beliefs and the Customs of the East.

Each quarter the principal books published on Oriental subjects are reviewed.

The Annual Subscription to the Society is THREE GUINEAS for Resident Members (except in the case of Ministers of Religion, Teachers of certain Oriental Subjects or Officials in certain Museums and Libraries, when the Council may reduce this subscription to Two Guineas), TWO GUINEAS for Non-resident Members residing in the British Isles, and THIRTY SHILLINGS for Non-resident Members residing abroad.

Each Member, whose Subscription for the current year has been paid, receives the Journal post free, has the use of the Library at the Society's rooms, and admission to the meetings of the Society. Three-guinea Subscribers may borrow books. Two-guinea Subscribers may be allowed to borrow books on payment of an additional fee to be determined by the Council.

Libraries and persons who are not Members may obtain the Journal post free by paying a Subscription of **Two Pounds Eight Shillings** a year in advance direct to the Secretary. The price of each part separately is **Fifteen Shillings.**

NOTICE TO MEMBERS AND STUDENTS.

Teas can be supplied by the Caretaker at a small charge.

STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS, LTD., PRINTERS, HERTFORD.

3

SECOND QUARTER APRIL, 1935.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
MAY 3 - 1935
LIBRARY

THE JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF *GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND*

With which are incorporated the Proceedings of the
Society of Biblical Archaeology

April **1935**

QUOT RAMI TOT ARBORES
J. COOPER
A.D. MDCCCXXIII INST.

April 15

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
74 GROSVENOR STREET, LONDON, W.1

Price Fifteen Shillings

Indexes to the Transactions and Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society

FOR THE YEARS 1827–1888. *Price Four Shillings and Sixpence.*
FOR THE YEARS 1889–1903. *Price Four Shillings and Sixpence.*

Centenary Volume of the Royal Asiatic Society, containing a brief history of the Society from 1823 to 1923, together with indexes of authors, their contributions to the Journal and of the regions and countries dealt with, 1827–1922. Compiled and edited by F. E. PARGITER. 1923. Price 7*s.* 6*d.*

The Centenary Supplement of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1924. Being a selection of papers read to the Society during the celebrations of July, 1923. Price 7*s.* 6*d.*

Decade Index of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1920–29. Paper Covers similar to JOURNAL, each 1*s.*; Bound in paper boards, each 1*s.* 6*d.*; Bound in paper boards and interleaved, each 2*s.*

Members are asked to present the following numbers of the R.A.S. Journal:—

OLD SERIES.

1842.	**Vol. VII, No. 13.**	**1849.**	**Vol. XI.**
1861.	**Vol. XIX, Pt. II.**	**1863.**	**Vol. XX. Pt. I.**

NEW SERIES.

1870.	**Vol. IV, Pt. II.**	**1881.**	**Vol. XIII, Pts. I, II, III.**
1873.	**Vol. VI.**	**1882.**	**Vol. XIV, Pts. III, IV.**
1876.	**Vol. VIII, Pt. II.**	**1883.**	**Vol. XV, Pts. I, II.**
1879.	**Vol. XI, Pt. III.**	**1885.**	**Vol. XVII, Pt. IV.**

PRESENT SERIES.

1903.	**Pts. I, III.**	**1909.**	**Pt. II.**
1904.	**Pts. I, II, III.**	**1920.**	**Pts. I, IV.**
1906.	**Pt. II.**	**1921.**	**Pt. I.**
1907.	**Pt. I.**	**1929.**	**Pt. I.**

Also any complete volumes of the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology.

LONDON:
THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,
74 GROSVENOR STREET, W.1.

JOURNAL OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
1935

PART II.—APRIL

Some Ethical Ideals of the *Tso-chuan*

By ARTHUR MORLEY

IF the traditional opinion were correct which ascribes the *Tso-chuan* to Tso Ch'iu-ming, a contemporary of Confucius, his work would be of the utmost importance as a source of historical information, though even in that case we might well doubt whether all the incidents which it relates are genuinely historical and might wonder how many of the speeches in which it abounds were the composition of Tso Ch'iu-ming himself. If, on the other hand, those scholars are right who assign it to the Han dynasty, while of less importance as a record of fact, the *Tso-chuan* is still one of the most valuable of the works which have come down to us from Chinese antiquity, part of its significance on that supposition being that it illustrates what were believed at the time of its composition early in the Christian era to have been the ethical ideals which were acknowledged in the period to which Confucius himself belonged.

Considering first the case of inter-State ethics we notice that whilst it appears to have been admitted in practice that the code of private life cannot always be applied to governments, there was a general tendency among statesmen to assimilate public and private ethics. When Ch'ü Chien, for example, the chancellor of Ch'u, contended at the Peace

Conference of Sung that it was his business to advance the interests of his own State irrespective of earlier obligations (IX, xxvii, 2, 5; cf. X, i, 2, on Tzŭ-mu, and VIII, xv, 7, on Tzŭ-fan), not all even of the officials of Ch'u approved of his policy. There were two reasons for this tendency. In the first place, many of the States were held by families who claimed a common descent and all of them owed allegiance to the same throne. A more potent influence was probably the position of the ruler himself. A Roman senator, and still less a Dictator, did not act for himself but as a trustee; his keenness in seeking the public advantage was the more incumbent upon him because his private code made patriotism one of the first virtues. Not so a Chinese prince. He was a more absolute sovereign than even a Roman emperor in that his tenure was more secure. His possession was not by revolution, to be justified only by successful administration but he was himself the State, so that if he called upon the State to forego an advantage the loss was his own. Such an act was an element in self-discipline and therefore eminently virtuous. Ch'ü Chien's error lay in the fact that he forgot that he was not acting directly for the State but merely as the representative of his prince, whose personal honour should have been his chief concern. A better example was set by Tzŭ-lu, who had been trained by Confucius. The people of a neighbouring State had good reasons for renouncing their own prince and seeking the protection of Lu. Having confidence in Tzŭ-lu's rectitude they wished to treat with him alone, and so he was ordered by the marquis of Lu to arrange for the transfer of the rebel city. Tzŭ-lu would not have kept his neighbour's ox which had strayed into his stable, and now he would not encourage his master to take the city of another prince, even though the people came willingly for better government (XII, xiv, 2).

"Delenda est Carthago" was a cry raised only by Kuan Chung, the famous statesman of Ch'i, against the barbarians, and then not principally on behalf of his own State, but in order to save civilization. Kuan Chung's master, marquis Huan of Ch'i, was the first Lord of the Covenants. He obtained supremacy over the other States but, after his first few years when some small gains were made, his long supremacy brought no territorial acquisitions to Ch'i. Within two decades the same thing was seen in the case of marquis Wên of Chin after still greater military success. Huan and Wên were both moved by ambition limited by the ethical code of their time; but it was not for military glory. Their desire was rather to win the reputation of a virtuous prince enforcing peace on all the States, and their example confirmed the best feeling in the lesser States, which tended to make one code for public and for private behaviour.

The question of inter-State ethics which most perplexed Chinese moralists had to do with the sanctity of treaties. The general duty of their observance was taught, but perhaps only once did a statesman uphold the binding nature of a forced contract. This was when the Royal Domain was hard pressed by the Jung barbarians, and peace was made by the intervention of Chin. The king's counsellors then advised a sudden attack whilst the tribe was off its guard, but an officer pleaded for the observance of the treaty and urged the despite which would be done to Chin if it were broken. His plea was not heeded and a more crushing defeat followed (VIII, i, 3, addtl. narr.). More generally it was held that the Spirits did not recognize contracts imposed by force. When Chêng was invaded by Chin in 564 B.C. a debate arose as to whether they should resist and abide by a recent agreement with Ch'u; but it was decided that they should make terms with whichever of the two powers should demand them. Those which they offered to Chin contained the clause: "Henceforth if Chêng follow any other State but that which shows it propriety and has strength to protect its people, may there happen to it all the imprecations of this covenant." Chin accepted this wording and withdrew its army, but it had hardly done so when Ch'u sought to recover its prestige and again invaded the earldom. A party there wished to adhere to the new treaty with Chin, but Tzŭ-ssŭ and Tzŭ-ch'an pointed out that it did not require allegiance with Chin when that State was unable to protect them, and they further laid down the principle that the Spirits were not present at forced contracts in which there was no sincerity, and did not require adherence to them (IX, ix, 6). It is interesting to note that only a year before, when Chêng was invaded by Ch'u, Tzŭ-ch'an had advocated resistance, urging five treaties with Chin and saying that there was no trust like good faith (IX, viii, 8). The *Chia-yü* (xxii, 8) gives an incident in the life of Confucius which bears on this question. On his way to Wei he was detained by an insurgent leader until he gave a promise that he would not proceed to that State. He, nevertheless, went thither and when he was asked by Tzŭ-kung whether he had not violated his oath he replied: "It was forced upon me unrighteously" (cf. Chavannes, *Mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*, ch. 47; Legge, *Chin. Class.*, vol. i, Proleg., p. 80).

With respect to the internal affairs of the States, there are two questions of public morality which deserve to be mentioned. All the States were at times troubled by usurpations accompanied by the murder of princes, sometimes even of fathers, who had ruled for a long while. A large proportion of these usurpers were able to maintain their position; they usually had only their own relatives to fear, and if these acquiesced ministers, as a rule, accepted the accomplished fact. There was a tendency to recognize success as the will of heaven, and, although instances are recorded of refusal to serve a ruler whose character or policy was condemned, almost the only attempt to punish the murder of a ruler was that of Shih Ch'io of Wei, to which reference will be made later. The most conspicuous of the many failures in this respect was the acquiescence of Prince Cha of Wu in the murder of Viscount Liao. Cha is ranked almost as a compeer with Confucius, but, although he was of a superior generation to the usurper and almost certainly had the power to punish the crime, he refused to prolong the disorder and said : "It was the way of the ancients to serve him who was on the throne." A Chinese statesman had not the motive of a Cato or a Brutus in opposing usurpation, for it was not a matter of subverting the constitution but only of a family quarrel which brought more danger to the State the longer it was continued, yet inflexible justice would have prevented many crimes which opportunism allowed. The other question had to do with the utility of danger or difficulty. So far as the growth of personal virtue was concerned this utility was freely recognized. Mencius said that when heaven is about to call a man to a great enterprise it first hardens him by suffering. And this principle was thought to apply also in the case of States. After the death of Marquis Wên the supremacy of the North remained with Chin for several generations, but discord and corruption crept into the government so that by the time of Marquis Li, himself a vicious man, the internal condition of Chin gave cause for alarm to her more far-seeing statesmen. Li meditated a campaign to stop the growth of Ch'u, and he was supported by a majority in his council, but Shih Hsieh pleaded that they should devote themselves to internal reform and leave the allegiance of the feudatories to another State whose virtue was more equal to the task, meaning, of course, Ch'u. When reminded that Chin owed her position to the military prowess of Marquis Wên, he replied that at that time, when Chin was opposed by many powerful States, war was a stimulus to virtue, but that now they had only one rival and the subjugation of Ch'u would leave them without any external cause for fear. "It is only the perfect ruler," he argued, "who can be safe without some cause for anxiety. With no such ruler and no cause for fear abroad, troubles are sure to increase at home. We should, therefore, cherish Ch'u as a ground of apprehension to us" (VIII, xvi, 6). Rome had her Shih Hsieh in Nasica when Cato urged the destruction of Carthage, but perhaps him only, whereas in China the idea underlay the advice frequently given by her statesmen. A like fear was felt with respect to wealth which was too easily acquired. When Chin was considering the advisability of moving its capital to a site near the salt beds, Han Chüeh admitted its economic advantage, but urged its insalubrity and added that if a State was productive in such things without the toil and anxiety of agriculture, the people became lazy and proud which resulted in the poverty of the government (VIII, vi, 4, addl. narr.).

Military heroism was not highly esteemed. The lost Treatise on War which is frequently quoted in the *Tso-chuan* appears to have put moral and psychical considerations in the first place. Maxims are given for depressing the *morale* of the enemy, and it is said that a prudent general will not attack another who is of known virtue or an army which is full of ardour; and a virtuous general will not attack an enemy involved in a dangerous pass. The last of these maxims was naturally little observed, and Duke Hsiang of Sung was condemned by his people and apparently by the author of the *Tso-chuan* for obeying it at the battle of the Hung (V, xxii, 4). The common soldier was enlisted only for a special emergency, and discipline had to be extemporized by wholesale and cruel punishments. We are not, therefore, surprised to find how readily an army fell to pieces. There are instances of gallantry in officers before the enemy. In 525 B.C. Tzŭ-yü was in command of the Ch'u army against Wu. When in touch with the enemy, the chancellor, Yang Kai, divined about a battle and obtained indications that the result would be unfavourable, whereupon he wished to retreat. Tzŭ-yü's duty was to obey but, accepting the oracle, he divined about the nature of the calamity and when he found that it meant his own death he led the attack and, though killed in the first onslaught, won a great victory (X, xvii, 6). On the other hand, though there are examples of long sieges patiently endured by the people of cities, there is none of a determined stand to the death by the rank and file against odds, so as to turn the tide of victory. Our credulity is taxed by the account of the battle of Tsui-li. For a long time the army of Yüeh could obtain no advantage until three hundred men under sentence of death were drawn up in the front line each with a sword in his hand. Through a spokesman they informed the enemy that though culprits they knew how to die, and then each pierced his own throat. While the army of Wu stood aghast at the sight, the King of Yüeh launched a fresh attack and won the day (XI, xiv, 5).

In civil life the claims of kindred were emphasized, but they were not always allowed to stand in the way of justice or public welfare. Mencius gave his opinion that if a virtuous emperor found his father to be guilty of a crime, rather than pardon the offence, he would carry him on his back to the confines of civilization and abandon the throne as cheerfully as he might throw away a worn-out shoe (M. VII, i, xxxv). But the instances in the *Tso-chuan* of treason on the part of a ruler's parent were dealt with in different fashion. Earl Chuang of Chêng (I, i, 3) and Marquis Ch'êng of Lu (VIII, xvi, 8, 10) each imprisoned his mother for plotting rebellion in favour of a younger son. As, however, they thereby retained their own positions their virtue is still more open to suspicion than that of Shu-hsiang, who "put his brother to death and increased his own glory" (X, xiv, 6, addtl. narr.). In yielding to his grandmother, Duke Chao of Sung, whose case will be mentioned later, was perhaps too weak to oppose. The *Analects* preserves a saying of Confucius that the father will conceal the misconduct of the son and the son that of the father. "Uprightness is to be found in this" (A. XIII, xviii). In different circumstances, the Queen of Ch'u was equal to the sacrifice of a family elder for the country's good. When King Wu was about to invade Sui and was preparing to fast, he told his wife, Têng Man, that he felt agitated in mind. "Your Majesty's life," said she with a sigh, "is near to its end. After fullness comes depletion—such is the way of Heaven. The former rulers . . . have thus agitated Your

Majesty's heart. If the expedition take no damage and Your Majesty die on the march it will be the happiness of the State." He went forth and died beneath a tree on the way (III, iv, 2, addtl. narr.). Shih Ch'io of Wei is specially commended as an example of how "great righteousness is supreme over the affections". When Chou-yü murdered his father and usurped the marquisate, he was supported by Shih Ch'io's son Hou, who asked his father how the new marquis might establish his power and was told that it could be done by getting the marquis of Ch'ên to recommend him to the king. Chou-yü and Shih Hou thereupon went to Ch'ên, but Shih Ch'io privately urged their punishment and they were arrested in Ch'ên. The people of Wei sent an officer to put the prince to death, and Shih Ch'io sent his steward to do the same to his son (I, iv, 6). In another highly advanced State there is an instance of equal rigour with less cause in the father and a more willing atonement for disobedience in the sons. After the defeat at Pi, the minister Fêng of Chin escaped in a chariot with his two sons. As they hurried away he caught sight of a fellow-officer hiding in a wood. Apparently in order to save his friend's face, whom he could not take with him, he bade the youths not to look round. They, however, looked round and, recognizing the man, shouted out his name. Their father stopped the chariot, put them out, and, pointing to a tree, said: "There let me find your bodies." Their disobedience with its consequences left room in the chariot for the officer whom they had shamed, and in the morning Fêng returned to look upon the bodies of his sons at the spot he had marked (VII, xii, 3).

Pride was held to be offensive to Heaven, and, following the supposed ways of Nature, modesty was made one of the rules of propriety (IX, xiii, 2, addtl. narr.). The humility of Confucius' ancestor stooping lower with every increase of dignity was long remembered and held as an example (X, vii, 6). Paulus Aemilius thought it "only just" that a pedestal at Delphi designed for a statue of his defeated foe should be used for one of himself, but king Chuang of Ch'u refused even to erect a memorial of his great victory at Pi (VII, xii, 3). Prisoners of war were presented in the ancestral temple, but a Chinese general looked for no Roman triumph, with his conquered foe in chains behind him. It became almost conventional for a prince overcome in battle by one of his peers to approach his conqueror with hands bound and a coffin by his side, only to be set free by the victor's own hands (V, vi, 3, addl. narr.; cf. VII, xii, 2). In the campaign of An, Ch'i Ko heard that the general of the third division was about to behead a man, and he hastened to the spot to remonstrate against what he considered to be an unjust sentence. When he arrived, however, he found that the man had already been put to death, and rather than make any claim to superior virtue he identified himself with the sentence by taking the head into his chariot to show it to the army (VIII, ii, 3).

The best known statesmen who lived in simple fashion though high in power were Chi Wên-tzŭ of Lu and Yen-tzŭ of Ch'i, but there is no evidence that any of those who were engaged in public life conceived it to be their duty to join in the manual labour of their estates. It is true that both the Annals of the Bamboo Books and the *Kuo-yü* allude to the custom of the ancient kings to plough part of a field in person; but that action was purely ceremonial, intended to teach their subjects the dignity and importance of agriculture. It will be remembered that Mencius branded Hsü Hsing as a heretic, because he taught that a Superior Man would use only things which had been made by himself (M. III, a, iv).

We read of a class of men who fled from the corruption of the times to the hardness of poverty. Confucius speaks of seven recluses of note (A. XIV, xxxix, xl; cf. XVIII, viii), and three are mentioned whom he encountered on his journeys (A. XVIII, vi, vii). Their number throughout the States was probably considerable. Those whom Confucius met lived near the high roads with their families upon their own plots of land. The *Tso-chuan* tells the story of an earlier recluse. Chieh Chih-ts'ui served Prince Ch'ung-êrh throughout his long exile from Chin, and on their return was disgusted at the eagerness with which his fellow-servants "filched the credit due to Heaven" by seeking rewards for their services and he determined to retire into obscurity. His mother urged him at least to let his case be known, but he replied: "Words are only an embellishment of the person, and as I intend to withdraw from the world why need they be used?" His mother declared that if he could do such a thing she would go with him, and when the new marquis distributed honours neither of them could be found (v, xxiv, i, 5th addtl. narr.). Chieh Chih-ts'ui professed reticence in speech—though the historian makes him give his view in many words—as a renunciation of personal adornment, and reticence was a characteristic of the recluses whom Confucius met. They were not rebels against human nature, but rather extremists in the protest against the display of wealth and self-assertion. Akin to the recluses were those who were self-exiled from their native State. Ministers frequently acted upon the principle that when their advice was rejected they should resign, and some of them went so far as to leave the State. Confucius is a well known example. Others exiled themselves though they had not been in office. Thus, when the chancellor of Lu took the occasion of the death of Shu-sun Pao to pass his obnoxious military bill, he pretended that the dead minister had been in favour of the scheme and compelled the family steward to announce to him the fulfilment of his desire. When the steward had read the announcement in the ancestral temple, he destroyed the tablets on which it was written, called upon his fellow-servants to weep over their master's coffin, and, after the funeral, left the State (x, v, 1). It has been already mentioned that there are cases of men who refused an offer of the throne of their State from those who had the right to make it and when, so far as we can see, it could have been safely taken. The most notable of these were Prince

Cha of Wu, Tzŭ-lü of Ch'u, and Mu-i of Sung (IX, xiv, i, addtl. narr.; XII, vi, 6; V, viii, 5, addtl. narr.).

A knowledge of history, poetry, music, and the intricate rules of ceremony was evidently regarded as essential to perfect virtue, and the *Tso-chuan* abounds in instances in which members of the official class revealed their competence in these respects.

Bribery was rife throughout the States and is often mentioned. But a few individuals stood out against it and refused to give presents even to preserve their liberty. The younger Shu-sun Shê, for example, carried his principles so far when imprisoned in Chin that he would not even allow his own prince to purchase his release. Nor would he give his watchdog in order to procure some small amenities from his gaoler, and after his return he caused the animal to be killed and sent the carcase back in contempt to Chin (X, xxiii, 1, 3).

Little is said on domestic morality. Whilst there are allusions to several cases of incest, even of commerce between mother and son, the culprits clearly had no claim to be considered as exponents of virtue; and no instance is given of the exchange of wives, such as we are told took place between Cato the philosopher and Hortensius. A case occurred in Chin where two men, otherwise unknown, used their women's quarters in common. It is related only because it led, through bribery, to the execution of the chief of one of the clans concerned for purposing to put the culprits to death (X, xxviii, 4, addtl. narr.). The laxity of morals among high-born unmarried women like that which gave rise to the scene in the Senate between Cicero and Julius Cæsar, would assuredly have been regarded more seriously by a Chinese father than it appears to have been by the Roman. On the other hand, no one is praised in the *Tso-chuan* for the continency which Plutarch found in Laelius, the friend of Scipio. What is called the social evil depends largely upon special domestic customs, and there are two reasons why we hear less in feudal China of those public courtesans who had begun to disfigure

Roman society towards the end of the Republic. Concubinage was under regular forms, and there was no class of educated slaves. In spite of its many evils, concubinage was undoubtedly a restraining influence by facilitating the punishment of lesser offences without divorce.

(*To be continued.*)

Two Questions in Moslem Art

By NICHOLAS N. MARTINOVITCH

1. The Builder of the Fātiḥ Mosque

ACCORDING to a tradition it was believed that a Greek, Christodulos by name, was the builder of the old Fātiḥ mosque at Constantinople. Dr. Mehmet Aga-Oglu has explained in his two articles [1] that the ancient belief was without foundation. In the first one he stated that a Turk, Sinān al-ʻAtīq by name, was the architect of the old mosque; in the second article he said that the shape of the first, earliest construction of this mosque was in the purely Turkish style, like some of the old buildings of the Seljuq and Ottoman period in Asia Minor, and that it showed no Byzantine influence. The author's knowledge of the special literature on this subject is deep and complete. Nevertheless, our solution of the problem will be dissimilar to that of Dr. Aga-Oglu.

The Fātiḥ mosque was built for the first time in A.H. 867–875 (A.D. 1462/3–1470/1).[2] Thereafter, our mosque was partly damaged or entirely ruined by several earthquakes in 1498 *circa*, 1509, 1558, 1592, 1673, 1765, 1768; for this reason it has been many times repaired and even built anew.[3] Some of the names of the artists who were decorators and restorers of this mosque, or were its reconstructors, have reached us.[1] But in regard to the builder of the first Fātiḥ mosque, contemporary or old historians, Turkish or others, are silent. Ṭorsun Beg, a contemporary author,[2] gives many details, but not the name of the builder.[3] Kritobulos, a Greek writer, also mentions the construction of this mosque without the name of the architect.[4] One of the best old Ottoman historians, Muḥammad Nashrī, gives a list of the buildings of Muḥammad II, but also does not mention the name of the builder of Muḥammadīyah.[5]

---

[1] "Die Gestalt der Alten Mohammedije," Belvedere, 1926, SS. 83–94. "The Fatih Mosque at Constantinople," *The Art Bulletin*, 1930, vol. xii, pp. 179–195.

[2] *Die Gestalt*, S. 86. *Narrative of travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa*, Evliya-Hammer, vol. i, part 1, p. 66. *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, Gurlitt, S. 58. Djelal Essad, Constantinople, pp. 214–15. *Die Kunst des Islam*, Glück und Diez, S. 543. Hammer, in his *Constantinopolis und der Bosporos*, B.I. S. 392, places the end of the construction in 1469, as well as Saladin, *Manuel d'art musulman*, vol. i, p. 506, and Diez with Glück, *Alt-Konstantinopel*, S. 21.

[3] Evliya-Hammer, *Narrative*, p. 70. Saladin, loc. cit. Djelal Essad, loc. cit. Diez–Glück, *Alt-Konstantinopel*, loc. cit. Aga-Oglu, "The Fatih Mosque," p. 179. K. Wulzinger, *Die Apostelkirche und die Mehmedije zu Konstantinopel*, Byzantion, 1932, S. 18.

Some of the modern European authors omit the name of the builder of the Fātiḥ mosque and they do this consciously.[6] Others positively indicate the name of Christodulos.[7] But J. H. Mordtmann writes: "According to a tradition which is not corroborated elsewhere, the architect was a Greek, named Christodulos." [8]

Dr. Aga-Oglu happened to find in a Turkish chronicle a passage, in which the architect of our mosque is named Sinān.[9] Moreover, he discovered that Sinān's full name was Sinān ad-Dīn Yūsuf ban (son of) 'Abdallah and that his nickname was al-'Atīq.[10] On the basis of these data our author made a conclusion that Sinān was the builder of the old Fātiḥ mosque.[11]

---

[1] *Die Gestalt*, S. 84. *Narrative*, pp. 69–70. *L'Architecture Ottomane*. Marie de Launay, Montani Effendi et Maillard, pp. 5 ss. Gurlitt, S. 58, *Alt-Konstantinopel*, S. 21. "The Fatih Mosque," p. 180.

[2] *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen*, Franz Babinger, S. 26.

[3] "The Fatih Mosque," p. 179.

[4] Op. cit., ibid.

[5] Vienna MS. No. 986, ff. 244v, 245r. G. Flügel, B. ii, S. 209.

[6] Zinkeisen, *Gesch. d. Osman. Reiches*, B. ii, S. 472. Jorga, *Gesch. d. Osman. Reiches*, B. ii, S. 207. M. de Launay, op. cit., p. 5. Djelal Essad, op. cit., pp. 214, 215, and so on.

[7] Hammer, Constantinopolis, SS. 387, 395. Hammer, *Gesch. d. Osman. Reiches*, B. ii, S. 73. Saladin, op. cit., p. 506. Gurlitt, op. cit., S. 58. Diez–Glück, *Alt-Konstantinopel*, S. 21. Glück–Diez, *Die Kunst des Islam*, S. 543. Wulzinger, op. cit., S. 8.

[8] *The Encyclopædia of Islam*, art. "The Mehemmediye".

[9] *Die altosman. anonymen Chroniken*, Fr. Giese, Teil i, SS. 99–100.

[10] *Die Gestalt*, S. 93.

[11] *Die Gestalt*, S. 94.

Professor F. Babinger has criticized step by step the discovery of Mr. Aga-Oglu.[1] In his brilliant article he deciphered many mistakes. It is quite correct that the nickname 'Atīq, which means "A freed, emancipated slave" (slave—δοῦλος!), gives us the idea of Sinān's Christian origin, and that the phrase "son of 'Abdallah" is purely decorative and does not indicate that Sinān was really the son of a Moslem. Moreover, the original text of the anonymous chronicle is unknown and undated. Besides, we can add that the abbreviation "Sinān" from Sinān ad-Dīn is absolutely unusual. Let Dr. Aga-Oglu try to find any case in which Nūr ad-Dīn (Jāmī) is called simply Nūr, or Jalāl ad-Dīn (Rūmī)—Jalāl, or 'Alā ad-Dīn (Seljuq)—'Alā, and so on. Shams ad-Dīn Tabrīzlī is sometimes called Shams-i Tabrīz, but never Shams only. Sinān, mentioned in the chronicle quoted by Aga-Oglu, could be confused with some other Sināns. For instance, Awlīya Chalabī says: "'Abdal Sinān, when Mi'mār Bāshī, added some embellishments to this mosque," and not one word about the architect.[2] Moreover, the words of the author of Giese's chronicle are as follows (and here is the central point of Aga-Oglu's theory): "The architect Sinān, the builder in Constantinople of a new mosque, eight schools, an asylum and a hospital . . ."[3] But we know that in the time of Muḥammad II several mosques were built.[4]

Dr. Aga-Oglu is perfectly right to say that Demetrius Kantemir was alone the authority, following which the later authors give us the name of Christodulos.[5] And who was the earliest of these authors? Hammer, in his *Constantinopolis*, which was published in 1822 (SS. 387, 395). It is true that two years later the same Hammer outrageously attacked Kantemir. He said that "le prince Cantemir était éminemment ignorant en arabe et en persan . . .", though Sir William Jones (a great Orientalist of that time) takes him for an eminent scholar; he (Hammer) refutes Kantemir's story about the iron cage of Bāyazīd, Sultan of Turkey; he denies the hypothesis of Kantemir that "Calepinus cyriscelebis" and "cebelinus" are corruptions from chalabī; he rejects Kantemir's opinion that "khudāwand" means God.[1] Thus we see that Hammer was not among the admirers of Kantemir. And Hammer's works on the history of Turkey are still the best authority, though obsolete. And how much stronger was the scent of Kantemir, as an Orientalist, than that of Hammer: the existence of the iron cage is proved now[2]; the corruption of chalabī in calepinus, etc., is proved now.[3] And the meaning of *khudāwand* "God" is well known now (see any Persian dictionary). Nevertheless, after all his criticism, four years later, in his *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, Hammer used Kantemir's work as his source, and even repeats again his quotation on Christodulos. It means that in this question he takes Kantemir for a good authority. We cannot understand why Dr. Aga-Oglu says that Kantemir, himself, had a certain doubt, when he mentioned Christodulos and that he did not give any document as proof.[4] In Aga-Oglu's quotation of Kantemir we read that Kantemir saw with his own eyes the official patent by which Sultan Muḥammad II gave to Christodulos a property in Constantinople, as a reward for his work (ibid.). Further (p. 94), Aga-Oglu supposes that Kantemir, when he was later at the court of Peter the Great, in Russia, created this legend especially in order to be pleasant to this monarch. It is well known now that the so-called Peter's "testament" is purely apocryphal;

---

[1] Zum Sinān-"Problem," *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1927, SS. 548–551.

[2] *Narrative*, p. 69. اولياچلبى, سياحتنامه, i, 138.

[3] Op. cit., ibid.

[4] Zinkeisen, S. 472. Launay, p. 5. Diez–Glück, *Alt-Konstantinopel*, S. 21.

[5] *Die Gestalt*, S. 91.

---

[1] J. de Hammer, "Sur l'histoire Ottomane du Prince Cantemir," *Journal Asiatique*, 1824, vol. iv, pp. 32–45.

[2] N. Martinovitch, "La cage du sultan Bayazid," *Journal Asiatique*, t. ccxi, p. 135.

[3] V. D. Smirnow, *Mnimyi turetski sultan. Zapiski Vostochnago Otdelenia Russkago Archeologicheskago Obshchestva*, 1907, vol. xviii, pp. 1–70.

[4] *Die Gestalt*, S. 92.

that he never wanted to take Constantinople; and even if it could be so, what profit in such a case did the legend of Christodulos give to him?

Now two questions remain still unexplained. Why do some modern European authors omit the name of Christodulos? Because they do not quote the sole authority—Kantemir. Why is it that all the Turkish historians and Kritobulos, the Greek, a contemporary author, are silent? Because the Greek did not dare to mention the talent of his compatriot, fearing the suspicions of the Turks; for his own situation was not yet solid enough. And the Turks preferred not to touch this question from the patriotic point of view. This has been already remarked upon by Wulzinger (op. cit., p. 10), when he said that Aga-Oglu's theory is agreeable to the Turkish heart.

Now there is the question that our mosque was built in the purely Turkish style, i.e. that of the Seljuq and early Ottoman buildings in Asia Minor. First of all,[1] Wulzinger in his article, many times mentioned above, criticizes Aga-Oglu's opinion, and his conclusion is that the Fātiḥ mosque was built under Byzantine influence. It is absolutely impossible to quote the ocean of works which study the mosques of Constantinople and which all, without exception, find the same influence.

The drawings of Melchior Lorichs are the principal documents used by Dr. Aga-Oglu as proof of his opinion. But Aga-Oglu himself knows that his author was in Constantinople between 1557 and 1561,[2] i.e. when the Fātiḥ mosque was already reconstructed. Besides, Launay–Montani–Maillard say that the real beginning of the Ottoman architecture took place later, in the time of Bāyazīd II.[3] Modern students of Mohammedan art—Gurlitt, Glück, Diez, Wulzinger—see also the same Greek influence and especially that of Agia Sophia.[4]

---

[1] Cf. "The Fatih Mosque," p. 184.

[2] *Die Gestalt*, S. 85.

[3] Op. cit., p. 5.

[4] *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, S. 58; *Die Kunst des Islam*, S. 543; *Die Apostelkirche*, *passim*.

Our author thinks also that the Seljuq buildings in Asia Minor were made in the Turkish style. And what does he mean by the words "Turkish style"? A Central Asian one? Perhaps; but it is known that the Turkish buildings of Asia Minor were made under the Byzantine influence by Arabian and Armenian masters. Even the names of architects have reached us. Such a connoisseur of Mohammedan art as Friedrich Sarre and such an Orientalist as Clément Huart give to us sufficient material on this point.[1]

Thus, in conclusion, we may say that until new material will be found the "legend" of Christodulos is still valuable, and "The common assumption that the late Turkish style is dependent on the Byzantine church style . . ." must not be denied, but be preserved "on the strength of the above-mentioned facts".[2]

2. Riẓā-i 'Abbāsī

The question as to whether there was only one Riẓā 'Abbāsī or two, whether there existed a calligrapher and a painter by this name, or only one painter-calligrapher, has now reached a certain probable solution. Our intention is to give a final conclusion and to add an important detail.

In 1852 B. Dorn mentioned Riẓā 'Abbāsī with the first name, 'Alī, describing a manuscript; he says that this manuscript is distinguished by "his" (i.e. 'Alī's) elegant *nasta'līq* writing and by two (without "his"!) miniatures and an *'unwān* or frontispiece.[3] Twenty-one years later the same Dorn mentioned again 'Alī Riẓā 'Abbāsī, also a calligrapher only.[4] Charles Rieu quoted Taḏkirah-i Ṭāhir Naṣīrābādī, in which 'Alī Riẓā 'Abbāsī is called calligrapher;

---

[1] Cl. Huart, "Épigraphie arabe d'Asie Mineure," *Revue Sémitique*, 1894, pp. 75, 238; 1895, pp. 73, 77, 182, 351, 364, 365. F. Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien*, SS. 39–70.

[2] "The Fatih Mosque," p. 195.

[3] (B. Dorn), *Catalogue des Manuscrits et Xylographes Orientaux, etc.*, p. 291.

[4] *Mélanges Asiatiques*, 1873, vol. vi, p. 97 "Risza Aly el-Abbasy"; p. 103 "Aly Risza".

moreover, Rieu tells about a specimen of his calligraphy, and about his death *circa* A.H. 1040—A.D. 1630–31.[1] Clément Huart wrote that 'Alī Riẓā 'Abbāsī was a famous calligrapher in the *nasta'līq*.[2] P. W. Schulz reproduced one miniature of Riẓā 'Abbāsī, but without giving to him the first name 'Alī.[3] And so, up to this time, all the authors were still discussing either 'Alī Riẓā 'Abbāsī, the calligrapher only, or Riẓā 'Abbāsī, the painter only.

Dr. Friedrich Sarre published in 1910 a work which was the beginning of the long dispute concerning Riẓā 'Abbāsī, calligrapher and painter.[4] In this article the epigraphic material and chronological calculations were prepared by E. Mittwoch. F. Sarre was the first who wrote the famous sentence: "Ali Riza Abbasi played the role of calligrapher and painter at the court of Shah Abbas the Great." He published twelve pictures, three of which are signed and dated. The first one is signed آقا رضا and the date is written "Shawwāl the 5th, 148"; the date 148 Mittwoch explained as 1048 in order to combine it with the years of the life of Riẓā 'Abbāsī.

Karabaček touched upon the work of Sarre–Mittwoch.[5] He analyzed the question of 'Alī Riẓā 'Abbāsī, the calligrapher, and Riẓā-i 'Abbāsī, the painter, and found more than seven painters and calligraphers all called Riẓā, but with different first or nicknames. The most interesting part of his material are three very important inscriptions on one miniature, now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.[6]

---

[1] *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. i, pp. 368*b*, 369*a*; vol. ii, p. 782*a*; vol. iii, p. 1144*a*.

[2] *Les Calligraphes et les Miniaturistes*, pp. 103, 245.

[3] *Die islamische Malerei. Orientalisches Archiv.*, 1910, B. i, SS. 12–15, 79–82; Taf. viii, Abb. 16.

[4] Riza Abbasi, ein persischer Miniaturmaler. *Kunst und Künstler*, 1910, SS. 45–53.

[5] Riza-i Abbasi, *Sitzungsber. d. philos. histor. Klasse d. K. Akad. der Wissensch.*, Wien, B. 167, Abh. i, SS. 1–48.

[6] A. K. Coomaraswamy, "Collection Goloubew," *Ars Asiatica*, vol. xiii, No. 83.

Karabaček translated these inscriptions as follows:—

1. The drawing of Muḥammad Riẓā-i 'Abbāsī. At (the first) Wednesday 1 (0) 10 of the Venerated Rajab.

2. He. At the beginning of Jumaidī the First of the year 1041 the drawing of the humble Riẓā-i 'Abbāsī reached the end. God.

3. For the chief of faqirs, Darwīsh 'Abd al-Malik Astarābādī (this) was made.

He calculated the two above dates—16th December, 1601, and 25th November, 1631.[1]

The second and the third inscriptions are clear, but for the first (and the most important) Karabaček had many serious doubts. First of all, he was unable to explain the difference of thirty years on the same drawing. Thereafter, he said that the second date was too late, because Muḥammad Riẓā Tabrīzī died in 1627–8. Moreover, he said that he had never seen on the pictures of Riẓā-i 'Abbāsī the first name 'Alī. Besides, he remarked that the dates 30 instead of 1030, or 7 instead of 1007, are often used in the Moslem texts, but 154 instead of 1054 (or 110 instead of 1010) is impossible. All his remarks are absolutely correct, especially the last one.

Sarre and Mittwoch in their answer to Karabaček used their previous material and repeated their conclusions.[2] When F. R. Martin published his work on Moslem painting, he already mentioned everywhere Riẓā 'Abbāsī as a calligrapher and a painter, and with the first name of 'Alī. And the drawing with three inscriptions of Karabaček he attributed to 'Alī Riẓā 'Abbāsī, although the first name, Muḥammad, is evident in the first inscription.[3] Since that time the intricacy and unification of all the combinations of the names of many Riẓā 'Abbāsī begins to be common.

Evidently, in order to reach a certain decision, Sarre and Mittwoch wrote a book entirely devoted to Riẓā 'Abbāsī, the painter-calligrapher.[4] They stated in this book that the

---

[1] Op. cit., SS. 34, 35.

[2] *Der Islam*, 1911, B. ii, SS. 196–219.

[3] *The Miniature Painting*, vol. i, *passim*, especially pp. 122, 123, 149.

[4] *Zeichnungen von Riza Abbasi*, 1914.

Persian calligrapher-painter ʻAlī Riẓā-i ʻAbbāsī is well known simply as Riẓā ʻAbbāsī. They declared that it was their intention to discuss the pictures which have his signature only. They quoted all Oriental sources in order to show that Riẓā ʻAbbāsī is named everywhere ʻAlī, but they did not see that all their quotations mention the calligrapher exclusively.[1] They wrote correctly that Muḥammad Riẓā Tabrīzī has nothing in common with our artist (or artists).[2] When they studied the pictures of Riẓā-i ʻAbbāsī they did not give their attention to a very interesting fact. When the date is written incompletely, for instance 148, which Professor Mittwoch reads 1048, but the day of the week and of the month are given, the signature is often absent, and, moreover, the chronological combination often causes great difficulties, and as a result the calculation becomes wrong.[3] We are reminded of the doubts of Karabaček. Besides, the authors come to the strange conclusion that Agā Riẓā is our Riẓā, but do not give any serious proof.[4]

At the same time, the already mentioned P. W. Schulz revised again all the previous material dealing with Riẓā ʻAbbāsī. He stated positively that: ʻAlī Riẓā ʻAbbāsī was a calligrapher and Riẓā-i ʻAbbāsī a painter, whose pictures are dated between 1028–1618 and 1050–1640 *circa*; their signatures are absolutely different; all various combinations with the name Riẓā, like Agā Riẓā and so on, belong to other artists. Unfortunately, in the question of the reconstruction of incomplete dates (110–1010, etc.) Schulz is among the followers of Dr. Mittwoch.[5]

It was absolutely useless for Schulz to return once more to the dispute on the identity of the calligrapher and the painter.[6] Professor E. Littmann in general repeated the thoughts of

---

[1] Op. cit., SS. 5, 6, 7–9.

[2] Op. cit., S. 16.

[3] Op. cit., SS. 51, 52.

[4] Op. cit., SS. 19–21.

[5] *Die persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei*, 1914, SS. 173, 184, 185, 187–190, 202, 203.

[6] *Die Wahrheit über Riza Abbasi, den Maler. Zeitschrift für bildene Kunst*, 1917, B. 52, SS. 73–82.

Schulz, but he also gave a very interesting indication that in the Orient the calligraphy as art was more appreciated than the painting.[1] A few words dealing with Riẓā-i ʻAbbāsī, the painter, we find in the work of the French Orientalist, E. Blochet, but it is remarkable that he advises us not to confound Agā Riẓā with our Riẓā, and that the dates on his (Blochet's) authentic pictures of Riẓā-i ʻAbbāsī are always written completely—1031, 1038, etc.[2]

Again, this question of several Riẓā painters and one calligrapher was discussed by Ernst Kühnel, but his opinion was that this question still remains open.[3] Because of that, there is nothing strange in the fact that when I discovered in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, an unknown manuscript written by ʻAlī Riẓā ʻAbbāsī, I attributed it to Riẓā-i ʻAbbāsī, the painter—at that time I had no special interest in this artist and in all this complicated question.[4]

G. Migeon put the question: is Agā Riẓā and Riẓā-i ʻAbbāsī the same artist? But added, nevertheless, that the latter must be distinguished from ʻAlī Riẓā, the calligrapher.[5] The opinion of Migeon was shared by Sir Thomas W. Arnold in his two recent works.[6] As a new argument for the identity of Riẓā-i ʻAbbāsī with Agā (Aqā) Riẓā he gives the following words: "Another difficulty (for the identification—N.M.) has been felt in the fact that . . . the painter always signs himself Riza or Riza Abbasi. But Aqa is merely honorific and would not be applied by a man to himself, though it would be polite for others to use it when speaking of him . . . ; . . . as Corot signed his pictures with the simple name

---

[1] *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1917, B. 179, SS. 601–632.

[2] *Les peintures des manuscrits orientaux, etc.*, 1914–1920, pp. 181, 289, 299, 306.

[3] Ernst Kühnel, *Miniaturmalerei im islamischen Orient*, Berlin, 1923, SS. 36–8.

[4] N. Martinovitch, "A new Manuscript of Ali Riza Abbasi," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1924, vol. xliv, p. 270.

[5] *Manuel d'art musulman*, 1927, t. i, p. 190.

[6] *Painting in Islam*, 1928, pp. 71, 135, 143, 145–7. Sir Thomas W. Arnold and Professor Adolf Grohmann, *The Islamic Book*, 1929, pp. 82, 83.

Corot, rather than Monsieur Corot. In cases when the words Aqa Riza are written on any one of the pictures by Riza Abbasi, they have been added by some owner or cataloguer, and there are several instances of these words Aqa Riza having been so added, in a handwriting that is clearly not that of the artist himself, on drawings to which Riza Abbasi had not himself attached his signature." This adequate quotation will be very useful for us later.

A. K. Coomaraswamy strongly distinguishes two painters, Agā Riẓā and Riẓā-i 'Abbāsī, and a calligrapher, 'Alī Riẓā 'Abbāsī.[1] Moreover, he gives also a special explanation of the inscriptions which were a matter of doubt for Karabaček. He states, like Sarre–Mittwoch, that the omission of the second figure in Moslem dates is usual and takes A.H. 110 for A.H. 1010; but about the difference of thirty-one (Moslem) years he supposes that Riẓā-i 'Abbāsī himself wrote the earlier inscription (with the first name of Muḥammad!); thereafter, as the picture remained undelivered to the Darwīsh 'Abd al-Malik, the painter again retouched his picture and added the later inscription with the date A.H. 1041.[2] Mr. A. B. Sakisian wished to make a final conclusion to all the discussions.[3] His opinion also is that Aqā Riẓā, Riẓā-i 'Abbāsī, and 'Alī Riẓā 'Abbāsī are three different artists, the third of them being a calligrapher. As proof he says that the three handwritings of their signatures are different; the time of their lives is different; the styles of the pictures of two painters are different; the first name, 'Alī, is used exclusively by the calligrapher; and the iẓāfat (i) between Riẓā and 'Abbāsī in the name of the painter is always written, being always absent in the name of the calligrapher.

I am very sorry that I could not find anywhere in this country (U.S.A.) the journal in which a new article concerning Riẓā-i 'Abbāsī was written by Mr. Gobeaux-Thonet.[4]

---

[1] Op. cit., p. 69.

[2] Op. cit., p. 53.

[3] *La Miniature Persane*, 1929, pp. 127, 133, 135–9.

[4] *Mélanges de Philologie Orientale*, 1933.

Now let us try to examine all this material which we have investigated. First of all, among seven, or even more, artists with the name Riẓā, but with various first or nicknames, four could be confounded: Muḥammad R. Tabrīzī, ‘Alī R. ‘Abbāsī, R.-i ‘Abbāsī, and Agā R. We know that Muḥammad died earlier and has nothing in common with the others (Karabaček, Mittwoch, Sarre). ‘Alī, the calligrapher, cannot be identified with the painter Riẓā-i ‘Abbāsī because: the painter never signed with the name ‘Alī; in the name of the calligrapher the iẓāfat is never used; their handwriting is different; the calligrapher only is often mentioned by the historians, for the calligraphy was, from the Oriental point of view, more valuable as art than the painting. I wish to correct these proofs, and to give some new ones. The iẓāfat is used by ‘Alī also—see the photo of his signature in my article quoted above. But the painter calls himself كمينه "humble" and the calligrapher فقير "poor"; among the dated pictures of the painter we have several dates later than that of the death of the calligrapher. Moreover, some Western scholars forget that the Eastern (Moslem) persons never change their names, except for the sovereigns.

Just the same we must repeat that it is impossible to identify Agā Riẓā and Riẓā-i ‘Abbāsī as one and the same person. Mr. Sakisian has said already that against this identity there are the difference of their handwritings and styles. Nevertheless, we have such an Orientalist as Sir Thomas Arnold, who was favourable to this identification; see our long quotation from his work. It is true that the French painter Corot never signed "Monsieur Corot"; but in Agā Riẓā's case Agā is not a title, like Monsieur, but a part of his name; why did Sir Thomas think that somebody else, owner or cataloguer, and not the artist himself signed the artist's name in this manner? Besides, even though it is true that the word Agā has a honorific meaning, we have already seen that Riẓā-i ‘Abbāsī usually added to his name "humble". Thus, finally, we have three artists: ‘Alī Riẓā-i (!) ‘Abbāsī, the calligrapher; Riẓā-i ʻAbbāsī, whose first name is still unknown, the painter; and Agā Riẓā, the painter, also.

Now we turn to a question of great importance: the omission of the second figure in the dates of Moslem years. I should be very glad if an Orientalist would be able to show me any case, except Riẓā-i ʻAbbāsī, where the second figure of the date of the Moslem year is omitted; for instance, 110 instead of 1010. But I know perfectly well, and it is a commonplace, that the first figure is often missing; for example, 110 instead of 1110. We have seen already, above, that such a restoration of the second figure gives great difficulties in the chronological calculations. I say all that, especially about the quoted inscription of Karabaček–Coomaraswamy. In this inscription, moreover, if 110 is the year, we have an extraordinary combination—the year is given between the day of the week and the name of the month; usually in Moslem dates it is written—day of week, day of month, name of month, and year at the end. The discussions about this inscription were in vain, and the conclusion was wrong. The key for the deciphering of this inscription is very simple.

Riẓā's own inscription is clear; his picture was finished at 1 Jumādī al-Awwal, A.H. 1041 = 25th November, A.D. 1631, and his picture was made for ʻAbd al-Malik (not Mālik; Coomaraswamy–Goloubew, p. 53). The second inscription, in the left lower corner, is written by another hand (the handwriting of Riẓā is well known). In this inscription we have 11 and not 110, because there is here not a zero but a dot above the letter "nūn" in the word "Chahār shanbah"—i.e. Wednesday. And the translation must be as follows: the drawing of Muḥammad Riẓā-i ʻAbbāsī on Wednesday, the 11th of the Venerated Rajab. It is well known that when we have two Moslem dates on the same page, and the second is written without a year, it means that the omitted year is nearest after the year of the first date. Thus our date, when 11 Rajab fell on Wednesday, is 11 Rajab, A.H. 1043 =

11th January, 1634; two years of difference only, and not thirty, as the previous scholars thought. Certainly this inscription was written by the owner of the picture (perhaps by ‘Abd al-Malik) when he registered it in his collection.

But what explanation can we propose in regard to the name Muḥammad? It has been said already that Riẓā-i ‘Abbāsī was not accustomed to give in his signatures his first name. The owner, who ordered this picture, who knew personally the painter and who wrote this inscription only two years after the execution of the picture, mentioned the full name of the artist, as it was known to him. And thanks to this inscription, we know now that the first name of Riẓā-i ‘Abbāsī, the painter, was Muḥammad.

193.

Bu-ston's History of Buddhism and the Mañjuśrī-mūla-tantra

By E. OBERMILLER

TWO years ago my translation of the second part of *The History of Buddhism* (Chos-ḥbyuṅ), the work of the celebrated Tibetan scholar Bu-ston Rin-chen-ḍub (grub), i.e. of the historical part proper, appeared in the press, published by the Heidelberg Society for the Investigation of Buddhist Lore. In the introduction to this translation I have indicated all the principal works of Buddhist scripture and exegesis (*sūtra* and *śāstra*) which have been referred to by Bu-ston and which represent the main sources from which he has compiled his work. I have, furthermore, drawn the attention of the reader to the fact that among the said sources an exclusive importance is given to the *Mañjuśrī-mūla-tantra* (or *Kalpa* ; Tib. *Ḥjam-dpal-rtsa-rgyud*, Kangyur, *RGYUD*. xi, Narthaṅ edition, or xii, Derge edition). A great part of chapter 51 of this work, the "Prophecy concerning the Kings" (*Rāja-vyākaraṇa-parivarta*), has been incorporated by Bu-ston in his work, mostly in the form of direct quotations, and partly condensed in prose. It is to be noted here that Bu-ston is not the only Tibetan author who has made copious references to the *Mañjuśrī-mūla-tantra.* The latter appears likewise as one of the principal sources in the well-known historical work of Tāranātha. The prophecies as such are not to be found here, but it is easy to trace considerable parts of Tāranātha's text to the *Mañjuśrī-mūla-tantra*, the passages of which are stripped of their prophetical garb and appear in the form of ordinary historical data.

Now it is quite natural that we should pay particular attention to the proper names, viz. those of Kings, celebrated Brahmins, Buddhist Ācāryas, etc., of which the *Rāja-vyākaraṇa-parivarta* in the *Mañjuśrī-mūla-tantra* is full.

The correct rendering of these names has up to this time been a problem of considerable difficulty. Until now we had only the Tibetan equivalents of the names, as given in the Tibetan translation of the *Mañjuśrī-mūla-tantra* and the parts of it which have been quoted or paraphrased by Bu-ston and Tārānātha. Professor A. Schiefner, in his translation of Tārānātha's history, has made an attempt to restore the original Sanskrit forms hypothetically, with more or less precision. He avows himself[1] that it is impossible to affirm as a matter of fact that the forms reconstructed by him on the basis of the Tibetan equivalents are the correct ones. Only such well-known names as Candragupta (*Zla-ba sbas-pa*), Nanda (*Dgaḥ-bo*), and the like can be easily restored without any doubt as regards their correctness. For the greater part the reconstructed forms remained uncertain.

At present the publication of the original Sanskrit text of the *Mañjuśrī-mūla-tantra* (or *Kalpa*) by Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, enables us to solve all the dubious questions; it is therefore to be regarded as an event of exclusive importance for the further investigation of the works of Bu-ston and Tārānātha. Drs. Nalinaksha Dutt and Upendra Nath Ghoshal have already made use of it in the passage referring to Pāṇini.[2] At the time when I was preparing the translation of Bu-ston's text, Dr. Gaṇapati Śāstri's edition was not accessible to me. To my great regret, therefore, I could not give all the names of the *Mañjuśrī-mūla-tantra* in their actual form, and had to take recourse to the doubtful reconstructions which, with a few exceptions, I have borrowed from the translation of Dr. Schiefner. When I, at length, was put in possession of Dr. Gaṇapati Śāstri's edition, it was already too late to make any corrections and additions to the printed text of my translation of Bu-ston's history. It is therefore necessary to make these corrections and additions now, and replace the hypothetically reconstructed names by the actual forms according to the original text of the *Mañjuśrī-mūla-tantra.* We must take into consideration the following passages :—

---

[1] Compare for instance p. 4 of his Translation, note 8.

[2] *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. viii, No. 2, p. 248. See also the prophecy concerning Nāgārjuna (ed. Gaṇapati Sāstri, p. 616, 25–617, 4) quoted in Dr. Dutt's article on the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions in the *I.H.Q.*, vol. vii, part iv. A new valuable contribution is the work of K. P. Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India*.

p. 113 of my translation : Printed Nāgahvaya. Read Nāgahva (651, 7).[1]

Ibid., n. 769 : Printed Puṣpa. Read Kusuma (ibid.).[2]

Ibid., ll. 25, 26 : " A king belonging to the adherents of the Buddha, will elucidate the Doctrine of the Teacher." In such a way I have rendered the Tib.[3] : *rgyal-po saṅs-rgyas-pa-yi phyogs* | *ston-paḥi bstan-pa gsal-bar-byed* || The original (651, 12) has बुद्धपक्षस्य नृपती शास्तृशासनदीपकः। This is preceded by नकाराद्यः प्रकीर्तितः। which is omitted in the Tib. We can therefore translate : " One whose name begins with Na will elucidate the Doctrine of the Teacher during the reign of a king belonging to the adherents of the Buddha." (Buddhapakṣa may also be taken as a personal name, cf. below.)

p. 114, ll. 20, 21 : " During the reign of the king called Kṛṣṇa, a devotee with the initial letter Ma is to appear." (Tib.[4] : *Rgyal-po Nag-po źes-bya-bar* | *yi-ge Ma źes sdom-brtson ḥbyuṅ*). The original (651, 26) has : बालाकौ नृपतौ ख्याते सकाराद्यो यतिस्तथा॥ We have accordingly : " During the reign of the king called Bālāki (?) there is to be a devotee whose name begins with Sa." Or, according to the Tib. we could read perhaps : कालाख्ये नृपतौ—" the king called Kāla ".

p. 114, l. 34 : " And those who are called Suvaktra and Sukha " (Tib.[5] *Legs-bźin Legs-te-bde źes bstan*). The original

---

[1] The figures in parantheses indicate the pages of Dr. Gaṇapati Śāstri's edition.

[2] Cf. below.

[3] Xyl. 106*b*, 3.

[4] Xyl. 106*b*, 6.

[5] Xyl. 107*a*, 2, Kangyur, *RGYUD.* (Tantra), xi, 472*b*, 4–5.

(652, 5) has: सुदत्तश्च सुषेणः सेनकीर्तितः। "Those who are called Sudatta[1] and Susena."[2]

p. 115, l. 1: "Well-famed for their charity and their offerings." So I have translated the Tib.[3]: *sbyin-byed sbyin-par-byed-pa-ñid* | It appears, however, that Sbyin-byed and Sbyin-par-byed-pa are two proper names, respectively Dattaka and Dinaka, as we have in the original (652, 6: दत्तको दिनकश्चैव परसिद्धान्तदूषकः ॥

Ibid., l. 5: "These two will perform diverse acts of charity." *Sic* acc. to the Tib.[4]: *gñis-ka sbyin-byed sna-tshogs byed* | The original (652, 7) has: उभौ दीनार्थचिन्तकौ ॥

p. 116, l. 9: . . . Yaśasvin,[5] Kalyāṇa,[6] . . . Read acc. to the original (653, 1) Kīrtimān, Śubha.[7]

Ibid., l. 10: Kulika[8] and Dharmika. Read Kulīna and Dhārmika (653, 2).

Ibid., l. 11: Mahāvīrya[9] and Suviṣṇu.[10] Read Udyata and Sādhu-Mādhava (653, 2).

Ibid., l. 12: Madhubhadra.[11] Read Sumadhu (653, 3).

p. 117, l. 12: "It is he who will make the Teaching of the Lord predominant." *Sic* acc. to the Tib.[12]: *ston-paḥi bstan-la de gtso-byed* | The original (654, 4) has शास्तृशासनतत्परः ॥ "Who is fully devoted to the Teaching of the Lord."

Ibid., l. 32: Pūrṇabhadra.[13] Read Saṁpūrṅa (654, 10).

Ibid., l. 33: "Famed for discipline and pure morality."

---

[1] The reading of the Tib. Legs-bźin is incorrect in both the Xyl. of Bu-ston's text and the Kangyur. Read Legs-byin.

[2] See note 787, p. 114 of my Translation.

[3] Xyl. 107*a*, 2.

[4] Xyl. 107*a*, 3, Kg. *RGYUD*. xi, 472*b*, 5.

[5] *Grags-ldan*. Schiefner, Tār., p. 4 has Yaśika.

[6] *Dge-ba*. Schiefner, Tār., p. 4.

[7] Gaṇ. reads: शुभमतः परम् । (*sic*).

[8] *Rigs-ldan*. Schiefner, Tār., p. 5.

[9] *Brtson-ldan*. Schiefner, Tār., p. 68, n. 6 has Yogin.

[10] *Legs-par-khyab-ḥjug*. Schiefner, Tār., p. 5.

[11] *Sbraṅ-rtsi bzaṅ-po*. Schiefner has Supramadhu.

[12] Xyl. 107*b*, 5.

[13] *Gaṅ-ba-bzaṅ*. Schiefner, Tār., p. 5.

So I have translated the Tib.[1]: *ḥdul-ba daṅ-ni tshul-bzaṅ-ñid* | The original (654, 11) has **विनयः सुविनयश्चैव**, evidently two proper names.

Ibid., l. 25: "And one whose name begins with Bha and Vasunetra."[2] The original (654, 12) has **भकाराख्यो धनाध्यक्षो नृपाणां**[3] **मन्त्रपूजकः ॥** One must evidently translate: One whose name begins with Bha, a treasurer (*dhana-adhyakṣa*),[4] etc.

p. 119, ll. 14 sqq.: "In the west, in the delightful region of Kāśī, and in the country called Mūrdhāna,[5] there is to appear a king whose name will be Pañcamasiṁha."[6] The original (642, 20 sqq.) has: **पश्चात् काशिपुरी रम्या शृङ्गाख्ये पुर एव वा ॥**
अत्रान्तरे महीपालः शास्त्रशासनदीपकः ।
पञ्चकेसरिनामानौ

Correct accordingly Śṛṅga for Mūrdhāna and Pañcakesarin for Pañcamasiṁha.

p. 118, l. 22: Vigataśoka.[7] The original[8] (610, 25) has Viśoka.

Ibid., l. 23: Vīrasena.[9] Read Śūrasena (611, 8 sqq.: **तस्याप्यनन्तरे**[10] **राजा शूरसेनः प्रकाश्यते ॥ . . . कृत्वा राज्यं वर्षाणि दश सप्त च मानवीः ।** etc.).

p. 119, ll. 3, 4: "After the monk Nanda has died, another called Candanapāla[11] will appear and will live 300 years." *Sic* acc. to the Tib.[12]: *dge-sloṅ Dgaḥ-boḥi ḥog-tu Tsan-dan-*

---

[1] Xyl. 108*a*, 2.

[2] *Nor-gyi spyan.* Schiefner, Tār., pp. 5, 93.

[3] Gaṇ. reads: **नृपतीनां**.

[4] Compare the *adhyakṣas* in the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra.*

[5] *Rtse-mo.*

[6] *Seṅ-ge lṅa.* Schiefner, Tār., pp. 3, 158, 164, etc.

[7] The Xyl. of Bu-ston's text has: *Mya-ṅan-med-bral = Vigatāśoka.* So also in Tār.

[8] Perhaps *metri causa.*

[9] Tib. *Dpaḥ-boḥi sde* which can be as well an equivalent for Śūrasena as in the present case.

[10] i.e. **विशोकस्य**.

[11] *Tsan-dan-skyoṅ.*

[12] Xyl. 108*b*, 1, and Kg. *RGYUD.* xi, 452*a*, 3: *dge-sloṅ Dgaḥ-boḥi ḥog-tu-ni* | *Tsan-dan-skyoṅ-ni ḥbyuṅ-bar-ḥgyur* |

skyoṅ źes-bya-ba lo sum-brgyar ḥtsho-ba ḥbyuṅ | The original (619, 22, 23) has भविता चन्द्रनपाले[1] ऽस्मिन् भिक्षुर्नन्दको भुवि ॥
तस्मिन्कालाधमे प्राप्ते जीवेद् वर्षशतत्रयम् ।

Ibid., ll. 4, 5 sqq.: "Thereafter the king Bhadanta[2] will burn down the temples and the monuments from the eastern country and up to Kashmir and massacre the monks." In the original (619, 25–620, 3) this appears as follows:—

भविष्यति[3] न संदेहः तस्मिन्काले युगाधमे
राजा[4] गोमिमुख्यस्तु शासनान्तर्धापको मम ॥
प्राचीं दिशमुपादाय कश्मीर द्वारमेव तु ।
नाशयिष्यति तदा मूढः विहारान्धातुवरांस्तथा ॥
भिक्षवः शीलसंपन्नान् घातयिष्यति दुर्मतिः ।

The name Gomimukhya, is rendered in the Tibetan by Btsun-pa.

Ibid., ll. 8–9: ". . . succeeded by the King Sarvābhirāma who is to live 300 years." *Sic* acc. to the Tib.[5]: *de-nas rgyal-po Thams-cad-mṅon-dgaḥ źes-pa lo sum-brgya thub-pa-źig ḥbyuṅ* | The original (620, 19 sqq.) has: अतिप्रीतो हि नृपतिः शास्तुः शासनतत्परः । etc. It is a question whether this Atiprīta (? or Abhiprīta) is a personal name or whether it refers to Buddhapakṣa mentioned before.

Ibid., ll. 11–13: "In the northern Himālaya, in the country called the godly, there is to appear the king Manuṣyadeva, who will attain the age of 80 years." *Sic* acc. to Tib.[6]: *Gaṅs-riḥi naṅ byaṅ-phyogs Lha-ldan-gyi yul-du rgyal-po Miḥi-lha źes-pa lo brgyad-cur thub-pa-źig ḥbyuṅ.* Read Mānavendra instead of Manuṣyadeva acc. to the original (621, 11–13).

---

[1] Gaṇ. reads: चन्द्रनमाले.

[2] *Btsun-pa.*

[3] Gaṇ. reads: भविष्यन्ति.

[4] Kg. *RGYUD.* xi, 452*a*, 4: *rgyal-po Btsun-pa źes-bya-ba | ṅa-yi bstan-pa nub-byed-pa* |

[5] Xyl. 108*b*, 2, Kg. *RGYUD.* xi, 452*b*, 4.

[6] Xyl. 108*b*, 3, Kg. *RGYUD.* xi, 453*a*, 4.

नेपालमण्डले ख्याते हिमाद्रेः कुक्षिमाश्रिते ॥
राजा मानवेन्द्रस्तु लिच्छवीनां कुलोद्भवः ।

i.e. Mānavendra, a king of Nepal, of the family of the Licchavis.

At the same time it is necessary to point to some considerable defects in Dr. Gaṇapati Śāstri's edition, which can be easily improved with the help of the Tibetan translation. Had the learned editor consulted the latter, his edition of the *Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa* would have assumed quite a different form. It is, of course, impossible in a short article like this to point to all the faulty passages. We shall refer only to those verses which are quoted in Bu-ston's history. So we have :—

p. 616 and further on : Mātṛcīna for Mātṛceṭa,[1] which is the correct form.

p. 617, l. 8 (in the prophecy concerning Asanga) : तस्य सिद्धा शालदूतीति कथ्यते ॥ The Tib.[2] has : *de-yis rig-pa* (= विद्या) *grub-pa-ni* | *Sa-laḥi pho-ña-mo źes-bya* | The defective line can be thus easily restored as follows :—

तस्य चैव सिद्धा विद्या शालदूतीति कथ्यते ॥

Ibid., ll. 16, 17 :

अपश्चिमे तु तदा काले नन्द्नामतः ॥
सो ऽपि मन्त्रार्थयुक्तात्मा तन्त्रज्ञो ऽथ बहुश्रुतः ।

The Tib.[3] has : *phyi-ma* (= पश्चिमे) *de tshe* (= तदा) *dus-dag-tu* (= काले) | *dge-sloṅ* (= भिक्षुः) *Dgra-bcom* (= अर्हत्) *źes-bya-ba* || We have accordingly to read :—

पश्चिमे तु तदा काले भिक्षुरर्हन् तु नामतः । etc.

p. 621, l. 2 : गम्भीरयशो विख्यातः Read : [4]गम्भीरपक्षो विख्यातः

p. 651, l. 6 :

तद्यथा मातृचीनाख्यः कुसुमाराख्यस्य (*sic!*) विश्रुतः ।

Read : तद्यथा मातृचेटाख्यः कुसुमाख्यस्य विश्रुतः ।

---

[1] Tib. *Ma-khol.*

[2] Xyl. 106*a*, 1–2.

[3] Ibid., 106*a*, 4 sqq., Kg. *RGYUD*. xi, 450*b*, 3 sqq.

[4] Tib. *Zab-moḥi-phyogs.*

Ibid., l. 16: **काव्याख्यः पुरवासिनः ॥** The Tib. has: *Kā-śi źes-byaḥi groṅ-du gnas* | We have therefore to read: **काश्याख्यपुरवासिनः ॥**

Ibid., l. 17: **यकाराख्यो यतिश्चैव विख्यातो दक्षिणां दिशि ।** The Tib.[1] has: *yi-ge Dha źes˙ sdom-brtson-ñid* | *lho-yi phyogs-su rnam-par-bsgrags* | According to the Tib. tradition this refers to Dharmakīrti.[2] Read therefore: **धकाराख्यो यतिश्चैव** etc.

p. 652, l. 3: **भविष्यति न संदेहः शास्तुभिन्नार्ध्वगः** (*sic!*) **स्मृतः ।** The Tib.[3] has: *mtshon-gyis lus źig mtho-ris ḥgro* | which I translate[4]: "And after his body will have perished by the sword (*mtshon-gyis*) he will depart to the celestial regions (*mtho-ris ḥgro*). We must therefore correct: **शस्त्रभिन्नोर्ध्वगः स्मृतः ।**

As concerns the other corrections to my translation of Bu-ston's history, these will be given in a separate third part which is to appear in the sequel. I may, however, be permitted to give one of these corrections now. It is as follows: In the passage containing the prophecy of the *Mahākaruṇā-puṇḍarīka* (p. 109 of my Translation, line 9): "in the grove called Pankavatī". Read: "In the grove called Śarāvatī."

---

[1] Xyl. 106*b*, 4, Kg. *RGYUD*. xi, 472*a*, 7.

[2] Cf. my Translation, p. 114.

[3] Xyl. 107*a*, 1, Kg. *RGYUD*. xi, 472*b*, 4.

[4] p. 114, l. 27, 28.

The Punch-marked Coins: A Survival of the Indus Civilization

By C. L. FÁBRI, Ph.D.

(With six text illustrations)

"PUNCH-MARKED coins are the earliest Indian archæological 'document' that exists," wrote Mr. E. H. C. Walsh in 1923 in a thorough study of these interesting remains of Indian proto-historic times.[1] At the time when he wrote his article, very little, if anything, was known of the freshly discovered prehistoric civilization in the Indus Valley, at Harappā and Mohenjo-daro. Even in a more recent publication, in Professor Chakrabortty's numismatic handbook,[2] no attempt is made to explain the symbols punched upon these primitive coins, and it still holds good what Mr. Walsh said in 1923: "Until our present sources of information are added to, the significance of the marks on punch-marked coins must remain the subject of speculation and surmise." The late Mr. W. Theobald's study is an excellent collection of materials, but his explanations might fitly be called "archaic".[3] Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar has given some very ingenious interpretations of a number of these *rūpas*.[4] But these interpretations concern only a very few of the large number of symbols.

The significance of these symbols, however, is of paramount importance. That they have some meaning, no one doubts It is obvious that a few of them are Solar, Lunar, and suchlike symbols; but these are only a fraction of the great mass. It is not impossible that they hold the clue to early Indian history, and if one day scholars can "read" these signs, they will be able, probably, to reconstruct a period of Indian history of which we do not know anything at present. I am writing not to explain these symbols, but to show that the solution of this problem is closely connected with the deciphering of the Indus Valley script.

---

[1] "Indian Punch-marked Coins (a Public Coinage issued by Authority)," in *Centenary Supplement, JRAS.*, 1924, pp. 175–189.

[2] *A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics*, etc., Calcutta, 1931.

[3] "Notes on some of the symbols found on the punch-marked coins of Hindustan," etc., in *JASB.*, lix, pt. i, Nos. iii–iv, 1890.

[4] *A. R. Arch. Survey*, 1913–14, pp. 210–13.

When going through the signs published in the plates of Cunningham, Theobald, and Walsh, I was immediately struck by certain animal representations. The most frequent ones are those of the humped Indian bull, the elephant, the tiger, the crocodile, and the hare. Now all these animals occur also on the seals of Mohenjo-daro and Harappā. Not only are the subjects similar, but there are similarities in such small details that one must necessarily suppose that they are not due to mere chance or to "similar working of the human mind".

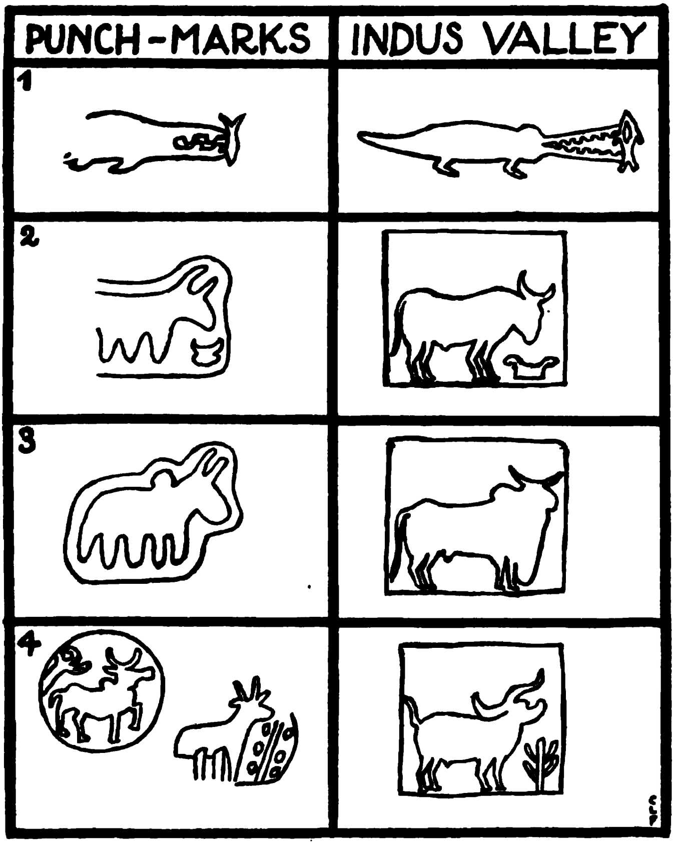
Here is, e.g., the surprising identity of subject and execution in Fig. 1: a crocodile, holding a fish. The large open jaws show the teeth, and the fish is not shown between them, but in a somewhat peculiar way, "hanging" as it were just in front of the mouth. Not only is the subject similar, but both animals face right, and a number of small details agree perfectly.[1]

Both the humped and the non-humped bull are represented in Mohenjo-daro. The same is the case with the punch-marks. Fig. 2 shows a "European" bull before a "trough" facing right. The parallel from Mohenjo-daro also faces right, and has a trough in exactly the same position as its late descendant. The humped bull occurs in many varieties, and we reproduce here only one, in Fig. 3, with an equivalent from the Indus Valley opposite it. Elephants are represented in Fig. 5; they never occur with a trough on coins, and in Mohenjo-daro, as far as I am aware of it, there is only one single seal where a trough is put before an elephant. Another remarkable agreement in detail.

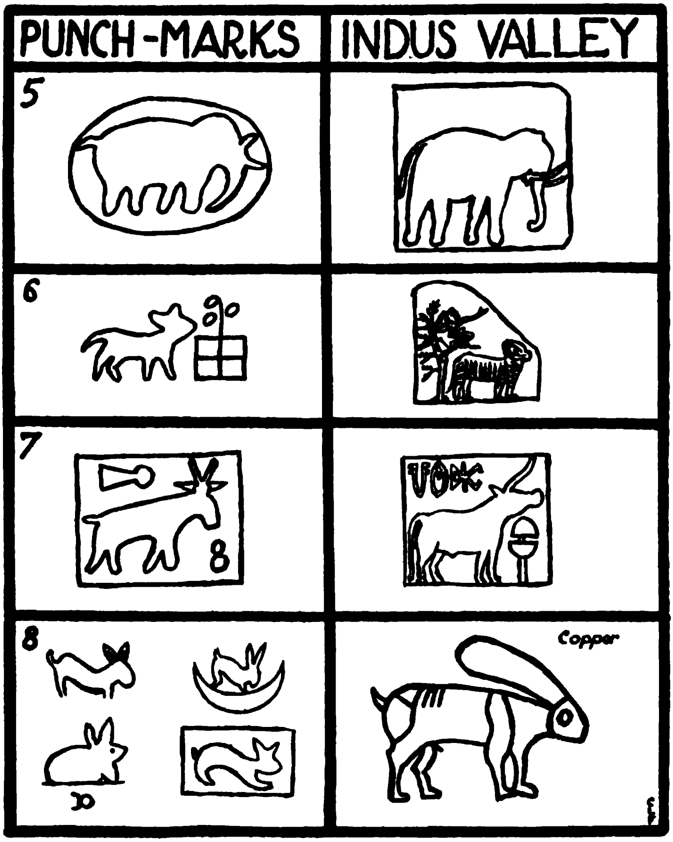
---

[1] It will be seen that in our drawings we have not tried to render all details of the Indus seals. We believe that this method offers a fair means of comparison. The size of these punches is far too small to allow any details and their drawing must necessarily be of a summary character.

In Fig. 4 another humped bull is standing before or next to a tree or plant; a well-known element in the prehistoric civilizations of India and Mesopotamia. The two examples given will suffice to show that the old tradition was kept alive up to proto-historic times. Nor is the motif of the "Tiger and Sacred Tree" unknown on the punched coins: Fig. 6 presents what must be a tiger before a Sacred Tree in a railing. The parallel seal of Mohenjo-daro shows a tree, on a branch



of which a figure is seen—probably the Tree Spirit. Last but not least, out of the many punch-marks that could be shown here, we reproduce in Fig. 7 one more bull on account of the surprising similarity of the general arrangement with that of the Indus seals: a bull facing right; before him a trough, consisting of an upper and a lower portion; and, in the upper left corner, a "pictogram", or, anyhow, all that is left of an old tradition! All these are placed in a square area, and the whole must strike everyone as a survival of the old seals.



Less convincing will be the representation of the hare as seen in Fig. 8. No small details agree here, but the fact remains that the symbol of this animal appealed to the inhabitants of Mohenjo-daro as well as to those of proto-historic India. And if none of the above examples would carry persuasion if it stood alone, the sum total of the comparisons is certainly impressive.

There is, moreover, further evidence for a connection between the Indus Valley seals and the punch-marks on the coins. We are able to recognize a large number of Indus script pictograms among the punch-marks published by previous writers—too large a number, indeed, to ascribe it to mere coincidence. It is well known that the *rūpas* on the punch-marked coins are very numerous, and out of them I have selected only thirty-six that show a remarkable similarity to Indus Valley pictograms.

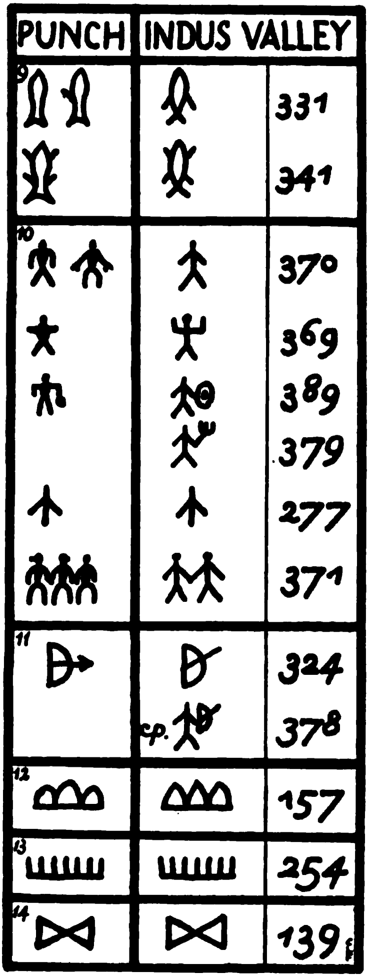
Here is the " fish-sign ", our Fig. 9, found in three different varieties among the punch-marks, and in a number of similar " diacritic " varieties in the Indus script (Nos. 331, 341 of the Sign Manual [1]). Fig. 10 shows a collection of the " man-sign " ; it will be seen that both in the punched coins and at Mohenjo-daro distinction is made among men with arms hanging down or raised, a man carrying an object, and a row of men holding each other's hands (No. 371 ; cp. also seal with six men, pl. cxvi, 1 or cxviii, 7). It seems to me that all these little details must strike everyone as something more than accidental agreement.

The arrow sign (Fig. 11) has its counterpart in Indus sign No. 324 ; that an arrow is meant with this pictogram is evident from sign No. 378, which I have added for ready reference. The mountain symbol is well known in punch-marks and has given rise to explanations which I am unable to accept ; the Mohenjo-daro sign No. 157 (copied from seal 495, pl. cxiv) is as near an equivalent as possible. Our Fig. 13

---

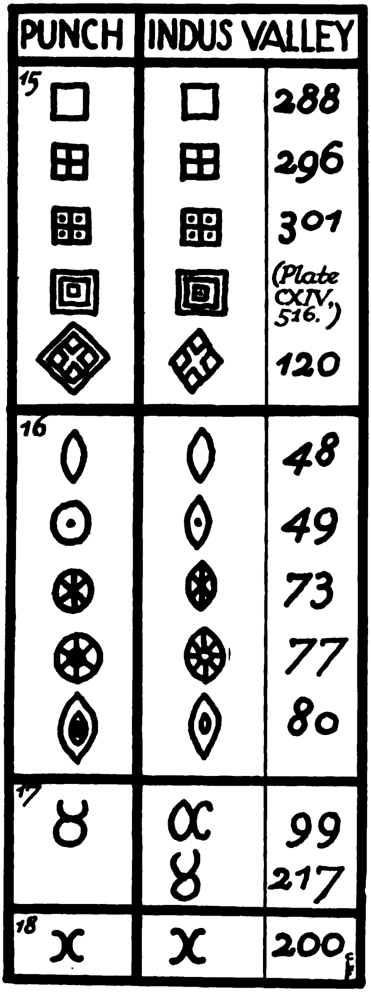
[1] I am quoting from *Mohenjo-daro*, vol. iii ; the Sign Manual No. is given in all my illustrations. Sometimes I give the pictogram as shown on a seal, not as copied in the Manual.

shows the perfectly identical "comb-signs"; they have seven "teeth" both in the Indus script and in the punch-mark. Fig. 14 is a very frequent symbol and could be termed the "thunderbolt" or "axe" sign. (For this explanation see Contenau, *Manuel*, vol. i, figs. 144 and 145, and compare with these Theobald's fig. 166.) The whole illustration, Figs.

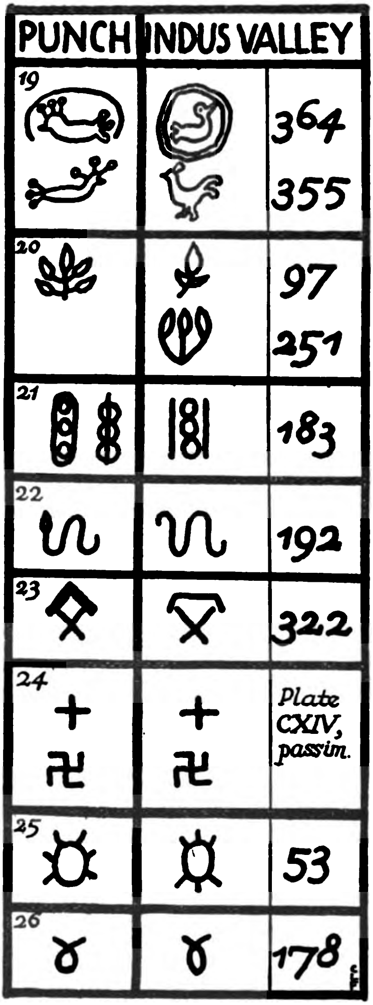

PUNCH
INDUS VALLEY
9
331
341
10
370
369
389
379
277
371
11
324
cp.
378
12
157
13
254
14
139

9 to 14, presents a remarkable collection of similarities that would be difficult to explain as separate invention.

Fig. 15 shows five different square punch signs with their pictographic equivalents, and Fig. 16 five round signs, which all agree entirely in such minor details as the dots in the four compartments (No. 301), or the number of spokes in


PUNCH
INDUS VALLEY
15
288
296
301
(Plate CXIV, 516.)
120
16
48
49
73
77
80
17
99
217
18
200

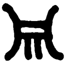
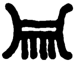
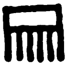
Nos. 73 and 77. I do not see how such differences can be explained by any other surmise but that they are " diacritic " marks, or different pictograms; the squares certainly are neither Lunar nor Solar symbols. Then follows the so-called " Taurine " symbol (or is it a Moon and a Sun together ?), the equivalent of which is probably No. 99 or 217 in the Indus



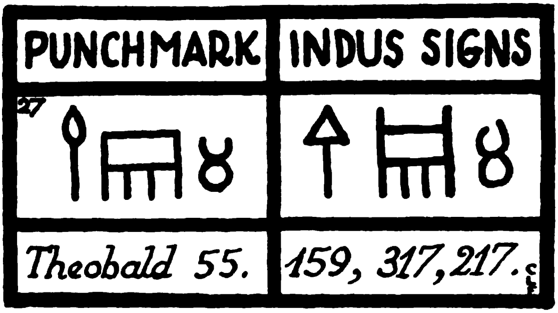
PUNCH	INDUS VALLEY	
19		364 355
20		97 251
21		183
22		192
23		322
24		*Plate CXIV, passim.*
25		53
26		178

script. Our Fig. 18 shows again two perfectly identical pictograms, the Mohenjo-daro sign being No. 200 of the Manual.

Birds are among the symbols shown upon punch-marked coins, either in a semicircle or as flying above a mountain (Fig. 19); there are quite a number of signs in the Indus script representing birds, and we reproduce here only two, viz., Nos. 364 and 355 of the List. Plants are figured rather similarly in Fig. 20; a "staff" of three circles united in the middle or on the sides is a peculiar sign shown in Fig. 21. The snake is a symbol both on the coins and in the Indus script (No. 192). Figs, 23–4 show crosses of different description; but 23 will seem to be more convincing than the far-spread and common symbols of the cross and the *svastikā*. However, Nos. 25–6 show again two such peculiar signs that their invention cannot easily be ascribed to mere coincidence. It will be seen that they have perfect equivalents in the Indus script in Nos. 53 and 178.

But certainly the most convincing one in this whole mass of evidence is the sign shown in Fig. 27. The three signs in the left half of the drawing are *one single punch-mark,* and shown in Theobald's plates as fig. 55. Their equivalents in the Indus script are shown in the right-hand compartment. It is obvious that none of the rather simple explanations offered for punch-marks by my predecessors can give a satisfactory interpretation to such a *rūpa*. The fact is that we have here to do with a regular pictographic inscription, the significance of which must have been evident to all merchants, shroffs, and moneylenders. I must mention that sign 317 has a number of variations : , , ; and the one shown occurs on seal 329, pl. cxi.

There is another point worth mentioning. The seals, after all, were also a kind of instrument by means of which an impression was made. The same is the case with the punching tool by means of which these punch-marks were made on the metal. Moreover, a number of *copper* tablets have been found at Mohenjo-daro with signs similar to those of the seals; consequently, the same material has been used there already as in later times for the punch-marked coins. The question arises anew, whether the seals or sealings of the Indus Valley were intended to represent money, or, anyhow, some forerunner of currency, replacing barter. To this question, however, I feel unable to give a reply. But I must say that it does not seem impossible to me that these sealings were a sort of I.O.U. One cannot exclude this possibility, especially if we consider that a large number of early Mesopotamian documents were of a commercial character.



All these problems can only be solved when the Indus Valley script is deciphered. Our present paper does not bring this problem any nearer to its solution. Nor is it intended to do so. It is intended to draw attention afresh to the early coinage of India as a survival of prehistoric Indian civilization.

There remains only one point to be dealt with. It is the question whether one can suppose that these signs could have survived 2,000 years or more. The answer is in the most emphatical affirmative. A large number of signs of Mesopotamia have remained practically unchanged for 2,500 years; here is our own capital alphabet, practically the same as was 2,000 years ago that of the Romans; the symbols of the Zodiac are unaltered since 4,000 years; and there is

Chinese writing, although slightly changed, still surviving after 3,000 years. The life of symbols, once accepted, is almost unlimited. The sand-glass, although used only as an egg-boiler now, is still the symbol of Time as it was in Athens 2,500 years ago ; the Cross still has a sacred meaning for us ; a sword is a symbol of War, and a palm-branch that of Peace ; even an illiterate person will understand that a heart means Love and an anchor Hope, although this symbolism would not be quite as evident in another civilization.

And who knows, how old some of the punch-marked coins may be ? In 327 B.C. Alexander the Great was already presented at Taxila with 80 Talents of this silver coinage. Cunningham says : "They were certainly current in the time of Buddha, that is, in the sixth century B.C. But I see no difficulty in thinking that they might mount as high as 1,000 B.C. They certainly belong to the very infancy of coinage." [1]

We should like to add now that, in our opinion, they preserve a number of pictograms and symbols of the prehistoric period that preceded the Āryan invasion.[2]

January, 1934.

REFERENCE KEY TO THE ILLUSTRATIONS

(C. = Cunningham ; T. = Theobald ; W. = Walsh ; *M.* = *Mohenjo-daro*, vol. iii.)

FIG.
1. T., 30 ; *M.*, pl. cxvi, 20.
2. W., xix, 7 ; *M.*, pl. cx, 320.
3. W., xix, 8–9 ; *M.*, pl. cxi, 336.
4. C., i, 26 and T., 221 ; *M.*, pl. cx, 302.
5. W., xviii, 5 ; *M.*, pl. cxii, 369.
6. T., 223 ; *M.*, pl. cxi, 353, 355.

---

[1] Op. laud., p. 43.

[2] Sir Richard Burn kindly draws my attention to the fact that some of the symbols in the present article persist even on Muhammadan coins down to the eighteenth century. This is another good proof in favour of my thesis that symbols have a very long life. If these symbols have been in use in historical times since about 600 B.C. up to A.D. 1800, then there is no reason to doubt that they could have lived two thousand years earlier already.

FIG.

7. W., xix, 25; *M.*, pl. cix, 245.
8. T., 19, 21, 23, 26; *M.*, pl. cxvii, 5–6.

In the following figs. the Mohenjo-daro sign is always noted.

9. T., 62, 42, 43, 44, etc.
10. W., xix, 53, 51, 52; T., 4; W., xix, 81, 54.
11. W., xviii, 47; T., 56, 57, 58.
12. W., xix, 3c.; T., 59.
13. W., xviii, 43.
14. T., 48, 102, 166; somewhat different: W., xix, 69.
15. T., 168; W., xviii, 53, 52, xix, 73; T., 111, 162.
16. T., 152; W., xviii, 44, xix, 88, xviii, 15, 40, 55; T., 198.
17. T., 128 and *passim*.
18. T., 218.
19. W., xix, 68, 66.
20. T., 82, also 64–9.
21. T., 226, 133, 136.
22. T., 31, 32, 34; better examples in C., ii, 21, 22, without head.
23. T., 190.
24. *Passim*, e.g. T., 134.
25. T., 159.
26. T., 231.
27. T., 55.

197.

Notes on Costume from Arabic Sources

By REUBEN LEVY

DOZY'S *Dictionnaire des Noms des Vêtements* [1] long ago settled the meanings of the great majority of the terms used for clothes and clothing in Arabic. Texts not available at the time of its compilation have come to hand in the meanwhile, and, further, something still remains to be said on the social and historical aspects of the subject.

In general it may be said that the dress of Bedouin and town-dweller, except among the poorest, has as a rule differed, and that, whereas fashions have altered not infrequently amongst townspeople, the dress of the dweller in the desert has remained over long periods without much alteration. In the costume of the former also a distinction has usually to be made between the costume of the private individual and that of the official. It is proposed here to deal chiefly with the dress of the towns, as offering greater variety and also because the references available are more numerous, and to deal first with that of private individuals.

I

Tradition is naturally careful to record what the Prophet Muḥammad wore, but in this, as in other matters, it is apt to be coloured by the predilections of the transmittors. The inclination of piety is to clothe him in the garb of asceticism; yet, apart from the statement that he disliked the wearing of silk,[2] it is by no means certain that he insisted upon simplicity in dress. He himself until the end of his life never wore wool [3] and liked bright colours in his clothes.[1] Out of doors these consisted normally of *izār*, *ridā'*, and *qamīṣ*, together with a turban and sandals.[2] Other garments are also mentioned, but this attire would appear to have been the normal one in and about Mecca and the neighbourhood in his day for men of moderate means. The necessary garments were the *izār* and the *ridā'*, which two, 'Umar, with characteristic conservatism, urged people to wear and so follow the practice of the Ma'add, the primitive Arabs.[3] The two garments long continued to be regarded as complete dress.[4] It was in them that the ceremony of *Iḥrām* was performed during the pilgrimage,[5] and there was a saying current to the effect that no man would reach chieftainship unless he was prepared to appear in public in either of them without caring.[6]

---

[1] In the margins of the late Professor W. Robertson Smith's copy, now in the Library of Christ's College, there are a number of notes in his hand. Some of them have been used here and are marked by the initials "W. R. S."

[2] Ibn Sa'd, I, i, 151 f.

[3] Md. Zayn al-'Ābidīn al-'Umarī, *Kitāb al-Ṭuruz* (B.M. MS. Or. 11,259 (2)), f. 49*a*.

The *izār* was in early Muslim times, and probably for the first two centuries, a close-fitting garment wrapped[7] round the waist and legs and extending upwards as far as the navel, which it might cover or not,[8] and downwards as far as the middle of the thigh, or beyond it in the case of those who were ostentatious in dress.[9] Sometimes it passed under the right arm, which it left free,[10] and was tied over the left shoulder, but it could also be tied "between the shoulders", as the Prophet had his.[11]

---

[1] Ya'qūbī, *Historiæ* (ed. Houtsma), ii, 97 f.

[2] Ibn Sa'd, I, ii, 148, ll. 26 f.

[3] Rāghib, *Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara* (Cairo, 1287), ii, 211 (W. R. S.).

[4] Cf. Ṭabarī, i, 2142, l. 11, where Abu Bakr is reported to have worn them to lead the prayer.

[5] Cf. ibid., iii, 452. The statement is here made that the chiefs of the Hashimis wore theirs in a distinctive "rose"-colour.

[6] Rāghib, ii, 208. Cf. Farazdaq, *Naqā'iḍ* (ed. Bevan), ii, 546, l. 3.

[7] The verb used is شدّ "to tie" (*Naqā'iḍ*, iii, 719); for removal, حل. The close-fitting character of the garment would appear to be indicated by the tradition which declares it to be a useful thing to be wearing during an outbreak of fire (Rāghib, ii, 212).

[8] Ibn Sa'd, I, ii, 153.

[9] Ibn Sa'd, I, ii, 154, ll. 23 f.

[10] Ibn Qutayba, *Adab al-Kātib* (Cairo, 1300), p. 68.

[11] Ya'qūbī, loc. cit.

Males put the garment on when they reached puberty and "to tie on the *azr*" meant to become a *ghulām*, i.e. to grow up.[1] Boys as a rule wore a *qabā'* and a belt,[2] and when dressed for circumcision put on festive coloured clothes.[3]

The *izār*, however, was not specially a male garment, although it was regarded as the characteristic dress of Arabs.[4] Women wore it,[5] and if, in the privacy of their homes, they might wear a *ghilāla* (chemise) instead,[6] nevertheless it was regarded as essential for wear out of doors. Thus Ṭabarī,[7] describing the raids on private houses which took place on Mu'tamid's return from Samarra, says that the women were forced to flee into the streets without an *izār*. In later times the term came to be applied to an outer wrap worn exclusively by women, and it is possible, therefore, that the garment to which reference is made in the instance quoted had already developed into something more than the primitive waist-wrapper.

Like the *izār*, the *ridā'* also was worn by both men and women.[8] It appears to have been a cape or cloak worn over the shoulders [9] and covering the *qamīṣ*,[10] although sometimes it might be put over the head for protection against the weather or for other reasons.[11] Doubtless the style of the garment, and obviously the manner of wearing, differed with the sex of the wearer.

The *qamīṣ*, which is mentioned as part of the Prophet's attire, was an addition to the indispensable parts of dress.

---

[1] *Naqā'iḍ*, iii, 719.

[2] *Aghānī*, ix, 98, l. 8.

[3] Ibn Qutayba, *'Uyūn*, i, 299.

[4] Rāghib, op. cit., ii, 212.

[5] *Aghānī*, iv, 68, l. 7; xiii, 131, l. 19 and 159, l. 16.

[6] Ibid., iv, 62. (They might, of course, wear other costume too. Cf. ibid., v, 64.)

[7] iii, 2122.

[8] Cf. note 5, *supra*.

[9] Ibn Qutayba, *'Uyūn*, i, 301; cf. *Naqā'iḍ*, p. 547, l. 3.

[10] Ibn Sa'd, VII (ii), 133, l. 6.

[11] Ṭabarī, i, 2736; *K. al-Ṭuruz*, ff. 64*b*, 65*a*.

It seems to have been a kind of shirt, made of materials cheap or expensive,[1] with a round hole for the neck and usually without an opening in front.[2] The Prophet's had short sleeves and was short in length generally,[3] but fashion varied in this particular.[4] Shortness, where it was not due to the exigencies of a man's trade, such as that of making or selling oil,[5] was regarded as a mark of asceticism or simplicity in the wearer, and it is given as a token of these qualities in one of the Four Caliphs—presumably 'Umar—that he walked through the *sūqs* in a *qamīṣ* which reached only half-way down his thigh.[6] Full length was fashionable in the Umayyad period, but under the early Abbasids it excited comment,[7] and it was declared that no garment should be so long as to cover the heels.[8]

A substitute for the *qamīṣ* was the *dir'* (shift). This appears from the explanation given in the *Lisān al-'Arab*[9] for the phrase فجمعت على ثيابى, which is interpreted as meaning "I put on the clothes in which one appears in public, namely, *izār*, *ridā'*, turban, *dir'*, and *khimār* (hood or veil)". The parallel dress for a woman is given as *dir'*, *milḥafa* (wrap), and *khimār*, but an earlier account declares that it differed from that of the man only in the omission of the turban.[10] The mode of wearing, materials, and incidental parts of the costume would have been different.

Until well on in the third century A.H. rich men and high functionaries wore a *miṭraf* (or *muṭraf*), a garment made of silk and richly embroidered. It might also be worn as indoor dress by women,[1] but out of doors as a rule it was worn by men. Thus, when the envoys of the victorious Qutayba b. Muslim paid their second visit to the emperor of Ṣīn they donned *miṭraf* and turban because he had called them women for the clothes they wore on their first appearance before him.[2] In Umayyad days, further, Basra notables wore the garment when riding to meet the "Sulṭān" (i.e. the governor of Iraq); also they discarded it for a loose wrapper when at ease in their own homes.[3] Under the Caliphs Mutawakkil and Muntaṣir, their wealthy Christian physician, Bukhtyishū', wore a *miṭraf* so capacious that he could wrap himself up in it.[4] The general description of the garment was such that to wear it without proper cause was set down as a mark of ostentation, and Ḥabīb b. Abi Thābit, wishing to declare that the cowl does not make the monk, said: لإن أعزّ فى خميصة أحبّ اليّ من أن أذلّ فى مطرف ("I would rather be respected in a *khamīṣa* [5] than despised in a *miṭraf*") [6]; but, on the other hand, it was asserted that spiritual pride might be more clearly displayed by the wearing of a woollen *midrā'a* (shirt) than by the donning of a valuable *miṭraf*.[7]

---

[1] Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, 29 f.

[2] Cf. *Aghānī*, xiv, 3, l. 3 (W. R. S.).

[3] Ibn Sa'd, I, ii, 152.

[4] Ibid., VII, ii, 15.

[5] Ibid., I, ii, 154.

[6] *Al-Fakhrī* (ed. Ahlwardt), 89. Early in Islam the tucked-up shirt became the mark of the fanatic and the Khārijī. Cf. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, p. 41.

[7] Ibn Qutayba, *'Uyūn*, i, 298.

[8] Ibid., i, 301. That, at any rate, was the rule for everyday garments: the robe of honour was privileged (Rāghib, op. cit., ii, 210).

[9] ix, 405 (W. R. S.).

[10] *Aghānī*, xv, 71, l. 9.

On non-ceremonial occasions the wearer of a *miṭraf* might discard it in favour of a *ghilāla* with a *ridā'* and an extra cloak (*thawb*)—all perfumed—with turban and sandals.[8] The Caliph Walīd b. Yazīd ordinarily wore perfumed clothes of bright colours, which he changed for worship when he put on the white "garments of the Caliphate".[1] On the other hand, the pious Caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz wore ascetically inexpensive clothes, the entire cost of all—consisting of *qamīṣ*, *ridā'*, *qabā'* (a sleeved, close-fitting coat),[2] *qurtaq* (tunic), *kumma* (round cap), turban, and top-boots—amounting to no more than 12 dirhams.[3]

---

[1] *Naqā'iḍ*, 584, l. 14.

[2] Ibn al-Athīr, v, 2 f.

[3] Ibn Qutayba, *'Uyūn*, i, 298.

[4] Ibn Abi Uṣaybi'a, i, 139. The generally voluminous character of the *miṭraf*—possibly also its expensiveness—is implied by the fact that it was taken off by a man ليبول (*Agh.*, xiii, 132, l. 6) (W. R. S.).

[5] See *infra*.

[6] Rāghib, ii, 208.

[7] Ibid., ii, 209.

[8] Ibn al-Athīr, v, 2.

A wealthy private individual while travelling—presumably in the cold weather—wore a fur coat and top-boots over his ordinary Ḥijāzī clothes, which are characterized as being thick or coarse.[4]

The Abbasid period brought an influx of Persian clothes, so that the Persian *qabā'* and *sarāwīl* (drawers) and the tall hat known as the *qalansuwa ṭawīla* [5] became popular articles of wear. Frequently the latter appears to have been cone-shaped and tapered to a point,[6] although it may also have been of the form of a truncated cone worn base upwards after the fashion of the cumbrous headgear worn by the modern Lūrs. The ordinary short *qalansuwa* (or *qalansiya*) had long been known and worn. The Prophet is credited with one,[7] and the Caliph 'Uthmān is described as wearing one when he received his wife Nā'ila.[8] In Umayyad times the Caliph Walīd I preached in one,[9] and Ḥunayn, the Christian camel-hirer and poet of Ḥīra, is said to have worn a tall one in the reign of Hishām,[10] but even the Arabs of the Jāhiliya are known to have regarded that variety as Persian.[1] The shorter kind was probably shaped like a skull-cap or a fez and was made of fur or cloth,[2] and it was worn with a turban round it. The tall shape of the *ṭawīla*, which might be made of silk,[3] was maintained by means of an internal framework of wood or reeds[4] so that it resembled the long tapering wine-jars known as دَنّ, whence the tall *qalansuwa* came also to be known as a *danniya*.[5]

---

[1] *Aghānī*, vi, 141.

[2] It was open in front. When a man tears his *qamīṣ* from the opening below the neck (the *jayb*) to the foot it becomes a *qabā'* (*Agh*. vii, 134) (W. R. S.).

[3] Ibn Sa'd, v, 297, ll. 20 f. Cf. Rāghib, ii, 207 *ad fin*., where the list is given as *qamīs*, *sarāwīl*, *qalansuwa*, *khuffān* (top-boots), and turban.

[4] *Aghānī*, i, 24 *ad fin*.

[5] It was frequently known simply as طويلة (e.g. in Yāqūt, *Irshād*, vi, 59). Cf. Dozy, *Supplément* s.v.

[6] *Maḥdūda* (Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, viii, 377).

[7] Ya'qūbī, *Historiæ*, ii, 97 f.

[8] *Aghānī*, xv, 71.

[9] *Fragmenta Hist. Arab*., p. 7.

[10] *Aghānī*, ii, 121, l. 7.

Hārūn al-Rashīd wore a *qalansuwa*, inscribed with the words غاز حاجّ (Ghazi, Hajji), when he invaded Greek territory,[6] but he forbade a poet who wished to recite to him to wear one, and insisted on his appearing in a high turban wound to a point *en colimaçon*.[7] It appears to be a fact that he disapproved of the tall caps for general wear, for Mu'taṣim is reported to have re-introduced them and made them popular once more,[8] but Musta'īn at a later date reduced their height for ordinary people and allowed only qāḍīs to retain the tall ones.[9] Except in the reign of Ma'mūn, who commanded a change to green, headgear and clothing generally was of Abbasid black for officials and partisans of the ruling house.[10]

---

[1] G. Jacob, *Altarab. Beduinenleben*, p. 237.

[2] Cf. Ibn Sa'd, vi, 196, and vii (ii), p. 25, l. 5.

[3] Ṭabarī, iii, 1442.

[4] *Aghānī*, ix, 121, 11.

[5] Ibid., x, 123; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, i, 373; Badī' al-Zamān Hamadānī, *Rasā'il* (Beyrout, 1890), p. 168. In Ṭabarī (iii, 371) two verses satirizing the new fashion are quoted: "We had hoped for an increase from a (new) imām, and the chosen imām made an increase in *qalansuwas*; you see them reposing on men's skulls as though they were Jews' wine-jars wrapped in cloaks." The last part of the verses indicates that the hat was worn with a turban wrapped round it.

[6] Ṭabarī, iii, 709 *ad fin.*

[7] Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān* (Cairo, 1313), i, 41 f.

[8] Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, viii, 302.

[9] Ibid., vii, 401 f.

[10] Ṭabarī, iii, 1012 f. The Caliph himself wore black on occasions of state. At other times the colour was a matter of individual taste. Mu'taṣim attired himself for polo in a vest of figured silk, a golden girdle, and red top-boots (Ṭabarī, iii, 1326). The green turban of Sayyids is late eighth–fourteenth cent. Cf. Mez, *Renaissance des Islams*, p. 59.

For clothes generally the court set widely imitated fashions. The man of elegant taste in the second and third centuries of the dynasty found it necessary to possess in his wardrobe *ghilālas* and *qamīṣs* of good quality, a *mubaṭṭana* (a quilted coat) of Persian cloth, *durrāʻa* (tunic) cut to a special pattern, *izārs* and *ridā's* of fine material, *ṭaylasān* (hood) adorned with embroidery, *miṭraf*, and wrap.[1] Ladies had to wear fine chemises, *ridā's* of fine linen or silk, veils, *izārs*, *kimāms* (wraps), and *sarāwīlāt* (drawers) with broad hems.[2]

Under Mustaʻīn a curious freak of fashion declared that men's coats were to have very wide sleeves.[3] A generous width of sleeve seems always to have been regarded as proper for a well-dressed man. If the story is authentic, the Umayyad Caliph Sulaymān wore his so wide that he was able to seize with them food which was too hot to hold in his hands.[4] Too narrow a sleeve, like too short a coat, was taken as evidence of reprehensible poverty or meanness in the wearer.[5] The Abbasid sleeves, however, were capacious enough to be used as pockets. Money was carried in them either in coin by the ordinary person [6] or in the form of a cheque by the banker.[7] But a book might be stowed away in one of them,[8] or a casket containing a long pearl necklace [9]; a tailor could keep a pair of shears in one [10] and a chief qāḍī of Egypt the discourse, written out on flat sheets of paper, which he was to deliver at a festival.[11]

As time progressed, the width of sleeve grew and with *qalansuwas* growing ever taller the stage was reached where the fashionably dressed man became the object of contempt to the sober citizen. The fashion reached its height when the power of the Caliphate reached its lowest depths, and it was natural for a critic to observe that when hats were tall, turbans over-elaborate, and sleeves too wide, the people was like to perish.[1]

---

[1] *Kitāb al-Muwashshā*, ed. Brunnow, p. 124.

[2] Ibid., p. 126.

[3] The width is given as three spans (Masʻūdī, *Murūj*, vii, 402).

[4] *Al-Fakhrī*, 152.

[5] Ṭabarī, iii, 627.

[6] Yāqūt, *Irshād*, i, 254.

[7] Ibid., i, 399.

[8] Yāqūt, *Irshād*, vi, 56 *ad fin.*

[9] Ibn Abi Usaybiʻa, i, 142.

[10] Masʻūdī, *Murūj*, vi, 345.

[11] Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 390, ll. 6 ff.

Like the sleeve, the *khuff* (top-boot) also might be used as a receptacle for books, documents, and other articles.[2] Fashion frowned on this misuse, and the arbiters of elegance dictated to both sexes what kinds of *khuff*, sandal, or *jurāb* (foot-wrappers or socks) they might wear.[3] To these incidentals of dress considerable importance was attached. "Wear good sandals," advised an authority. "They are men's anklets."[4] Another poured scorn upon an individual whom he had seen wearing greasy sandals and dirty *jurāb*, his tall *khuffs* descending in folds and his sandal-thongs worn through.[5]

In the list of garments which the elegant man might wear, trousers (*sarāwīl*) are an obviously deliberate omission as being Persian and effeminate. But they were worn by the wealthy as underclothes,[6] and with a double shirt and a *ridā'*, shoes, and turban to complete the costume.[7] When Muqtadir's ex-vizier Ḥāmid, being held in prison by his successor, Ibn al-Furāt, was rewarded on one occasion for a service he had rendered, he was given a present of two suits (*khil'as*) each consisting of *mubaṭṭana, durrā'a, sarāwīl*, turban, and *qamīṣ*.[8] Another vizier, the famous Buyid minister, the Ṣāḥib Ismā'īl Ibn 'Abbād, who delighted in clothes made of silk,[9] once made a gift of a complete outfit of silken garments to a poet who had taken his fancy. The articles composing it are described as being *jubba, qamīṣ, durrā'a, sarāwīl*, turban, *mindīl* (kerchief), *miṭraf, ridā'*, and *jurāb*; "and," the donor is reported to have said,

---

[1] Rāghib, ii, 210.

[2] Yāqūt, op. cit., ii, 56; *Al-Fakhrī*, 298.

[3] *K. al-Muwashshā*, pp. 125, 127.

[4] Ibn Qutayba, '*Uyūn*, i, 301.

[5] Ibid., p. 299.

[6] Margoliouth, *Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, i, 347.

[7] Abu'l-Maḥāsin, ed. Juynboll, ii, 303; 'Arib, 182.

[8] Al-Ṣābī, *K. al-Wuzarā*, ed. Amedroz, 176.

[9] Yāqūt, *Irshād*, ii, 320.

"if I knew any other article of clothing which was made of silk, I would give it you."[1]

Such was naturally not the dress of ordinary citizens, about which little or no comment is made. It is, however, known that an indigent scholar, distinguished by his learning, had no more than an *izār* and a *qamīṣ*,[2] while still poorer people had only a single garment such as a *midra'a* (sleeved tunic of wool), a *jubba*,[3] or a *khamīṣa*, which was simply a length of coarse stuff which might be used as a blanket.[4] The latter garment, like the *midra'a*, appears to have been made of wool, the wearing of which was the mark of poverty and asceticism—whence the garb of the Ṣufīs.[5] It was regarded by some Muslims with disfavour as smacking of Christian practice. Thus when Ḥammād b. Abi Sulaymān came to meet a friend at Basra and found him robed in a woollen garment he bade him put off "this Christianity".[6]

II

Turning now to the official costume of those persons whose position entitled them to wear distinguishing dress, we do not find that the Four Caliphs wore any special uniform or robes. Abu Bakr presided at public worship in *izār* and *ridā'*,[7] and

---

[1] Tha'ālibī, *Yatīmat al-Dahr*, iii, 34. In earlier and less sophisticated times a poet had to be content with two pieces only in his *khil'a*, and it was not until he wrote to his patron suggesting the second of those that he received it (*Aghānī*, vii, 21, ll. 12 f.).

[2] Yāqūt, *Irshād*, i, 38. A Bedouin being asked on a bitterly cold day why he did not say his prayers, replied that if Allah granted him a *qamīṣ* and a *jubba* he would pray until the end of time, but that he was not hardy enough to defy the cold in the solitary '*aba*' he was wearing. (Rāghib, ii, 208.)

[3] Ibn Sa'd, vi, 231, ll. 15 f.

[4] *Aghānī*, xix, 131, l. 17; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, i, 72, 10. It seems also to have been called *khamīla* (Muslim, i, 95).

[5] Cf. further Margoliouth, *Early Development of Muhammadanism*, p. 140.

[6] Ibn Qutayba, '*Uyūn*, i, 298. The woollen robe was worn in church by the officiant and not necessarily by ordinary lay Christians out of doors. Cf. Ibn Abi Uṣaybi'a, i, 240.

[7] Ṭabarī, i, 2142, 11.

'Umar would have scorned anything else,[1] while 'Alī's costume appears to have gone unrecorded. There is a tradition concerning 'Uthmān which quotes him as having said that he would not put off a garment in which Allah had invested him,[2] whereby he meant the Caliphate, but it is a matter for speculation whether there is to be seen in this anything more than a figure of speech.

The Umayyads for their part adopted special symbols of office. Normally they wore full military garb on occasions of ceremony,[3] and it would appear that a collar was amongst their regalia, although the passage in which it is mentioned may be interpreted metaphorically.[4] It is definitely established, however, that al-Ḥakam and his successors wore a special girdle [5] and members of the dynasty also bore the bamboo rod (*qaḍīb*) and the seal claimed to have been the property of the Prophet.[6] They appear to have adopted green as their colour,[7] but an early source speaks of Walīd b. Yazīd's having doffed his coloured garments and put on for prayer the *white* "robes of the Caliphate".[8]

Considerably more information is available about the Abbasids than about the rest. Manṣūr is credited with having introduced the black, which became the colour characteristic of the dynasty,[9] and established the practice of wearing the tall *qalansuwa*. But to him also is credited the adoption of the famous *burda*[1] of the Prophet, with a girdle and sword, as the official costume of the Caliph.[2] Theories differ on the means by which the *burda* came into Abbasid possession. One tradition declares that it was given by Muḥammad to Ka'b b. Zubayr for the *qaṣīda* beginning *bānat Su'ād*,[3] that it was sold by him, or by his heirs, to Mu'āwiya, and was finally acquired by purchase or capture by al-Saffāḥ, the first of the Abbasids. Another tradition says that the Prophet gave it to the family of Ayla to be a safeguard to them, that the last Umayyad acquired it from them, and that it remained in his treasury until he was killed, when it came into the possession of al-Saffāḥ.[4]

---

[1] Ibid., i, 2736.

[2] See Lane, s.v., and cf. Ahlwardt, *Anonyme Arabische Chronik*, xi (Greifswald, 1883), 162, ll. 7 f., where it is reported that 'Uthmān said: "I saw myself taking my *burnus* and putting it over his (i.e. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān's) head."

[3] Suyūṭī, *Ta'rikh al-Khulafā*, 98.

[4] Ṭabarī, ii, 1177, last line.

[5] De Goeje, *Fragmenta Hist. Arab.*, 107; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, vii, 401 f.

[6] De Goeje, *Fragmenta*, p. 82.

[7] Qalqashandī, iii, 274. Sulaymān b. 'Abd-al-Malik is said to have worn a green *ḥulla* and a turban of the same hue. (*Al-Fakhrī*, 153.)

[8] *Aghānī*, vi, 141.

[9] The change from black to green under Ma'mūn was purely temporary (Ṭab., iii, 1012 f.). When, many years later, Mu'taḍid went into battle in a yellow *qabā'* and showing no black, the event excited great remark (*Nishwār al-Muḥāḍara*, ed. Margoliouth, 227). When al-Qā'im put on white robes in similar circumstances it was only that they might be his shroud if he were killed (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 45).

However acquired, the *burda* is mentioned frequently by the historians in their accounts of the Abbasids. It is said to have been passed from one Caliph to another and to have been worn on occasions of ceremony, but the *qaḍīb* and the signet-ring appear more consistently as the royal insignia. Mahdī received all three on his accession,[5] but after his death only the staff and the ring are mentioned in Ṭabarī as having passed to his successor al-Hādī.[6] Another authority, however, declares that the new Caliph was in possession of all three at his installation.[7] At a later date, at the storming of Baghdad by Ṭāhir, Amīn was compelled to send out the royal tokens as a sign of his defeat, and he sent out the royal *ridā'*, sword, and staff.[1] It is to be presumed that by the *ridā'* was meant the *burda*, but the fact is not so stated.

---

[1] From the fact that it could be worn by a succession of different wearers, it appears to have been a sleeveless cloak or shawl. (Cf. Qalqashandī, iii, 273.)

[2] *Aghānī*, ix, 121.

[3] Ibn Hishām, 889 f.; Nöldeke, *Delectus*, 110 ff.

[4] Māwardī (ed. Enger), pp. 289 f.; De Goeje, *Fragmenta*, p. 208; Qalqashandī, iii, p. 273. For further refs. see Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii, p. 54, n. 5. According to G., the claim that the Umayyads had the *burda* was an invention of which the object was to authenticate the garment's origin.

[5] Ṭabarī, iii, 455.

[6] Ibid., iii, 545.

[7] De Goeje, *Fragmenta*, p. 283.

The *burda* was not regularly worn by Caliphs at their installation. When, on the death of Wāthiq, the Turks and others who held the power approached his son Muhammad with a view to appointing him Caliph, they invested him with a black *durrā'a* (a tunic of wool) and a Ruṣāfī *qalansuwa*. But he was an undersized, beardless youth, who could not have led the *ṣalāt* with dignity, and the electors looked about for someone more worthy. They found him in the person of Mutawwakil, who had been spied sitting in *qamīṣ* and *sarāwīl* amongst a group of Turkish youths. To him the tall *qalansuwa* was transferred, and that, with a turban, formed the only token of sovereignty which he received.[2] His predecessor, Mu'taṣim, had regarded a special *qalansuwa* worn with a *shāshīya* (skull-cap) as a sufficient mark of dignity,[3] and when Mu'taḍid returned from Tekrīt to Baghdad to take part in a triumphal procession he wore a black *qabā'* and a conical *qalansuwa*.[4] Similarly, the only distinguishing article worn by the Caliph Mustakfī on an important occasion was a *qalansuwa*, which he said had belonged to his father.[5] On the occasion of the Caliph Qāhir's being called upon to succeed, in A.H. 320, he was wearing only a double *qamīṣ* and a *ridā'*, so that more suitable garb had to be found for him for his installation. At the ceremony, therefore, he wore a borrowed costume, consisting of a cloak (*'iṭāf*), a turban, a girdle, and a sword suspended by a chain or belt about his neck.[6]

On the other hand, when Muqtadir, in A.H. 320, departed in a procession from Baghdad to Raqqa, he wore a silver-brocaded *khaftān*, with the *burda* over it about his shoulders and breast. On his head was a black turban and round his neck was slung the Prophet's sword, *Dhu'l-Fiqār*, while in his right hand were the ring and the staff.[1] Al-Qā'im favoured the wearing of the sacred relics whenever he could. In A.H. 449 he had them when he received the Seljuq Sulṭān Tughril Beg,[2] and he put them on when leading a prayer of intercession at a time when Baghdad was threatened by dangerous floods.[3] They were also with Mustarshid when he went to give battle to his rebellious vassal Dubays, but on that occasion the Caliph was wearing in addition a black *qabā'*, a turban with a hood of the same colour, and a girdle.[4] In that Caliph's time the insignia were removed from Baghdad by Sulṭān Sanjar, but they were restored afterwards.[5] From their restoration they remained at the Abbasid capital until the Mongols destroyed the city.[6] Suyūṭī [7] says that the *burda*, at any rate, was lost "during the irruption of the Tartars" and it is not clear that it was brought to Egypt or worn by the pseudo-Caliphs. Qalqashandī [8] speaks of their having worn a tight-sleeved *qabā'* over which was a coat with tight sleeves and having a slit in the skirt, while for headgear they wore a turban with a loose end left trailing behind.

---

[1] Ṭabarī, iii, 928, l. 13 (A.H. 198).

[2] Ṭabarī, iii, 1368; Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 22 f.

[3] Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, viii, 302.

[4] Ibid., viii, 169.

[5] Ibid., viii, 377. The significance of headgear may be gathered from a remark made by the Niẓām al-Mulk to his Sulṭān, in which he said: "The stability of that *qalansuwa* is bound up with this ink-holder (the symbol of the vizier's office)" (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 138, *ad fin.*). See, further, Goldziher, in *Der Islam* (1916), vol. vi, 301 ff.

[6] 'Arīb, p. 182.

No particular costume is specified for princes of the royal house, and although the phraseology used in connection with the heir-apparent implies that he was invested with a royal robe (*khil'a*) at his installation, no details are as a rule supplied. There is an exception in the case of Mu'tazz, who, when released from prison in order that he might be installed as Caliph, appointed his brother Mu'ayyad as his heir and, after robing him in the *khil'a*, fastened about his neck two collars, one black, to betoken his appointment as heir, and the other white, as symbol of his being charged with the governorship of the Holy Places.[1]

---

[1] 'Arīb, 177.

[2] Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 436. Bundārī, ed. Houtsma, p. 13. Goldziher has misread the passage in Bundārī (*Muh. Stud.*, ii, 54, n. 10).

[3] Ibn al-Athīr, x, 34.

[4] Ibn al-Athīr, x, 428.

[5] Bundārī, pp. 241 f.; Qalqashandī, iii, 274.

[6] Qalqashandī, loc. cit.

[7] *History of the Caliphs*, tr. H. S. Jarrett, p. 18.

[8] iii, p. 280.

The Mamlūk Sulṭāns imitated the garb of the Caliphs, wearing a turban, from which a loose length of stuff hung down between the shoulders, and a *jubba* of black silk, of which the sleeves differed from those of the Caliph in being wide.[2] When the Abbasid pseudo-Caliph came to pay fealty to the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf it was the latter who wore " the " *jubba* and " the " black turban,[3] which appears to have been known also as the " Baghdadī " turban.[4]

Those who most consistently adhered to the Abbasid black were the qāḍīs, faqīhs, khaṭībs, and others whose concern was with the law and ceremonial of Islam.[5] In Saladin's day, moreover, the khaṭīb in the mosque at Cairo was dressed for the *khuṭba* على رسم العباسيّة (" after the fashion of the Abbasids "), and wore a black *burda* with a hood of black linen over it; on his head was a black turban and he was girt with a sword.[6] But it was more especially the tall *qalansuwa* which qāḍīs and faqīhs regarded as their perquisite and badge of office,[7] and they are reported wearing it—usually with a black turban and a hood (*ṭaylasān*)—very shortly after its introduction.[1] The attempt by laymen to adopt it was frowned upon and an old man who appeared wearing one before a chief qāḍī had it violently removed from his head.[2] In the seventh century of Islam the turban displaced the *qalansuwa* as the badge of the qāḍī and he came to be known as the *ṣāḥib al-ʻimāma* or *rabb al-ʻimāma* ("The turban-wearer"),[3] or in Persia as the *ṣāḥib dastār*.[4]

---

[1] Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, vii, 365.

[2] Quatremère, *Mamlouks*, I, i, 133.

[3] Ibn Iyās, ed. P. Kahle, vol. v, pt. 4 (Leipzig, 1931), p. 4, ll. 9 f.

[4] Ibn Iyās, v, iv, p. 143, ll. 5 ff.

[5] An instance is quoted of a qāḍī who refused to wear black until he was warned that his failure to do so would be interpreted as a sign of adherence to the Umayyad cause (Kindī, ed. Guest, p. 469).

[6] Ibn Jubayr (Gibb Series), p. 50.

[7] Cf. Kindī, 378, 585 f. (The *danniya* in the latter instance was so long and limp that a litigant called it a *khuff* (top-boot). Cf. also Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, vii, 402; Badī' al-Zamān Hamadānī, *Rasā'il* (Beyrouth, 1890), p. 168.) The costume of a Basra qāḍī at his ease at home in the hot weather consisted of a *mīzar* (wrap), a light *ridā'* about his shoulders, cotton sandals, and a fan (Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, p. 116).

The *ṭaylasān*,[5] which formed part of the qāḍī's dress, was a piece of stuff worn over the shoulders and hanging down from them like a hood thrown back.[6] It might be fairly long [7] and be used to cover the head, shoulders, and back in the same way that a *riḍā'* was used.[8] Custom demanded that it should be worn tidily, and criticism was levelled against anyone who offended in this respect; nevertheless, the untidy *ṭaylasān*, like the untidy turban, was not without its merits, and of the turban it was said that it never lay smoothly on the head of a gentleman (*karīm*).[9]

Although the *ṭaylasān* was generally regarded as the prerogative of those engaged professionally in the study or practice of the law or the ritual of Islam,[10] others wore it.

---

[1] *Aghānī*, v, 60; x, 123; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, i, 373. Cf. *JRAS*. 1911, p. 669, n. 1.

[2] Kindī, p. 460.

[3] Quatremère, *Mamlouks*, I, i, 133 f.

[4] Juwayni, i, 65, 77.

[5] Also *ṭaylisān* and *ṭaylusān* (cf. Lane, s.v.). It is derived from the Persian *tālishān*, and a variant of it is *ṭaylis*. (Persian *tālish*). It is probably the Hebrew *ṭallīth* "the cloak of honour, the scholar's or officer's distinction" (Jastrow, *Talmud Dictionary*, s.v.).

[6] Lane, *Arabian Nights*, ii, 512, holds that it was "similar in origin to our own academic hoods and scarfs".

[7] A man wearing a "double" *ṭaylasān* rolled it up when he stood لیبول (*Aghānī*, xiii, 132) (W. R. S.). From the context here it does not seem that the subject of the story had any claim to learning or other distinction.

[8] Md. Zayn al-ʻĀbidīn, *K. al-Ṭuruz* (B.M. MS. Or. 11,259), f. 64*b*. Cf. *Aghānī*, x, 123, l. 22 f., where the story is told of a qāḍī who, having had his *qalansuwa* removed by a trick in the mosque, covered his head with his *ṭaylasān*.

[9] Rāghib, ii, 209.

[10] Md. Zayn al-ʻĀbidīn, op. cit., f. 64*b*.

A humble clerk in the palace at Baghdad wore one,[1] and there is the well-known story of Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī the singer, who, in the reign of Ma'mūn, appeared at court in a *mubaṭṭana* and a *ṭaylasān* مثل زى الفقهاء "similar to the costume of the faqīhs".[2] But in general it remained the characteristic part of the dress of lawyers, who, from it, were called *arbāb al-ṭayālisa*, the "hood-wearers".[3]

In the fourth century A.H. the geographer Maqdisī noted that in Iraq the *ṭaylasān*[4] formed part of the costume of ordinary citizens,[5] while the khaṭībs wore *qabā'* and girdle.[6] In Ahwaz, however, only notables (*wajīh*)[7] wore the *ṭaylasān*, which consisted of a square piece of stuff worn like a *ridā'*, here apparently a kind of shawl, and the khaṭībs were dressed like their colleagues in Iraq,[8] while those in Khurasan favoured neither *ridā'* (the equivalent of the *ṭaylasān*) nor *qabā'* but preferred the *durrā'a*, the tight-fitting official tunic.[9]

As for the officers of the state engaged in political or military employment, such as 'āmils and amīrs, it is not clear that under the Four Caliphs and the Umayyads any particular costume of rank or office was recognized for them. Probably each was given a *khil'a* and a standard for his headquarters, but personal decorations are not further specified. Disgrace or dismissal was, however, denoted by the removal of the victim's turban. Thus 'Umar, having disapproved a statement made by Khālid b. Walīd while in command in Syria, sent to Abu 'Ubayda charging him to make Khālid take back his words. If he consented, he was to be continued in office, if not, his turban was to be removed in token of his dismissal.[1]

---

[1] Cf. Ṭabarī, iii, 627.

[2] *Aghānī*, v, 60, 109.

[3] Cf. Ibn Khallikān (tr. de Slane), iv, 428 ff.; ed. Wuestenfeld, xi, 1299, No. 852. The general characteristics of the ordinary wearers of the hood are indicated by a verse which says that no horseman would wear one (Rāghib, ii, 207).

[4] He says that it was rarely worn مُقَوَّر. Dozy, *Vêtements*, p. 279, translates this by *empesé* (stiffened or starched); Lane, on the other hand (s.v. *ṭaylasān*, p. 1867), renders by "having a piece cut out of the middle".

[5] Tanūkhī (*Nishwār*, p. 17) in the same century records how Ibn al-Jaṣṣāṣ, after suffering the extortion of a large fine, was consoled by a friend who reminded him that he was still the richest amongst the *aṣḥāb al-ṭayālis*, a phrase which, according to the learned editor, must here mean "distinguished but non-official persons". (See, in this connection, Margoliouth, *Eclipse*, iii, 189.)

[6] Maqdisī, p. 129.

[7] Sharīshī on Ḥarīrī, *Maqāmāt*, xxi (Būlāq, 1284, i, 361), says it was a green cloak worn by persons of importance.

[8] Maqdisī, p. 416.

[9] Ibid., p. 327.

It was only at the decline of the Caliphate under the feebler members of the Abbasid dynasty, when governors and army commanders in Persia became virtually independent, that distinctions came to be usual for important servants of the central government. When Ṭāhir, grandson of Dhu'l-Yamīnayn, died in Khurāsān, his son Muḥammad was invested with a collar in token of his governorship of Khurāsān and the adjacent provinces.[2] Similarly, when 'Amr b. Layth Ṣaffār was granted the governorship of Transoxiana, he was sent a special *khil'a* and a banner " over " the province (i.e. granting, or rather acknowledging, his authority over it).[3]

The formality of presenting a *khil'a* was continued even when the Caliph's power to delegate authority had to all intents and purposes disappeared. Thus Mu'izz was honoured with one when he and his brother-Buwayhids came to Baghdad and took charge of the revenues,[4] and there was a ceremony of the same kind, on a more elaborate scale, when Tughril Beg the Seljuq entered the city. He was endued on that occasion with seven different *jubbas* (each with its own symbolical significance), a collar, and a black turban.[5]

---

[1] Ṭabarī, i, 2148, last line; Ya'qūbī, *Historiæ*, ed. Houtsma, ii, 158.

[2] Ṭabarī, iii, 1605 f.

[3] Ṭabarī, iii, 2194. Uniforms for soldiers are not heard of until the formations of the standing bodyguards of " Turkish " mercenaries. (Cf. Qalqashandī, iii, 272, l. 8; Margoliouth, *Eclipse*, iii, 152.)

[4] Ibn al-Athīr, A.H. 334.

[5] Ibid., A.H. 449 (ix, 436); Qalqashandī, iii, 276.

Independent Muslim rulers (*mulūk*) who did not come to receive their honours in person had tokens of office sent to them. Saladin and his brothers were on this principle granted a *jubba* of black satin (*aṭlas*), adorned with gold embroidery, a gold collar, and bracelets and a black banner on which the Caliph's name was written in white letters. This practice appears not to have continued after the time of Mu'taṣim, who sent similar favours to Saladin's grandson Yūsuf in A.H. 655.[1]

Servants of the court at Baghdad wore the Abbasid black so that "to wear black" signified being in the Caliph's service,[2] and when an official wished to be inconspicuous he removed his "black".[3]

The principal officer at the capital was the vizier, the chief part of whose costume was the *durrā'a* [4] (or *qabā'*), a tight-fitting coat with buttons and loops and with an opening below the neck.[5] With it went a belt and sword.[6] This costume was *de rigueur* in the reign of Mutawakkil for all persons except qāḍīs who came into his presence, but the colour might be white except when the Caliph rode abroad in ceremonial procession.[7]

---

[1] Qalqashandī, loc. cit.

[2] Even the 'Alid *naqīb* charged with official duties put on the colour of the ruling house. (Cf. Sharīf al-Raḍī, *Dīwān* (Beyrouth, 1307), pp. 2, 929.)

[3] Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 101, 150.

[4] Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, 29 f.

[5] Maqrīzī, cited by De Sacy in *Chrestomathie arabe* (2nd ed.), i, 125.

[6] Margoliouth, *Eclipse*, i, 273 ; ii, 241. The belt was the وشاح, "a broad belt of leather adorned with jewels and worn by women" (Dozy, *Vêtements*, s.v.). The term is usually found in the dual وشاحان, which is explained by the Arab dictionaries as the two parts which made up the belt (W. R. S.). A slave-girl of an Umayyad Caliph wore *wishāḥān* of gold (*Aghānī*, iv, 62). But the double belt was also worn by the vizier (Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 120), in token, perhaps, of a double office, like the double necklace or collar worn by the heir-apparent of Mu'tazz (cf. p. 333 *supra*). Further, the victorious Muwaffaq was decorated by Mu'tazz with a diadem and a double *wishāḥ* (*Murūj*, vii, 369) as Afshīn before him had been for his success against Bābak (*Murūj*, 132 f.).

[7] Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, pt. viii (B.M. MS. Or. 9586, f. 2*b*) (*Revue de l'Academie arabe*, Damascus, Nos. 1–2, 1930, p. 9).

As for the minor officials, they appear to have been garbed in what their personal tastes or means dictated, except that the colour of their clothes was black. When the chief of the police (*ṣāḥib al-shurṭa*) put on a black *qabā'* "after the fashion of the pages (*fityān*)", the fact was noted.[1]

[1] Ṭabarī, iii, 544.

205.

A Maghribī Work on Musical Instruments

By HENRY GEORGE FARMER

A FREQUENTLY quoted authority on the musical instruments of the Arabs of Spain is a certain Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Shalāḥī,[1] to whom is ascribed a book entitled the *Kitāb al-imtā‘ wa'l-intifā‘ fī mas'alat samā‘ al-samā‘* . . . ("*The Book of Joy and Profit on the Question of Listening to Music* . . ."),[2] the unique copy of which is preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid.[3] Unfortunately, so far as the present writer is aware, there does not appear to be a solitary instance of the original having been consulted by the several musicographers who have referred to this work.[4] In almost every case the immediate or ultimate source of information has been Casiri's catalogue of the Escorial Library, which was once the home of this manuscript.[5] A closer scrutation of this manuscript is long overdue and one day we hope to have a translation made for inclusion in our *Collection of Oriental Writers on Music.*[6] Meanwhile, it appears urgent that a short notice of the work should be given for the following reasons: (1) Musicographers have erroneous impressions of the nature of this treatise; (2) the date and authorship require consideration; (3) the author's or copyist's name has appeared in so many different forms in European languages that this one individual is being registered under various names as different persons; (4) writers continue to depend on Casiri, whose list of musical instruments is somewhat faulty.

---

[1] For this name *vide infra.*

[2] In Robles' *Catálogo de los Manuscritos Árabes existentes en la Bibl. Nac. de Madrid* (Madrid, 1889) a printer's slip gives الامتفاع instead of الانتفاع.

[3] No. DCIII.

[4] But cf. Soriano y Fuertes *infra.*

[5] Casiri, *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispano Escurialensis* (Madrid, 1760–1770), No. MDXXX.

[6] See Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science,* ii, ii, 633.

§ 1

The *Kitāb al-imtā‘ wa'l-intifā‘* does not treat of music *per se* as Western musicographers seem to think. The work deals specifically with the question of whether it is lawful for a Muslim to listen to music, which is distinctly stated in the sub-title of the treatise,[1] and was also made clear by Casiri.[2] The discussion between the conservative and liberal *fuqahā'* or legists on this question has been dealt with at length elsewhere.[3] Treatises abound in the East, but in Muslim Spain and the Magh̲rib we do not possess many works on the point at issue. Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi (d. 940) devoted a section to it in the *‘Iqd al-farīd*, but his authorities are from the East.[4] Abū Bakr ibn al-‘Arabī (d. 1151) of Seville had treated of the matter in his *Aḥkām al-qur'ān*, but this has not come down to us although copious extracts are to be found in the Al-S̲h̲alāḥī treatise. A work by another Sevillian, which is also lost to us, is the *Kitāb al-samā‘ wa aḥkāmuhu* ("*Book of Listening to Music and its Ordinances*") by Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Is̲h̲bīlī (d. 1253). Because of this scarcity of documents[5] this work ascribed to Al-S̲h̲alāḥī is extremely valuable, not only from the special point with which it deals, but because the author seems to have swept into his book almost every testimony that came to his knowledge. His quotations from the poets of both the East and West are particularly useful in tracing the periods of usage of several rather uncommon instruments.

---

[1] لاستارة بالكفاية والغناء في احكام اهل الغِناء والردّ على من نقص على المسلمين بتحرير ماابيح لهم منه في مظان المسرة والهنا.

[2] "*Opus de licito musicorum instrumentorum usu, musices censura et apologia inscriptum* . . ."

[3] Farmer, *History of Arabian Music* . . ., pp. 22–36, 194; *JRAS.*, (1933), 867–884.

[4] Cairo Edit. (1887–8), iii, 176.

[5] There are two fifteenth century works from the Magh̲rib, both in manuscript, that deserve mention: (1) A treatise, without title, by Sulaimān ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdallāh, in the Madrid Library (No. ccxvii, 8), and (2) a *Kitāb farah al-asmā‘ biruk̲h̲ṣ al-samā‘*, by Abū Mawāhib Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Tūnisī, in the Berlin Library (No. 5514).

The work, as we have said, is not concerned with music as such, but many of the instruments are described in general terms because the legists found it necessary to inform their readers which instruments were permitted or forbidden. For instance, it was to little purpose saying that the drum known as the *kūba* was forbidden if the faithful could not recognize it so as to conduce avoidance. So the legists tell us that the *kūba* "is narrow in the middle and wide at its ends". Even such slight information as this is helpful to the historian of musical instruments because in many cases it is the only guide we have which enables us to classify instruments that have only come down to us by name.

§ 2

According to Casiri, this treatise attributed to al-S͟halāḥī was written for and dedicated to the Almoravid sulṭān Abū Ya'qūb [ibn] Yūsuf (d. 1223).[1] I once pointed out that this was a *lapsus memori* for the Almohade sulṭān of this name, but it turns out that we are both wrong. Reference to the MS. itself reveals that this was Abū Ya'qūb ibn Abī Yūsuf ibn 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, the Marīnid sulṭān who reigned 1286–1307. Indeed, a marginal note on the MS. tells us that it was once in the library of one of the rulers of Morocco. Further, on fol. 119v, we read that the MS. was written in the month of April, 1301, which supports the Marīnid date. The name of the author does not appear on the title-page, but that of Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-S͟halāḥī occurs on the last folio. In view of this there appears to be some justification for the suggestion that this is the name of the author rather than that of the copyist.[2]

Even the *nisba* or surname of the author or copyist cannot be said with any degree of certainty to be Al-S͟halāḥī

---

[1] "*Abu Jacobo Joseph ex Almorathorum natione, Hispaniae tunc Regi, exeunte Egirae anno 618, dedicavit.*" Yet in a note on the MS. itself Casiri says that the work was written in 701 (= 1301).

[2] Cf. Robles, op. cit., 250. Farmer, *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence*, 336.

(الشلاحي). The text itself suggests Al-S͟halājī (الشلاجي), a form which is rather unlikely, unless it is derived from a place name. On the other hand, Casiri himself, in a note which he has made on the MS., has written Asalahi,[1] and so the word might be Al-Silāḥī ("The Sword Bearer"),[2] although the dots of the ش are distinctly marked in the MS. Whoever the author was he was clearly a man of wide reading and sound judgment.[3]

§ 3

If we are uncertain as to the proper *nisba* of the author or copyist as it appears on the MS. in question, the discrepancies and incongruities that exist among European writers who quote this name are most exasperating. In Russell's *Natural History of Aleppo* (London, 1794) he is dubbed "Al-S͟halānī (Al-Schalany). A Spaniard".[4] It says that the date of the work is A.H. 612 (= A.D. 1215) and that it contains "the names of thirty-one musical instruments in use at that time among the Western Arabs", and these names are "mostly Persian". Russell's name and date are wrong to begin with, and the instruments were not necessarily those in use among the Arabs of the West, but rather those instruments mentioned by the legists in both the East and West. That they are "mostly Persian" by name is not correct.

In the nineteenth century a fresh form of the name appeared in Al-S͟halābī (Alschalabi), as we find in the *Biographie Universelle des Musiciens* (1835–44) of Fétis. Here the *floruit* of the author is given as "A.H. 618 (= A.D. 1415)"! Next came Soriano y Fuertes (*vide infra*) who dubbed our author Axalehi, according to the Spanish system of transliteration. The result was that we had a writer in the *Musical*

---

[1] He has placed three dots over the "a" following the "s", which possibly means that the "s" is "sh".

[2] Cf. the Persian *Silāḥdār* which has the same meaning.

[3] On the MS. Casiri has written: "*Author Magis Juridicus, ac Moralis est, quam Musicus.*"

[4] i, 387.

Association Proceedings calling our author both Alscha[la]bi and Axalehi.[1] Rafael Mitjana, who began by giving him his accepted name Al-S̲h̲alāḥī (Es S̲h̲alahī) in *Le Monde Oriental* (1906, p. 204), afterwards adopted the form "Es-Salahī (commonly called Alschalabi)" in his contribution on Spanish music to Lavignac's *Encyclopédie de la Musique* (iv, 1925). The latter form also occurs in Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (3rd edit.) together with the ridiculous date started by Fétis, i.e. 1415.

Lastly, we have the contribution of Jules Rouanet on Arabian music to the above mentioned encyclopædia of Lavignac.[2] Here we have three writers on music mentioned, viz. a "Mohamed es Salahi (thirteenth century)", a "Mohammed als Chelabi (fourteenth century)", and a "Mohamoud Ibrahim Axelehi (n.d.)". They happen to be the one person, viz. Al-S̲h̲alāḥī, of whom we have been speaking.

§ 4

The faulty list of musical instruments in the work attributed to Al-S̲h̲alāḥī as given by Casiri has also been the source of many errors. Casiri (1710–1791) was the librarian of the Escorial Library, and, in his famous catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in that collection, he gave a list of the musical instruments, in Arabic, which he found in Al-S̲h̲alāḥī. Some of the names of these instruments appear to have puzzled Casiri with the result that we have some rather strange forms. Unfortunately these latter were reproduced by subsequent writers.

Pigeon de S. Paterne, who contributed the material on Arabian music to the *Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne* (Paris, 1780) of J. B. Laborde (1734–1794), was the first to pass on the errors of Casiri. He was followed by Kiesewetter (1773–1850). He was not an Arabist, but with the assistance of the famous orientalist Von Hammer Purgstall (1774–1856) he wrote his *Die Musik der Araber* (Leipsic, 1842). Both of these works were held in high esteem in their day, and it is not to be wondered at that the statements contained therein were accepted without question by non-orientalists.

---

[1] Vols. xxxiii, 31; xliv, 27.

[2] Lavignac, op. cit., v, 2680, 2743.

Then came M. Soriano y Fuertes (1817–1880), whose two books, *Música Árabe-Española* . . . (Barcelona, 1853) and *Historia de la Música Española* . . . (Madrid, 1855–9), had wide recognition a half-century ago, although discredited to-day. In the first of these works Soriano gave a lengthy extract on musical instruments from the treatise of Al-S̲h̲alāḥī.[1] It is doubtful whether he was an Arabist. In all probability he derived this extract from some unpublished work of J. A. Conde (1766–1820), which was the acknowledged source of his extracts from the *Kitāb al-mūsīqī* of Al-Fārābī, also in the Escorial at that period.[2] Although this extract exhibits a poor translation, even as a summary, yet the names of the musical instruments are correctly given, which shows the translator's independence of Casiri. In the second of these books Soriano changed the transliteration of almost every name of these instruments,[3] for what reason it is impossible to say. In doing this he actually duplicated several instruments as in the case of *kemer* (كمر) and *kabar* (كبر).

It is mainly due to the four writers mentioned (Casiri, Pigeon de S. Paterne, Kiesewetter, and the later Soriano) that numerous authors have been misled over the names of Arabian musical instruments.[4] It is likely that time would have healed these scars had they not been reopened, with even further danger, by a more recent writer. I refer to M. Jules Rouanet, whose articles in the *Encyclopédie de la Musique* of Lavignac must of necessity be accepted on trust by non-orientalist musicographers.

M. Rouanet translates the extract given by Soriano from

---

[1] pp. 48–57. [2] pp. i–ii. [3] p. 80–1.

[4] See, for example, Burke, *History of Spain* (1895), Appendix 3.

Spanish into French, although he does not acknowledge his source. He adopts his own system (such as it is) of transliteration, which is so inconsistent that he has only added to the confusion already made by his predecessors who have dealt with Al-Shalāḥī. We get the simple word *duff* in such varied forms as *duf*, *dufe*, *douf*, and *doufe* occurring on two consecutive pages (2744–5), whilst mistakes are legion such as *barbaṭ* being transformed into *darbet*, *darbit*, and *doubet*. This is all the more remarkable when we consider that M. Rouanet has actually constructed a special list of oriental instruments showing how the same instrument may be found *under different names in Western languages* !

Here is a table of those instruments which were wrongly given by Casiri and his followers, preceded in each case by the proper word as found in the manuscript of Al-Shalāḥī :—

Al-Shalāḥī (1301)	Casiri (1760–70)	P. de S. Paterne (1780)	Kiesewetter (1842)
Kabar كَبَر	كمر	كمر & كبر	*kemer*
Kirān كِرَان	كزان	كران	*kesan*
'Azf عَزْف	عرف	عزف	*orf*
Nāy ناي	ثاي	ثاي	
Kūba كُوبَة	كربة	كربه	
'Air عَيْر	قيز	قيز	*kais*
Barbaṭ بَرْبَط	بربكا	بربكا	
Kinnāra كِنَّارَة	كنارة	كنارة & كنّارة	*kesarat*
'Arṭaba عَرْطَبَة	غرطبة	عرطب	*gharthabe*

The *Kitāb al-imtā' wa'l-intifā'* of Al-Shalāḥī comprises 119 folios with 21 closely written lines to each folio. From this we see that it is a work of considerable size. It is divided into numerous chapters (*abwāb*) and sections (*fuṣūl*). The second section of the first chapter (fol. 12) is a commentary on instruments of music and it begins with a list of thirty-one of these as follows :—

دُفّ *	*duff*	مِعْزَف	*mi'zaf*	بَرْبَط *	*barbaṭ*
غِرْبَال *	*ghirbāl*	عَزْف	*'azf*	قَضِيب	*qaḍīb*
مُصَافِق	*muṣāfiq*	مِزْمَر *	*mizmār*	شَاهِين	*shāhīn*
كَبَر	*kabar*	نَاي *	*nāy*	سَفَاقِس	*safāqis*
أَصَف	*aṣaf*	قُصَّابَة *	*quṣṣāba*	شِيزَان	*shīzān*
مِزْهَر	*mizhar*	بُوق *	*būq*	كِنَّارَة	*kinnāra*
عُود *	*'ūd*	طَبْل *	*ṭabl*	عَرْطَبَة	*'arṭaba*
رَبَاب *	*rabāb*	كُوس *	*kūs*	صَفَّارَة *	*ṣaffāra*
كِرَان	*kirān*	كُوبَة *	*kūba*	شَبَّابَة *	*shabbāba*
صَنْج *	*ṣanj*	عَيْر	*'air*		
كَيْثَار	*kaithār*	طُنْبُور *	*ṭunbūr*		

A brief description of these instruments follows this list (fols. 12v.–18), although very little beyond mere external features is furnished. Quite half of these instruments (*) are well known to us.[1] As for the other half, concerning which we badly need information, Al-Shalāḥī is sparing with words. The *muṣāfiq*, as a musical instrument, appears to have been ignored by native Arabic lexicographers. Indeed, Al-S͟halāḥī himself is not very helpful concerning it. He quotes the instrument (together with the *abwāq*, *zammārāt*, and *barābiṭ*) as a plural, the singular of which would be *miṣfaqa*. Yet we have *musāfiq* (with س) in the *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum* (tenth century) and *musāfiqa* in the *Vocabulista in Arabico* (thirteenth century) standing for *cimbalum*. We conclude from this that the *muṣāfiq* were metal castanets. We have the dual *ṣaffāqatān* in the *Kitāb al-ag͟hānī* (tenth century),[1] which instrument is described by Ibn Ḥajar (d. 1565) as consisting of round brass plates which are struck together.[2]

---

[1] See my articles Būq, Duff, Mi'zaf, Mizmār, Rabāb, Ṭabl, Ṭunbūr, and 'Ūd in the *Encyclopædia of Islām*.

The *kabar*, says Al-S͟halāḥī, is a drum (*ṭabl*) with one " head " (*wajh*), and he identifies it with the *aṣaf*. We read the same in Al-Jawālīqī (d. 1144)[3] and Ibn K͟hallikān (d. 1282),[4] but neither tells us what the *aṣaf* was like. In the *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum* (tenth century) *kabar* equates with *chorus*, i.e. the Septuagint χορός and the Hebrew מחול, which leaves us as wise as ever.

The *mizhar* is said by most of the native Arabic lexicographers to be another name for the lute (*'ūd*). We have the same statement in Al-Mas'ūdī (d. *ca.* 957)[5] and Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (d. 940).[6] Al-S͟halāḥī repeats this on the authority of the lexicographers and mentions " the *bamm* as the extreme of the strings of the *mizhār* ". Yet, in spite of this, it is doubtful if the *mizhar* was a lute. In the *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum* (tenth century) the terms *mizhar* (508) and *mazhar* (562) equate with *tympanum*, and to-day, in both Egypt and Turkey, the *mazhar* is a tambourine.[7] Al-S͟halāḥī quotes a certain Abū Sa'īd al-Nīsābūrī at some length, who, however, does not say (*vide* Soriano, 53, and Lavignac, 2744) that the *mizhar* was strung in fifths like the lute. Nor does Imru'u'l-Qais (d. *ca.* 535) say that it was strung in fifths. Indeed, what the poet of Kinda has to say shows that the *mizhar* could scarcely have been a lute.[1]

---

[1] Būlāq edit., v, 75.

[2] Berlin MS., fol. 19.

[3] *Kitāb al-mu'arrab* (ed. Sachau), 131.

[4] *Biog. Dict.*, iv, 272.

[5] *Prairies d'or*, viii, 93.

[6] *Al-'Iqd al-farīd*, iii, 186.

[7] Villoteau, in *Descr. de le Egypte*, i, 988; Lavignac, op. cit., v, 3023.

The *kirān*, according to our author, was also another name for the lute (*'ūd*) and he quotes the authority of Al-Ḥarbī (d. 898) for this statement. The latter also states that it was so called because it was placed [in playing] on the breast. Al-Shalāḥī quotes the opinion of Abū 'Ubaid [al-Qāsim ibn Sallām] (d. 837) from his *Gharīb al-musannaf* and that of Al-Khaṭṭābī (d. 998) from his *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, that the *karīna* was the singing-woman (*mughanniyya*).

The *ṣanj*, says Al-Shalāḥī, is a Byzantine (*Rūmī*) instrument, a statement which is certainly incorrect. The Greeks borrowed all their harps and necked instruments from their Eastern neighbours.[2] The Arabs sometimes called it the *jank* (= Pers. *chang*).

The *kaithār* opens up an interesting discussion as to the origin of the flat-chested guitar in Europe. Hitherto it has been argued that the Spanish word *guitarra* (with *t*) was derived from the Arabic *qītāra* or *qīṭāra*,[3] rather than from the Greek κιθάρα (with th). It now seems that the Arabic words *qītāra* or *qīṭāra*, and even *qīthāra*, were only applied when dealing with the Greek or Byzantine instrument, whilst *kaithār* was given to the Arab instrument. Yet we know from the old *naubāt* of Granaḍa that the word *kītāra* or *kaitāra* was in use by them,[4] the diminutive of which is still common to the Maghrib in *kuwaitira*.[5] Even Al-Shalāḥī says that the word *kaithār* is post-classical. He quotes a short definition of it by Abū Bakr al-Ṭurṭūshī (d. 1126), who merely says that it is "a stringed instrument". More important, however, is a verse by Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (d. 940) in its praise.

The *mi'zaf* and *'azf* are instruments that have evaded a clearly cut description by the lexicographers. According to

---

[1] See his *Dīwān*, ed. De Slane, p. 31.

[2] Strabo, *Geog.*, x, iii, 17; Athenaeus, *Deip.*, iv, xiv.

[3] Farmer, *Hist. Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence*, 66, 137.

[4] *Majmū' al-aghānī* (ed. Yāfīl).

[5] It has been vulgarized into *kuwītra* just as *Bulaida* has become *Blīda*.

Al-Fārābī the plural *ma'āzif* stood for instruments with open strings.[1] Al-Shalāḥī quotes the Qāḍī Abū'l-Faḍl, saying that the *ma'āzif* are such types as the *barābiṭ* (sing. *barbaṭ*) and the *'īrān* (sing. *'air*).

Yet when Al-Shalāḥī deals with the *'air*, which he does in half a dozen words, he tells us that it was the drum (*ṭabl*), a definition confirmed by the lexicographers Al-Ṣaghānī (d. 1216) and Al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 1414). Could the word *'air* be a mistake for *lair* ? When the Arabs borrowed words from the Greek they frequently adopted varied forms, as we have seen in *κιθάρα*. The same thing happened to *λύρα*, which became both *lūr* and *lūrā*,[2] and it is not improbable therefore that *lair* was another form. If this conjecture is correct, one can appreciate how the lute (*barbaṭ*) and the lyre (*lair*, *lūr*, pl. *līrān*) were counted among the *ma'āzif.*

The *kinnāra* offers a similar difficulty. Al-Shalāḥī quotes a passage which says that the *kinnārāt* are *'īrān* (= *līrān*) with another opinion that they are tambourines (*dufūf*). Appeal to native lexicographers on this question is of small avail. According to them the *kinnāra* could be either a lute (*'ūd*), a pandore (*ṭunbūr*), a drum (*ṭabl*), or a tambourine (*duff*). One inclines to the view that it was a stringed instrument like the Hebrew *kinnōr*, from which word, or the Aramaic *kinōrā*, the Arabic is derived.[3]

The *'arṭaba*, says our author, was also another name for the lute (*'ūd*). He quotes from the *Kitāb al-gharībain* of [Abu 'Ubaid] al-Harawī (d. 1010), which says that the lute had four names, viz. *kinnāra*, *'arṭaba*, *barbaṭ*, and *mizhar*. Yet the native lexicographers tell us that the *'arṭaba* was either a lute (*'ūd*), a Persian lute (*barbaṭ*), a pandore (*ṭunbūr*), an hour glass-shaped drum (*kūba*), or an Abyssinian drum (*ṭabl al-ḥabasha*).

The *shāhīn*, we are informed, " is a species of musical instrument", which species we are not told, but on the authority of the *imām* Abū K̲h̲āmir we learn that the word is post-classical. The opinion has been expressed elsewhere[1] that the instrument was similar to that used by our tabor (*ṭabl*) and pipe (*s̲h̲āhīn*) players.

---

[1] Kosegarten, *Liber cantilenarum*, 110.

[2] *Mafātīh al-'ulūm*, 236; Al-Mas'ūdī, *Prairies d'or*, viii, 91.

[3] See Farmer, *Hist. of Arabian Music*, p. 5.

Concerning the *safāqis*, we are treated to the learned opinion of Abū 'Abdallāh al-Māzinī (d. 1169), but one is as wise before as after reading it on the matter of the identity of the instrument, but under the article *kūba* we read that certain of the companions of Al-S̲h̲āfi'ī (d. 820) said the *safāqis* was "an instrument like the *kūba* of the *muk̲h̲annat̲h̲ūn*". As for the *s̲h̲īzān* we are given no clue to its identity. The *qaḍīb* is passed over in a like manner, although in this case Al-S̲h̲alāḥī avers that it is "well known", a circumstance which may absolve him from the omission of a description. Fortunately we know that the *qaḍīb* was a rhythmic wand used by early musicians and Qur'ān readers.

Al-S̲h̲alāḥī makes reference to many of these instruments in other sections of this treatise, especially on fols. 78–83, with copious extracts from *ḥadīt̲h̲* and poetry, much of the latter being of value because the writings of many of the authors quoted have been lost.

§ 6

In Soriano's, or rather Conde's, translation from Al-S̲h̲alāḥī[2] we have the following extract on the *kait̲h̲ār* :—

> "La *Kithara* ó Guitarra es un instrumento muy célebre : Abu Beker el Tortosí, ó de Tortosa, dice es que de cinco cuerdas dobles, y su armonía comparable á la del Laud ; y por tanto uno de los mejores instrumentos. Algunos lo estiman como recibido de los cristianos ; pero nuestros poetas le mencionan mucho ; y por tanto, y el saberse que su nombre verdadero en Arabe es *Miurabi*, se le debe estimar como nacional."

---

[1] *The Legacy of Islām*, 360.

[2] Soriano, *Música Árabe-Española*, p. 54. For a French translation of this passage see Lavignac, *Encylopédie de la Musique*, v, 2745.

This alleged translation from Al-S̲h̲alāḥī once led me to state [1] that the original Arabic name for the *kait̲h̲ār*, *kītāra*, *qītāra*, etc., was *murabba‘*, because it appeared to me that this was the word intended by Soriano in *miurabi*. My reasons for this were as follows. Although I was not then acquainted with the original text of Al-S̲h̲alāḥī, I found that Soriano had also used the word *miurabi* in reference to a pandore (*ṭunbūr*) in his translation from the Madrid MS. of the *Kitāb al-mūsīqī* of Al-Fārābī.[2] Reference to the Arabic text of the latter, as given by Kosegarten,[3] revealed that the Arabic word for Soriano's *miurabi* was مبرآي. Kosegarten considered the work incorrect and substituted بغدادي. I also felt that the word was wrong and, having Soriano's *miurabi* in mind, I surmised that the word was مرباعي or مربعى, which would refer to a *fourfold* strung instrument or a *rectangular* one. The name *murabba‘* is known in connection with a musical instrument of a flat-chested rectangular type, and we have pictorial representations to confirm the existence of such a type, as I have explained elsewhere.[4]

However, when I was able to consult the original work of Al-S̲h̲alāḥī, I found that the statements attributed to Abū Bakr al-Ṭurṭūs̲h̲ī by Soriano were without the slightest foundation. This writer does not mention that the *kait̲h̲ār* had five double strings, nor is there any reference to *miurabi* or any similar word being the original Arabic name of the *kait̲h̲ār*, as I partly acknowledged in 1930.[5]

Since that date I have been able to look further into this matter. Al-Fārābī describes in detail two pandores—the

---

[1] *History of Arabian Music*, 16; *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence*, 66.

[2] p. 25.

[3] Kosegarten, *Lib. Cant.*, 45.

[4] *JRAS.* (1930), 780–1. See the *marábba* (= *murabba‘*) mentioned and delineated by Niebuhr, *Voyage in Arabie* (1776), I, 144: Tab. xxvi. This is actually a viol (*rabāb*).

[5] *JRAS.* (1930), 781.

ṭunbūr al-baghdādī (pandore of Baghdād) and the *ṭunbūr al-khurāsānī* (pandore of Khorassan). In two places also he speaks of another pandore, which in the Leyden MS. of Al-Fārābī's book, as read by Kosegarten, is the *ṭunbūr al-mubrātī*. As we have seen, Kosegarten rejected *mubrātī* and substituted *baghdādī*. On the other hand, Baron d'Erlanger reads the word in the Leyden MS. as *mīrāthī* ميراثي but he rejects this word in favour of *māwarā'ī* ماوراي, so that the *ṭunbūr al-māwarā'ī* would mean the pandore of Transoxiana.[1]

It is possible, however, that another word may be substituted. In the *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm* of Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Khwārizmī (tenth century) we read about a *ṭunbūr al-mīzānī* طنبور الميزاني, which we are told is the *baghdādī* instrument.[2] In the British Museum MS.[3] of this work the word is written ميراني (*sic*) and in the Berlin Library MS.[4] it appears as ميراثي, from which we can see that there is almost as feasible a claim for *mīzānī* as *mīrāthī*. We certainly know from Vuller's *Lexicon Persico-Latinum* that *mīrāthī* was applied to "singers who exercise their profession from generation to generation", and we even find the term *mīrāthān* being given to "a singing-girl of a caste who only sing before women", but *mīzānī* is to be preferred for these reasons. A MS. in the present writer's possession, adverted to elsewhere,[5] refers to this "measured pandore". The passage runs as follows:—

> "And the pandore came from the Ṣābi'a [Sabians] who measured the earth, and so it [the pandore] was called the 'measured *ṭunbūr*' [*ṭunbūr al-mīzānī*]. And it had two strings or more, and it is made of a gourd by the peasantry who play the songs of idolatry upon it."

---

[1] R. d'Erlanger, *La musique arabe*, i, 43, 45, 312.

[2] *Mafātīḥ al-olūm* (ed. Van Vloten), 237.

[3] *Add.* 2524.

[4] *Landberg*, 1051.

[5] *JRAS.* (1928), 513.

That this refers to the *ṭunbūr al-baghdādī* is extremely probable because this instrument had a scale, determined by "frets" (*dasātīn*), which was arrived at by dividing a string into forty *equal* parts and, for this reason, could rightly be called the "measured pandore". Further, as Al-Fārābī tells us, this scale was a pagan one (he calls the frets the *dasātīn al-jāhiliyya*), and in his day "pagan melodies" (*alḥān al-jāhiliyya*) were played on this pandore.[1]

NOTE

pp. 346, 350. *Shīzān* (شيزان) may be a copyist's error for *shīzāk* (شيزاك). This latter is another form of the Persian *shīshāk*, *shīshak*, *shūshak*, *ghishak*, *ghizhak*, etc., which was a viol of the *kamānja* type. See Farmer, *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments*, i, 76; *JRAS.*, 1929, p. 494, pl. vii; *Ency. of Islām*, s.v. "rabāb."

---

[1] *Leyden MS.*, No. 1427, fol. 62 *et seq.*; Kosegarten, *Lib. cant.*, 89; Land (in *Actes . . . Int. Congrès des Orientalistes ténu en* 1883, i, 107; R. d'Erlanger, op. cit., 218.

235.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

PSALM XXXV, v. 16. THE MEANING OF מָעוֹג

Psalm xxxv, v. 16, has not been explained yet. The verse reads: בחנפי לעגי מעוג חרק עלי שנימו. The apparently insuperable difficulty is offered by the word מעוג. This word has been the despair of translators and commentators. The Septuagint seems to cause מעוג to merge into לעגי. Rashi compares מעוג of 1 Kings xvii, v. 12, which means "cake", and thinks of mocking for the sake of eating and drinking. Ibn-Ezra suggests: mocking is to them like "eating a cake". Ḳimḥi quotes, in addition to two other explanations ("vain talk" and "a figure of speech for evil design and evil deed"), the interpretation of "cake" and adds: "That means: men who enjoy themselves and people who indulge in pleasure." The Authorized Version translates בחנפי לעגי מעוג: "With hypocritical mockers in feasts," and the Revised Version: "Like the profane mockers in feasts." The translation of the Authorized Version and the Revised Version is based on Ḳimḥi. Franz Delitzsch, *Die Psalmen*, 5th ed. (1894), takes מעוג to mean "cake" and translates בחנפי לעגי מעוג: "In der Weise gemeiner Kuchen-Witzler" (p. 276; see also p. 282 and p. 283). "Kuchen-Witzler" strikes one as very odd. Practically all the more recent commentators regard the text as corrupt and suggest emendations. See Baethgen, *Die Psalmen*, 3rd ed. (1904), p. 100; Briggs, *The Book of Psalms* (I.C.C., 1906), pp. 302 and 312; Duhm, *Die Psalmen*, 2nd ed. (1922), p. 143; Kittel, *Die Psalmen*, 5th and 6th ed. (1929), p. 130. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen* (1926), p. 149, gives up the text as senseless ("ein früher viel hin und her gedeuteter, aber, wie jetzt allgemein zugegeben, völlig sinnloser Text"). Ed. König, *Die Psalmen* (1927), p. 389, retains the meaning of "cake" for מעוג and follows Rashi. Barnes, *The Psalms* (1931), p. 173, says: "The meaning of the Hebrew is uncertain, the text being probably corrupt." The American-Jewish translation of the Holy Scriptures renders בחנפי לעגי מעוג: "With the profanest mockeries of backbiting." "Backbiting" is apparently based on one of Ḳimḥi's interpretations ("figure of speech for evil design and evil deed").

I should like to suggest the following explanation. In the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate *Berachoth*, 46*b*, occurs the phrase דמחוי ליה במחוג. דמחוי ליה means "because he shows him", that is, "communicates with him." On במחוג Rashi says: מראים בידיהם ובאצבעותיהם ברמיזה "They show with their hands and with their fingers by hinting". מחוג thus means "hint", "gesture". דמחוי ליה במחוג therefore means: "Because he shows him (communicates with him) by gesture." מחוג meaning "hint", "gesture" also occurs in the Tractate *Ḥagigah*, 5*b*. Levy, *NHW*., vol. 3, p. 70, gives for מחוג the explanation of Rashi. Jastrow, in his *Dictionary*, p. 757, translates מחוג "drawing figures in the air", "gesture". I suggest that מעוג in Psalm xxxv, v. 16, is the same word as מחוג in *Berachoth* and *Ḥagigah* and means "hint", "gesture". ח and ע interchange. Cf. also חוג "to draw round", "to make a circle" (*BDB*., p. 295) and עוג in *NH*. "to draw a circle" (*BDB*., p. 728). Cf. also in Talmudic Hebrew עוגה "a circle" and עוגה "a cake"; see Levy and Jastrow, s.v. Cf. also עגג (or עוג) (1) "to draw", (2) "to make a cake", and חגג (or חוג) (1) "to draw a circle", (2) "to celebrate a festival"; see Levy and Jastrow, s.v. "To draw" is common to both words. The basic meaning of מחוג and מעוג is, apparently, "the drawing, or pulling, of faces." Hence the meaning of "hint", "gesture". A gesture may be quite harmless, and a gesture may be ironical or malicious, evil. In Psalm xxxv, v. 16, the malicious, evil gesture is meant, which, however, had on the surface a flattering aspect. בחנפי לעגי מעוג would therefore mean "with the flatterings (or simulations, hypocrisies) of the mockings of (by) gesture". What mockings by gesture are we see from Prov. vi, 13:

(the man of iniquity) " winketh with his eyes, speaketh with his feet, maketh signs with his fingers". See also Prov. x, v. 10.

It may be that מעוג (instead of מחוג) was chosen by the Psalmist because of the alliteration (לַעֲגֵי מָעוֹג); see my article in the *Expository Times*, May, 1932. It is interesting to note that according to the Massora *Ochla w'Ochla* מעוג in Psalm xxxv, v. 16, has a different meaning from מעוג in 1 Kings xvii, v. 12; see Delitzsch and Baethgen, loc. cit. But it does not say what meaning it has. It only says תרין לישנין.

חַנְפֵי is st. cstr. of חֹנֶף. Cf. פָּעֳלֵי from פֹּעַל. חנפי seems to have here more the later Hebrew meaning of חנף " to be insincere, to flatter", חנופה " hypocrisy", " dishonesty", " flattery"; see Levy and Jastrow, s.v. חרק עלי שנימו has probably more a contemptuous, a sneering meaning (rejoicing over the misfortune of the Psalmist); cf. Lamentations ii, v. 16. The enemies of the Psalmist simulated sympathy, but in their hearts they were rejoicing over his downfall. (See my explanation of Psalm xxxv, v. 15, in my article in the *Expository Times*, May, 1932.) Now they make gestures and wink to one another. Some people might mistake these gestures and think that they indicate sympathy with the afflicted Psalmist. This is contained in בחנפי. But no, these gestures are, in fact, mocking gestures, לעגי מעוג. חרק עלי שנימו leaves no doubt as to what their gestures intend to convey.

We also understand now better v. 19. אל ישמחו לִי איבי שקר corresponds to שמחו in v. 15, and שנאי חנם (אל) יקרצו עין corresponds to לעגי מעוג in v. 16. What Duhm and Gunkel say on this verse falls away. שנאי חנם is parallel to איבי שקר and is absolutely necessary, and יקרצו עין is parallel to אל ישמחו לי. אל has also its effect on יקרצו עין.

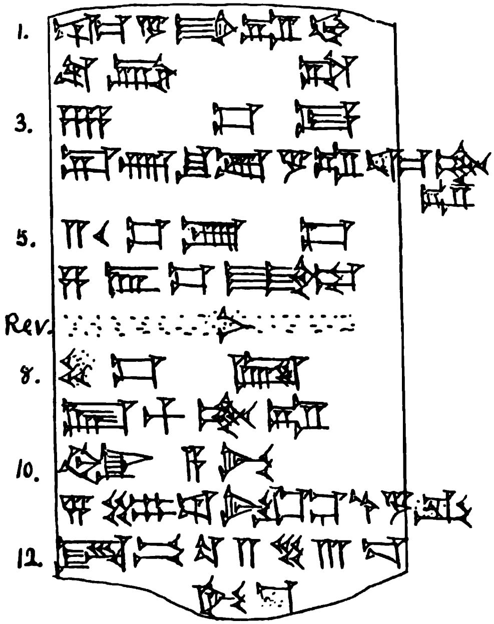
The translation of Psalm xxxv, v. 16, would therefore be: " With the hypocrisies of mockings by gesture they gnash against me their teeth." Or, simpler, "with hypocritical mockings by gesture they gnash against me their teeth." Instead of "mockings by gesture" one could also say "mocking gesticulations". The brevity and expressiveness of לעגי מעוג are inimitable.

I believe I may say that the meaning of מעוג is now clear, and that Psalm xxxv, v. 16, is satisfactorily explained.

236. SAMUEL DAICHES.

A CURIOUS DREHEM TABLET

The fragment published here was shown to me by Mr. E. T. Leeds, Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum. It is in the possession of the Rev. Kenneth Parsons. The tablet is broken across the middle, leaving only the bottom of the obverse and the top of the reverse. Among the innumerable Drehem (Duraihem) tablets now published, this fragment offers



unusual difficulties mentioned in the notes below. Ordinarily a text of this kind would not be considered worth publishing, but the new ideograms and manner of writing well-known words attracted my attention. It is obvious that Assyriologists do not yet know all the peculiarities of the Drehem texts.

	. . . . .		. . . . .
1.	sag-nig-ga-ra-kam	1.	The total.[1]
2.	šag-bi-ta	2.	Therein,
3.	8 ^{giš}dág	3.	eight chairs,[2]
4.	gà-nun šu-zu-gar-ra-ka tur-ra	4.	brought into the sanctuary *šuzugarra* [3];
5.	130 ^{giš}úr-gà [4]	5.	one hundred and thirty beams.
6.	4 sa umù [5] gibil.	6.	Four jars [6] of fine new oil.
7.	. . . . .	7.	. . . . .
8.	40 (?) ^{giš}E x ŠE [7]	8.	Forty . . .
9.	é-maš [8] tur-ra	9.	brought into the *emaš*.
10.	gìr A-gu	10.	The inspector was Agu.

---

[1] *rêš namkuri*, see Thureau-Dangin, *Inventaire*, i, p. 19, n. 1.

[2] ^{giš}dág. See ^{giš}dág = dág, ašti (= *kussû*), tuš (= *ašābu*), dúr-gar (= *kussû*), and dág = *šubtu*, seat, abode (Meissner, *SAI*. 3869), all = ^{giš}dág, *KBo*, i, 42, v. 6–9; Deimel, *Lexikon*, No. 280, 13, erroneously read *giš-pár*, net in this syllabary.

[3] Apparently a noun, and name of the *ganunu*. But šu-zu-gar = *šutlumu*, to give to, entrust? nam-tar-ra-zu ana-gim šu-zu-gar-ra . . . = *ši-ma-tu-ka ki-ma Anim šu-ut-lu-ma-*[*at*], "Thy fate has been bestowed upon thee even as Anu," *PBS*. x^2, No. 8, 5–6. Perhaps *šu-zu gar-ra*, "was put into thy hand," and gar = *šutlumu*, hence [*ana ḳati-ka*] to be restored after *šutlumat*?

[4] See Genouillac, *TSA*. 26, i, 1; Allotte de la Fuÿe, *DP*. 436, i, 1.

[5] Written GIŠ + KISAL = *šamnu*. Cf. *Gudea* Cyl. B, 3, 19.

[6] This proves that sa = *kannu*, Meissner, *SAI*. 1938.

[7] This sign, Deimel, *Lexikon*, No. 261, with value a-ra-aǵ = *arḫu*, *našpaku*, means "granary"; with value u-si = *ḳi-ri-tu*, and *ḳarîtu*, granary. *KAR*. 178, vi, 68 has this sign, where v Raw. 48, iv, 36 has *še'u*, grain.

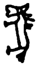
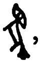
[8] Sign MAŠ. So also in Agade texts from Kish. But Chiera, *Lex. Texts*, 109, i, 12; 100, ii, 10, *é-bar*, in the Idgr. for *šangu*. Here *é-maš* is the name of a building or temple.

11. 5 . . .	11. Five . . .,[1]
12. á-bi ud 2 53 gad	12. their wage for two days is fifty-three linen garments.
. . . . . .	. . . . . .

252.

S. LANGDON.

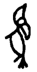
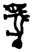
A NOTE ON THE MANELESS HORSE IN ANCIENT CHINA

Among the reviews of books in the present number of the JOURNAL is a short one of Professor Yetts's *Essay on the Horse as a Factor in Early Chinese History*, by me. The last paragraph of this review contains a statement which requires more supporting evidence to justify it than there was space to provide it where it should naturally have appeared. The statement affects fig. 1 of the essay, which figure displays the passage from the archaic picture of a horse to the ultimate modern form 馬 of the character *ma*. The progressive stages are illustrated by ten designs ranged in three horizontal lines, each design marked by a letter of the alphabet from A to J. We are concerned here only with the two, B and C. These are  B and  C, both occurring only on the Honan Bones.

As to B, there is no question. The head and its muzzle, the hoofs indicated by the short lines, the trifid tail, and especially the mane, mark it out as the horse. As to C, however, matters are not so clear, though there is a general resemblance, and the tail is identical. But the head differs appreciably, the hoofs are not marked, and, an important point, there is no mane. This type is found far more rarely than that with the mane, and it had gradually raised some doubt in my mind, when I noticed one inscription which runs (assuming, for the moment, the equivalence of the maneless form with *ma*

---

[1] I do not understand this line.

"horse"), in modern Chinese, 甲午王往逐馬 *chia wu wang wang chu ma*; here the bone is broken off, leaving part of a character visible which was probably one of the old variants of 子 *tzŭ* "son". The English of the above sentence would run "On the day *Chia-wu* the Emperor set out to hunt horses . . ." The alleged horse is written . The quarry is maneless, no hoofs are indicated, and the head is distinctly peculiar and can hardly be called a fair rendering of a horse's head. The passage occurs on p. 3 of Lo Chên-yü's *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i Tsing Hua*, and I may add that it forms part of a long text in which an unquestionable horse, , preceded by an archaic form of 車 *ch'ê* "chariot" or "cart", follows the maneless animal after a few intermediate words, in the adjoining left-hand column. These two figures in the same text and so close together, differ, it will be conceded, rather markedly.

Now this record of an imperial hunt piqued my curiosity at the same time that it suggested a line towards a possible solution of doubts. The brief records of these hunting expeditions of the Yin-Shang sovereigns are not infrequent on the Honan Relics, and, as the maneless character in question is much less common than the maned type, a scrutiny of all those passages where the words "hunt" (*chu*) or "catch" (*huo*) occur in connection with either the maned or the maneless beasts, *should* produce rather more instances of the former type than of the latter. I therefore resolved to start on a hunting expedition of my own, knowing only too well how less than moderate the pace must be. This tiresome and time-consuming pursuit being now accomplished, and the relevant passages verified so far as the references to the originals are given (which is not always the case), the following is the result. The works consulted are the *Fu Shih Yin Ch'i Lei Tsuan* 簠室殷契類纂, of Wang Hsiang 王襄; the *Yin Hsü Wên Tzŭ Lei Pien* 殷虛文字類編, of

Shang Ch'êng-tsu 商承祚, a special pupil of Lo Chên-yü; the *Yin Ch'i Pu T'zŭ'* 般契卜辭, of Jung Kêng 容庚; the *Ku Chou P'ien* of Tadasuke Takada; and my own collection of Honan Relics.

Nine examples are the outcome of the search. They will be found as follows: in Lo Chên-yü's *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i, chüan* 2, p. 28 (on p. 95 of his *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i K'ao Shih*, Lo transcribes 獲馬一, *huo ma i*, adding "and wolves 4"); ibid., ch. iv, 47; ibid., vii, 34; ibid., vii, 41, two examples; ibid., *hou pien*, 上, p. 30, two examples; *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i Tsing Hua*, p. 3, see above, p. 361; lastly, in my collection (H. 862) we find *huo* "capture", followed by the maneless form and the numeral 5.

The net result of this search, then, is that the words for chasing or capturing, or both together, are not found connected with the maned and undoubted horse, but where they do occur, always with the maneless beast. What beast this was, I am unable to say, but the evidence seems to show that it could not have been a horse, and there I must leave it.

263. L. C. Hopkins.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

THE CAMBRIDGE SHORTER HISTORY OF INDIA. Edited by H. H. DODWELL. 8 × 6, pp. xix + 970. London: Cambridge University Press, 1934. 12*s.* 6*d.*

This useful little book, while based upon the *Cambridge History of India*, is something more than a mere summary of the larger work. It is divided into three sections, each the task of a separate author who has felt himself free to permit himself a certain individuality both as to selection and as to treatment. The result is on the whole good.

The *Cambridge Shorter History of India* naturally challenges comparison with the *Oxford History of India*, written by the late Professor Vincent Smith; but it is not easy, on such a comparison, to do full justice to either work. The earlier editions of Vincent Smith were marred by certain crudities of judgment that offended Indian sentiment; while the harsh and staccato style was a cause of stumbling to many readers. But in my opinion it still remains, particularly in its latest edition, as incomparably the best one-volume History of India that can be put into the hands of a student. For the use of the beginner the *Cambridge Shorter History* has certain obvious disadvantages. There are no bibliographies for ready reference at the end of chapters, which also lack a chronological summary. There is no variety of type to assist in the discovery of a passage read and only vaguely remembered. The appearance of each page recalls a page of the *Cambridge History of India*—a beautiful and a dignified page; but not a page upon which it is very easy for a student to find quickly what he is seeking.

As against these disadvantages, the *Cambridge Shorter History* possesses very solid merits. It is the work of three specialists, each treating of his own period. It not merely incorporates the results of the latest historical research in India, but is *ab initio* based upon these results—a very different thing. This statement is particularly applicable to the first section of the book, written by Mr. J. Allan, of the Coins and Medals Department of the British Museum; but it is also true of the second section, which is the work of Sir Wolseley Haig. British scholars are not always familiar with the results of recent research undertaken in India by Indian graduates, many of whose "finds" are printed in comparatively obscure publications; but in this instance, at least, the common charge of insularity, so frequently levelled by Indian workers against those British writers who deal with Indian history, would be hard to sustain.

Professor Dodwell's handling of the British period is, like all his work, lucid and competent. I do not agree with him in his treatment of the relationship between the Crown and the Indian States; for he seems to me to bridge the gulf between the language of the Treaties and Engagements, and the current practice of the Political Department, by holding the Treaties to be obsolescent and by finding in the solemn Proclamations confirming them little more than a *façon de parler*. My own view of the matter is that, in the past, Treaties were broken because it was found in practice either inconvenient or impossible to observe them; but that breaches were the exception and were powerless to affect the true constitutional relationship, which is with the Crown, and only with the Government of India *qua* Crown Agent. Incidentally, this serves to explain how an Indian Prince can with perfect good faith protest his loyalty to the Throne and Person of His Majesty the King while differing acutely from the policy of the Government of India—a position at once annoying and illogical in the eyes of many British officials. But the difference between Professor Dodwell and myself is of long-standing, and I will not pursue it here. I should like, if I may, to record my admiration of his skill and learning, both as a contributor to, and as the editor of, this excellent little volume.

A. 281. L. F. Rushbrook Williams.

THE HORSE: A FACTOR IN EARLY CHINESE HISTORY. By W. PERCEVAL YETTS. Offprint from *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*, ix (1934). 9¾ × 7½, pp. 25 (231–255), figs. 11.

When the Chinese first came upon the historic scene they knew only that equine stock commonly called the Mongolian pony, or more exactly the horse of the Steppes. This in its most typical form, whether the truly "wild" Tarpan, or merely a feral race, is that discovered by the Russian traveller Prjevalski in Dzungaria, about 1880. Professor Yetts gives a good photograph of one of this breed in the possession of the Duke of Bedford. But it is with a stock of very different character that Professor Yetts mostly concerns himself and to the history of which he calls our attention in several valuable pages, relying on certain chapters of the *Historical Memoirs*, of Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien. Briefly stated, the Han Emperor Wu, who ascended the Chinese throne in 140 B.C., greatly desired to possess the "excellent horses" he had learnt were bred in the Far Western realm of Ta Yüan, or Ferghāna, and Yetts does not doubt that the Emperor's motive was to acquire the means of meeting and beating the cavalry of the ever-present Hsiung-nu menace. Eventually, after two campaigns, and the loss of vast numbers of the unfortunate Chinese soldiery, and after a transaction wherein an ill-fated Chinese Princess was the consideration for 1,000 head of "superior horses", a bartering deal which disappointed the Emperor, the latter did obtain supplies of the "supernatural" or "blood-sweating" steeds (What the true import of this curious expression is remains unexplained.) But after the successive passages of this potential of the Imperial Cavalry force dreamed of and so greatly desiderated by the Han sovereign, there seems to have been created a sort of Easterly draught, such as follows for the pedestrian the passing of a swift motor car. And on this seeming *drang nach Osten* were borne, so Professor Yetts suggests, the germs of certain Greek or

Hellenistic cultural influences, and more particularly perhaps certain artistic themes (illustrated in the last two figures of the pages under review), such as, for instance, that of confronted animal forms, that very ancient formula which has persistently survived in Europe even in the usage of Heraldic Arms. Thus infected from the Far West, the Chinese mentality easily succumbed to the enervating attractions of Indian Buddhism.

A few words remain to be said on Fig. 1 of this interesting essay. This figure strikingly exhibits the result of metamorphic stylization of the original picture of a horse. One feature that persists, however, even when disguised, is the mane. On the Honan Bones it is sometimes curtailed to a single stroke. Now the third example, marked C, lacks any indication of the mane, and it seems certain, modern Chinese authority notwithstanding, that this type does not represent a horse. It can be proved from the Bone inscriptions that if it did so the Yin-Shang sovereigns must have hunted the wild Prjevalski horses on the plains of Honan, which seems incredible.

A. 277. L. C. HOPKINS.

LADY PRECIOUS STREAM. An old Chinese play done into English according to its traditional style. By S. I. HSIUNG. With a preface by LASCELLES ABERCROMBIE. pp. 163. Price 8*s.* 6*d.*

According to Bazin,[1] it was the Jesuit missionary Prémare who, by translating in 1731 and publishing in 1735 *L'orphelin de la famille de Tchao*, first revealed to the West the existence of the Chinese theatre. This same play attracted the notice of Voltaire, who said in a preface to it: "Tout est de la clarité la plus lumineuse."[2] Since then various plays have appeared at intervals translated by foreigners, but here is one done into English by a Chinese himself, to which Voltaire's description would equally apply.

---

[1] Bazin, A. P. L., *Theâtre Chinois*, p. xlvi, Paris, 1838.

[2] Voltaire, *L'orphelin de la Chine*, p. viii, Paris, 1755.

The Westerner is usually at a disadvantage in a Chinese theatre : his ignorance of the language and conventions, the distractions of orchestra, property man, and audience are too much for him, but the Chinese themselves enjoy it. Now that the story of *Lady Precious Stream* is before us, we are able to understand the attractiveness of Chinese drama, and are indebted to Mr. Hsiung for his excellent translation. "Nowhere," says one critic, "is the genius of the East more clearly manifested than in the theatre."[1] There is certainly a touch of genius in the way this play has been translated for an English audience.

The play shows conclusively that in spite of the caperings and posturings we see at the Chinese theatre the drama is not so artificial as we might have imagined it to be. There is a very human side to it which shows the Chinese as they really are. A notice sometimes displayed in front of the Chinese stage says : "You may consider the performance true or false : it is always an image of life and of its conclusions." In reading *Lady Precious Stream*, Mr. Lascelles Abercrombie evidently felt that the characters in it knew more about life than we do. He says : "These charming people . . . have a secret which we have not : it is the secret of how to live." We all wish to know that, and might read the play with profit. We should also find pleasure in the illustrations by Chinese artists.

Lady Precious Stream first appeared on the London stage on Wednesday, 28th November, 1934, at the Little Theatre, John Street, Adelphi. It was well received, and favourably reviewed by the leading London Press.

A. 257. J. H. PRATT.

---

[1] Ananda Coomaraswamy in preface to *Dancing and the Drama*, by Stella Bloch, New York, 1922.

ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDIAN ARCHÆOLOGY FOR THE YEAR 1932. Kern Institute Publications, vol. vii. 12 × 9½, pp. x + 178, pls. 10, figs. 7. Published with the aid of the Government of Netherlands India and with the support of the Imperial Government of India. Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1934.

Only a couple of months after the appearance of his review of the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology for the Year* 1931,[1] the present writer had the great pleasure to receive from the Kern Institute another magnificent volume of that same series, covering the archæological work performed within India and neighbouring countries in 1932. Although economical conditions are not especially favourable to undertakings of this sort, Professor Vogel and his collaborators have still succeeded in maintaining the same high standard that characterized the previous volumes of the series. Neither the fact that there are now ten plates instead of twelve nor the decrease in the entries of the bibliography proper can detract from the value of this exceedingly important publication. To the average reader it may perhaps even surpass its predecessors in interest; for the reports on new archæological investigations and discoveries that form the introduction of the volume are even more numerous and, at least partly, more detailed than they used to be.

The first pages of the introduction are, as seems only natural, devoted to an article on Mohenjo Daro, written by Professor H. Frankfort, the excavator of Tell Asmar. His paper is composed in a very illuminating way and seems to necessitate the conclusion that the people of Mohenjo Daro were in some way culturally connected with the early inhabitants of Mesopotamia. It is quite possible that they may both represent the various stages of an exodus of unknown clans from the inner of Iran, some of whom went westwards while other ones turned their faces towards the Indus Valley. There remains, however, always the question whether Iran was not simply a halting place during a more extensive and prolonged series of wanderings, which carried innumerable peoples from the plains of Northern and Central Asia towards the south, the west, and the east. Such was the idea cherished by the late J. de Morgan; and it cannot be denied that it carries a certain amount not only of probability but even of conviction.

---

[1] Cf. *JRAS.*, 1934, p. 404 sq.

Professor Frankfort has been happy enough to discover, amongst the ruins of Tell Asmar, a little hoard of various objects which were undoubtedly imported from the Indus Valley and seem to belong to a period about 2500 B.C. This, of course, affords a possibility of dating the finds of Mohenjo Daro and endorses an opinion, which even the present writer has ventured to hold, in spite of his almost total lack of archæological knowledge, viz. that the dates adopted by Sir John Marshall and his collaborators are somewhat exaggerated. Unfortunately we cannot tell what were the exact racial affinities of the founders of Mohenjo Daro, though we are apt to assert that they had neither Aryan nor Austro-Asiatic connections. As long as the much debated question of the origin of the Dravidians—which nowadays means little more than the speakers of Dravidian languages—is still an unsolved problem, there seems little hope that we shall arrive at any convincing results concerning the people of the Indus civilization.

That the religion of the Mohenjo Daro people was "hardly distinguishable" from certain aspects of modern Hinduism is the favourite thesis of Sir John Marshall; and to Professor Frankfort such a thesis seems quite unequivocal. With great diffidence the present writer would, however, venture to disagree with these prominent authorities. It is quite true that there seem to exist in the Indus Valley indubitable traces of the cult of a Mother Goddess who may or may not be immediately connected with the Great Mothers of Syria, Asia Minor, Egypt, etc. It is also quite true that the lower strata of what we call Hinduism are absolutely brimful of "Mother Goddesses", though they are admittedly of a less imposing nature. And higher Hinduism at least partly centres around a great and terrible goddess, whom we may call Kālī, Durgā, or a dozen other names; but her origin is somewhat obscure, and it cannot be sufficiently well proved that she has got anything to do either with the Mother Goddess of Mohenjo Daro or with the mothers protecting the countries bordering upon the Mediterranean.[1] That the three-faced god of Mohenjo Daro should be an early aspect of the *Śiva Paśupati* remains to be proved. And, unfortunately, the origin of the connection between Śiva and Kālī is still a total puzzle, for there are no traces indicating that Śiva was once the youthful son and lover of the great Mother Goddess. His own prehistory is still obscure, and, though it is well possible that he may also have certain Western connections, no proofs of such-like affinities have so far been forthcoming.

The human figure with bull's horns, etc., known from two Mohenjo Daro seals, has been dealt with by Professor Frankfort on p. 10. Quite lately Professor F. O. Schrader[2] had also dealt with a horned god, viz. the figure surrounded by wild animals whom Sir John Marshall took to be a prototype of Śiva. Professor Schrader, with great ingeniousness, has tried to connect this type with the cross-legged, stag-horned god of the famous Gundestrup vessel in the Museum of Copenhagen, a god of undoubtedly Celtic connections.[3] However, Messrs. Frankfort and Schrader both seem to have committed the same sort of oversight. Horned gods and demons are known to nearly every religion of earth; and such being the case the appearance of human figures carrying horns cannot be taken as *eo ipso* proving religious or cultural affinities between peoples living at a fair distance from each other.

[1] Professor Konow several years ago tried to establish a connection between the *Durgāpūjā* and the Nerthus cult of the Old Teutons. This is, of course, the sheerest fancy.

[2] Cf. *ZDMG.* (*N.F.*), xiii, 189 sq.

[3] Cf. the Gallic god *Cernunnos*.

The statue of a human being found at Mohenjo Daro seems to show the same treatment of the beard as was usual in Mesopotamia, viz. the upper lip was clean-shaven while the beard was otherwise left untouched. This consequently seems to be a time-honoured fashion. The Egyptians, I suppose, were wholly clean-shaven but wore, for ceremonial purposes, wigs and false beards which seems to point to the same original treatment. The same fashion was kept until quite late times by the extremely conservative Spartans, as is testified to by two well-known passages in Plutarch [1] and by the monuments.[2]

The paper by Sir Aurel Stein on his archæological tours in South Persia (pp. 12–16) is, of course, very interesting, but far too short to give more than a few rather superficial remarks on the localization of "chalcolithic" cities within the areas visited in 1927–8 and in 1932. Certain observations made during a tour from Hormuz to Bushire have led Sir Aurel to the conclusion that there was no "direct maritime intercourse between Mesopotamia and the Indus Valley" during the "chalcolithic" age—whatever that may mean. Such a discovery will prove to be of very great importance if we can only take it as fully established that future researches will unearth no traces of such an intercourse.

M. Hackin describes the results of the excavations carried on at Bāmiyān in the summer of 1930. Professor Vogel himself is the author of a very instructive paper on epigraphical discoveries in India, where the chief interest is, of course, concentrated upon the new versions of Aśoka edicts brought to light at Yerraguḍi and at Gavīmaṭh and Pālkīguṇḍu, the later of which have been extensively dealt with by Professor Turner.

---

[1] Cf. *De sera num. vind.* ch. 4: *οἶον ἐν Λακεδαίμονι κηρύττουσιν οἱ ἔφοροι παριόντες εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν, μὴ τρέφειν μύστακα καὶ πείθεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις*, and *Kleomenes*, ch. 9: *Διὸ καὶ προεκήρυττον οἱ ἔφοροι τοῖς πολίταις, εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰσιόντες, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶ, κείρεσθαι τὸν μύστακα καὶ προσέχειν τοῖς νόμοις.*

[2] Cf. Helbig, *Rendiconti della Accad. dei Lincei* v (1880), p. 9 sq.; *Das Homerische Epos*, 2nd ed. (1887), pp. 249 sq.

The indefatigable Mr. Jayaswal and the late Professor R. D. Banerji have again busied themselves with the Khāravela inscription. However, it ought to be pointed out that already in 1923 Professor Konow,[1] according to a private communication by Mr. Jayaswal, read in the inscription about the *Yavanarājā Ḍimita,* whom he took to be Demetrius; and consequently he put the date of Khāravela at about 175 B.C. The article on Indian numismatics by Sir Richard Burn is also quite instructive, though it does scarcely contain any very startling discoveries.

Dr. Fábri, in an article on the excavations at Pahārpur (Bengal) tells about recent important discoveries at that place. And Mr. Yazdani, the well-known superintendent of H.E.H. the Nizam's Archæological Department, speaks of some newly discovered frescoes at Ajaṇṭā. Amongst these the one from Cave XVI, described in pl. vii*a* as an "unidentified" Buddhist legend, is, of course, nothing but the Indian version of the judgment of Solomon, found in the *Mahāummagga-Jātaka* and elsewhere.[2] In the Pāli version the two women put the child across a line on the floor and tug at its head and feet; here, as in the Hebraic version,[3] a man with a drawn sword is about to cut it into two pieces just as in the *Vikramodaya*[4] and perhaps also in other Indian versions.

There then follow more or less extensive articles on archæological research work in Ceylon and Indo-China, on the temple of Angkor Vat and on megalithic remains in Sumatra. All of them certainly present a great amount of interest; for lack of space we cannot, however, enter upon a detailed conspectus of their various contents.

The Bibliography proper contains 752 entries, and is, as usual, most excellently and carefully put together.

---

[1] *Acta Or.*, i, pp. 26 ff.

[2] Extensive references concerning this legend are found in the late Professor Zachariæ's *Kleine Schriften,* pp. 58, 154, n. 1, 390. Cf. also Winternitz, *Gesch. d. ind. Literatur* ii, 112 A. 1., 326 A. 2.

[3] 1 (3) Kings, ii, 16 sq.

[4] Cf. Zachariæ, loc. cit., pp. 153 sq.

In winding up this review, let us hope that Professor Vogel and his collaborators may succeed, in spite of certain unfavourable circumstances, in upholding unaltered the very high standard of their magnificent and necessary publication. Professor Vogel, who belongs to a nation that was always rightly famous because of its great amount of sound common sense, in his foreword quite correctly points to " the almost alarming increase of new periodicals ". He also draws our attention to the lamentable fact that the *Indian Antiquary*, a periodical which could claim sixty years of excellent management and high standing, was allowed to die while new—and according to our humble opinion—partly valueless publications grow up like mushrooms. We earnestly hope that those Governments and those trustees of private funds who are able to support Professor Vogel's great undertaking will consider it an honourable duty to prevent such a publication of this wide scope and high importance having to grapple with depressing and quite unnecessary financial difficulties.

A. 353. JARL CHARPENTIER.

THE QUARTERLY OF THE DEPARTMENT ON ANTIQUITIES IN PALESTINE. Vol. ii, Nos. 2 and 3 (double volume), 11 × 8, pp. 122, pls. 33. Jerusalem: Published for the Government of Palestine; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1932. 10*s*.

This issue contains articles on the 1930–1 excavations in the S.E. cemetery at 'Atlit, a Byzantine bath at Qalandia, two copies of the *Crouching Aphrodite*, a hoard of Constantinian coins, Greek and Latin inscriptions in the Palestine Museum, *Satura Epigraphica Arabica* (ii), two Turkish inscriptions in the Citadel, Jerusalem, and a catalogue of existing or formerly existent mosaic pavements in Palestine (i).

Of the two *Crouching Aphrodites* (*Herod's Cloisters*, Ascalon, and Cæsarea, both of the first century B.C.) the first lacks head, arms, and left leg, whilst of the other the torso alone has survived. The type is that originated by Doedalsas of Bithynia, *c.* 250 B.C., depicted on Bithynian coins. The chief differences in the two types are the distance of the right knee from the ground and the emphasis on the rolls of flesh round the waist due to the crouching position, an emphasis which in the known copies becomes more marked the nearer purely Roman lands are reached. From the Beirut copy (Louvre) the head would have appeared to have been of a Praxitelean type. The Cæsarea statue has certain variations, e.g. a support at the left side, an armlet on the upper arm and a cord falling loosely round the shoulders.

The article on the Palestine Museum inscriptions deals with such as have not received adequate treatment elsewhere. Noteworthy are Nos. (1), (2), (15), and (16): (1) The tenth milestone of the Ptolemais (Acre)–Tiberias road, dated A.D. 135 (the year of the foundation of Aelia Capitolina), which was constructed during the reorganization of Judaea, and, as far as the partly legible obverse indicates, reconditioned between 275 and 325; (2) a *tabula ansata* (? from Eleutheropolis) commemorating building work of the Sixth Legion *Ferrata* ("Ironsides"), which probably garrisoned Arabia in 121 or 131. Sent to aid the Tenth Legion *Fretensis* in the reduction of Palestine during 132–5, it went into quarters at Caparcotna, Galilee; (15) a stamp on *terra sigillata* (form 18), South Gaulish ware (rarely, if ever, found in Palestine) of the potter Camirus (not included in Oswald's *Index*); (16) a stamp on *terra sigillata* (form 24–5) from Beisān of the potter Iulus (period Claudius-Flavian—Oswald's *Index*, form 24), whose work has been found in Britain, Gaul, Germany, and Portugal.

Satura Epigraphica Arabica (ii) refers to the construction text of A.D. 1412 on the lintel of the shrine at the tomb cave Maghārat Banāt Ya'qub of Saif ad-dīn Fauzī al-Adhamī at-Tanamī. Several amirs of the name of Tanam appear during the late eighth century of the Hijra as Viceroys of Syria, etc.

The two Turkish inscriptions from the Citadel, Jerusalem

(A.H. 1151 and A.H. 1326—Sultan ‘Abd ul-Hamid II), are published here because not included in Max van Berchem's *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum.*

The first part of the catalogue of mosaic pavements in Palestine (‘Abasān el Kabīr to Jerusalem, Casa Nova) includes a key to the patterns. Interesting to note are (1) the central nave of the synagogue at Beit Alfa where among subjects appear the sun as a bearded nimbed youth in a quadriga and the Sacrifice of Isaac, and (2) a zodiacal pavement from ‘Ein Dūk synagogue, in the south end of which is a mutilated mosaic of Daniel and the lion.

The inscriptions in two cases record the names of the artists, Antonis Galoga at Battīr and Marianos and his son Aninas in the synagogue of Beit Alfa. An interesting commemoration is that of the *blessed Cyriacus, Priest and Hegumen* who died in A.D. 556 at the age of one hundred (Jericho).

The excavations in the South-East Phœnician cemetery, ’Atlīt, in part discovered when the Crusading castle was built (Jaques de Vitry, *Gesta Dei per Francos*) afforded evidence of settlement from about 900 B.C. until the Hellenistic period.

Fourteen graves were cleared, of which ten had not been seriously disturbed previously. On the scarabs discovered appear what seems to be the censer or candelabrum of the Assyrian god Musku facing Isis and Horus, Bes, full face, struggling with two lions in Achæmenian or Gilgamesh fashion or oriental treatments of Herakles of the bow and club, in particular thrashing a lion which he holds upside down like Maruduk or Gilgamesh. Attention is drawn to the similarity to the god of the Amrit stela and to the Hittite reliefs from Djerabis.

Greek pottery was also found here: Early black-figure, Attic red-figure, black-figure, of the Kabeiric class made by Bœotian potters after Attic models as late as 400 B.C. (also found in Palestine at Tall Jemma, near Gaza), plain black varnished and Hellenistic.

Among other finds should be noted large bronze rings, probably for female hairdressing. The pottery, jewellery, and weapons found in these interments are of a type common to the sea-coast from the Nile to Cyprus owing to the trade revival of the XXVIth dynasty. The form of one of the plates discovered suggests an extension of the Attic pottery industry in Asia Minor, perhaps at Pergamum, in the third century B.C.

The iron and bronze javelin- and arrow-heads found here are of European origin and derived from types which reached Palestine from the north in Early Iron Age II and persisted into Hellenistic times; they have been found at Gezer, Tall Jemma, Daphnæ, and Memphis, which argues that the warriors of 'Atlīt were probably Greek mercenaries like Psammetichus' "men of bronze" at Daphnæ, for the position of 'Atlīt would make possible trade with the Greeks both of Egypt and Cyprus. A Macedonian element is suggested by a coin of Ægae, perhaps of Alexander I (*c.* 480 B.C.).

The Constantinian Greek coins are of unknown provenance and are mostly of the *Gloria Exercitus* type of the latter part of the reign. There are also *Urbs Roma* and *Constantinopolis* types. Constantius II and Constans are also represented and the mints, where ascertained, are Alexandria, Antioch, Arelate, Thessalonica, Augusta Trevirorum, Aquileia Constantinople, Cyricus, Heraclea, Nicomedia, Rome, and Siscia.

The Byzantine bath at Qalandia, of no precise date, is of merely general interest. Apparently the plan had been subjected to alteration, the earlier building having been damaged by fire.

Vol. ii, No. 4. pp. 32, pls. 1, figs. 2. 1932. 5*s*.

This issue contains continuations of the catalogue of mosaic pavements and of excavations in 1931–2, and an account of a vaulted tomb at Ascalon.

The catalogue of pavements (Herodian to medieval times) covers Jerusalem to Khan 'Aly. One of the inscriptions commemorates Anatolia of Arabissos, possibly the sister of the Emperor Maurice (582–602).

The simple legend *Farewell, Stephan* (Mount Zion, room north of the church of the Augustinian Fathers of the Assumption) recalls the *Artemidorus, farewell* of the British Museum, immortalized by Edward Carpenter.

Of the motifs may be mentioned Orpheus and Pan with centaur from the Musrara Quarter and nimbed figures in Byzantine court dress (all in the Constantinople Museum).

The third- to fourth-century Christian tomb at Ascalon consists of a single masonry chamber, the western portion of which contained two burials, the upper yielding gold, bronze, glass, and stone ornaments, etc.

Of the 1931–2 excavations one of the most interesting was that of the Basilica of the Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes at 'Ein et Tabigha, in the centre of which was found under the main altar the stone on which, according to old Christian tradition, Jesus placed the five loaves and two fishes.

The Maghārat es Sukhūl yielded a Neanderthal type which Sir Arthur Keith proposes to regard provisionally as a new genus and species, *Palaeanthropus palestinus*, and at Umm ez Zuweitina a Lower Natufian statuette (15 cm. long) of a cervoid animal in grey limestone with broken paws and head missing, comparable to Lower Magdalenian sculpture and connected with the contemporary Palestinian stone carvings of Maghārat el Wād or Maghārat el Kabāra.

Work at Tall Beit Mirsim revealed a new megaron type of house (eighteenth to seventeenth centuries B.C.) succeeded in the seventeenth and sixteenth centuries B.C. by houses with an open court.

Work in 1931 at Tall en Nasba completed the excavation and mapping of the city walls (900 B.C.; destroyed about 700, presumably by Sennacherib), whilst in the Astarte sanctuary an agate seal was found inscribed *Belonging to Jaazaniah, servant of the King* (in all probability the same as mentioned in 2 Kings xxv, 23, and Jer. xl, 8).

Tombs and ossuaries from the Hellenistic period to A.D. 500 were excavated at Hedera, 'Īsawiya, the American School of

Oriental Research and Government House, Jerusalem, and Qatana village.

In 1932 an exact survey was made of the fortress and camps at Masada, including the Palace of Herodes, and soundings were made at Ez Zahiriya which proved that no walled city or fortified town of any consequence ever existed there in ancient times.

Vol. iii, No. 1. pp. 48, pls. 13, figs. 4. 1933. 5*s*.

This issue contains articles on excavations in the atrium of the Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem, a rock-cut tomb at Tarshīhā, an early Christian church at Kirbat 'Asida, lead coins of Barqūq, *Satura Epigraphica Arabica* (iii), mosaic pavements in Palestine (Khan 'Alya to Zir'īn) and an additional note on a cemetery at Karm esh Shaikh, Jerusalem, continued from vol. i, pp. 3–5.

The inscriptions and designs on the mosaics here dealt with require no comment.

Satura Epigraphica Arabica (iii) gives two inscriptions: (1) The foundation text in the shrine of Salmān al Fārisī at Isdūd, in cursive Mamluk nakshi by Balbān b 'Abdallāh, freedman of Amir 'Alam addīn Sanjar at-Turkistānī, A.D. 1269, and (2) the epitaph in the same shrine in provincial nakshi of Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm al-Matbūlī, d. 17th August, 1472.

The fourth-century Christian rock-cut tomb at Tarshīhā, near Acre, contains four loculi. There were no very novel finds.

The early Christian church (probably fifth century) at Khirbat 'Asida, was excavated in May, 1932, and had a central nave with two lateral aisles (separated from it by two rows of four columns or piers) and a narthex, the lower part of which had been cut in the rock. There was no trace of a chancel. The transformation of animal into plant forms by means of white tesserae was no doubt due to the Iconoclastic controversy.

The lead coins of Barqūq were secured by the Department in 1931 from a Jerusalem dealer. The legends on the reverse are all the same but the obverses show two different legends. The author of this article suggests the possibility that these coins are the "black dirhems" mentioned by Qalqalshandī, *Subḥ al-a'shā*, iii, p. 443.

The excavations in the Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem, were undertaken in May and August, 1932, with the view of extending existing knowledge of the plan and extent of the atrium which gave access to Constantine's basilica, and of its subsequent modifications.

Vol. iii, No. 2. pp. 63, pls. 18, figs. 28. 1933. 5*s*.

This issue contains a supplement to and summary of the catalogue of mosaic pavements, and articles on Tall Abū Hawām, a tomb at El Bassa of *c.* A.D. 396, the Byzantine church of Suhmātā, and a nude terra-cotta statuette of Aphrodite.

The supplement covers twenty-nine sites and also includes a list of abbreviations and a key to the patterns.

The summary deals with sources, classification of material, white and patterned pavements, pagan and lay buildings, ecclesiastical buildings, synagogues, subjects, animals, plants, geometric decoration, inscriptions, their dating and form, the dating and technique of mosaics, forgeries, artists, repairs, and Iconoclastic mutilations.

The entire catalogue contains 588 pavements or parts of pavements in 388 buidings, including 117 white and 280 patterned pavements.

The excavations at Tall Abu Hawām at the end of 1930 revealed it as originally a seaport which flourished when the post-Knossian Ægean expansion was flooding Palestine with Cypriote and Mycenean products, probably as the harbour for inland trade to Beisān, Megiddo, and the Esdraelon cities. During the Iron Age the inland demand decreased and the site was eventually deserted.

The earliest stratum produced Cypriote and Mycenean ware of the Amarna period and soon after the place was fortified with a Cyclopean wall. Remains of private buildings are slight, the earliest being probably of wood. Noteworthy was a rectangular building of hard red limestone, buttressed externally and surrounded by stone-lined pits.

Strata V and IV revealed an uninterrupted occupation, ended by fire in the twelfth century B.C., with two periods of building merging into each other.

Stratum III, which also apparently terminated in fire, evidences a reduced population shortly after IV, and in its higher levels was found Cypriote Iron Age pottery. It is probable from the absence of Middle Iron Age ware that the site was deserted from the ninth to the six centuries B.C., but was reoccupied during the Persian period.

Stratum II furnished the only distinguishable technique of building, the consolidation of rubble walls with ashlar piers built into them, similar to that of Stratum IV at Megiddo (age of Solomon).

The Christian tomb at El Bassa (c. 396) consists of an atrium and three loculi. The discovery here of lamps of the slipper type, which is usually assigned to the late fifth to eighth centuries, carries back the history of the type nearly one hundred years. Of the Byzantine basilican church at Suhmātā (A.D. 555) only the foundations and part of the pavement of the left half of the church remain. The mosaic inscriptions throw light on the ecclesiastical, economic, and social life of the more remote parts of Byzantine Palestine, e.g. the precedence of ecclesiastical over lay officials and of the local church administrator over the more distant higher ecclesiastics.

The Greek fourth to third century B.C. terra-cotta statuette of Aphrodite, found in 1929 in the Maghārat el Wād cave, has decided Praxitelean characteristics and is described as "probably the finest piece of Greek work in its kind so far found in Palestine".

It is entirely nude, the head, right arm, and left forearm being missing. On the back is a rough inscription, conjecturally translated "Paionios is happy".

Vol. iii, No. 3. pp. 32, pls. 24, figs. 6. 1933. 5*s.*

This issue contains articles on an early Christian basilica at 'Ein Henniya, a sixth-century synagogue at 'Isfiyā, Nabatean pottery from the Negeb, and medieval slip-ware from 'Atlīt.

The site at 'Ein Henniya contains the foundations of a basilica with atrium and narthex (in part excavated in June, 1932). The church underwent various changes of structure, probably in Iconoclastic times.

Under the altar was found a marble casket containing bones, presumably relics.

Two-fifths of the synagogue at 'Isfiyā, excavated in March, 1933, are buried under houses on the south side of a public courtyard. The synagogue was oriented due east, but not true as regards Jerusalem, a divergence which is duly examined. The building was apparently burnt about A.D. 530, perhaps as a result of rioting in connection with the anti-Jewish policy of Justinian.

The pre-Christian civilization of the Nabatean towns depends for its elucidation on pottery, the knowledge derived from which since the 1913–1914 survey of Lawrence and Woolley, has demonstrated a considerable occupation of and trade by these towns during the Hellenistic period. The Nabatean kingdom (overthrown by Trajan in 106) held a position on the trade routes across Arabia, which sprang up in the fourth century B.C. to meet the West European demand for eastern products. The fine texture and widespread area of their pottery is proof of the extensive influence of Hellenic art, whilst the Nabatean civilization in its turn considerably influenced early Islam. The pottery travelled along the caravan route from the Persian Gulf and Arabia via Petra to Gaza.

The medieval slip-ware from Pilgrim's Castle, 'Atlīt, together with the coins found there, illustrates the Crusader occupation. In some cases motifs are reminiscent of European heraldry, if not actual Crusading blazons, and one, it has been tentatively suggested, might be the coat of Austria or perhaps that of the Ibelin family of Tripoli and Antioch.

A. 54. E. B. W. CHAPPELOW.

CHANDRAKĀNTA ABHIDĀN, A DICTIONARY OF THE ASSAMESE LANGUAGE.

The first Assamese dictionary was compiled by Jadurām Dekā Baruā, and published by Mr. Bronson of the American Baptist Mission in 1867. A second was compiled by Hemachandra Baruā and published by the Government of Assam in 1900. The present is the third; it work owes its origin to Rāi Bāhādur Rādhākānta Hāndiqui who, in memory of his sons Chandrakānta and Indrakānta, created a trust fund of Rs. 30,000 for the advancement of the Assamese language, to be administered by the Assam Sāhitya Sabhā. It has been compiled under the auspices of the Sabhā, Mr. Debésvar Chaliha being the editor-in-chief. An introduction dealing with the origin and affinities of the language and its grammar and structure has been written by Mr. Debānanda Bharāli.

This dictionary appears to have been very carefully compiled. In addition to the meanings of the words, both in Assamese and English, their derivation is given and also, in many cases, quotations from well known writings illustrating their use. All concerned are to be congratulated on an excellent piece of work.

A. 78. E. A. GAIT.

DIALOGUES IN THE EASTERN TÜRKI DIALECT ON SUBJECTS OF INTEREST TO TRAVELLERS. Collected and edited by Sir E. DENISON ROSS, C.I.E., and RACHEL O. WINGATE. (James G. Forlong Fund. Vol. XI.) 9½ × 6, pp. xii + 48. London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1934. 4*s*. 6*d*.

STUDIEN ZU EINER OSTTÜRKISCHEN LAUTLEHRE. By GUNNAR JARRING. 9½ × 6¼, pp. xvi + 126 + 53, pl. 1, map 1. Lund: Borelius. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1933. Sch. Kr. 12 (Ausland RM. 12).

These two books on the same language present an interesting contrast, which is perhaps significant of the different method of approach of scholars of the two countries to their subject.

The British book concentrates upon the phraseology of the language and the subject matter of the dialogues; it aims at giving the reader a practical guide which would be of value to a traveller in the country and give him some idea of local manners and customs. The phonetic side of the language is dealt with somewhat summarily; indeed there are some indications, particularly in connection with the letter "r", which is so frequently elided in this dialect that, in spite of their efforts to maintain a purely colloquial tone and avoid literary modes of expression, the authors have not been entirely successful in writing down what a native of the country would actually say, instead of what he ought to say, on the basis of linguistic history.

The Scandinavian book, on the other hand, is a most painstaking and thorough study of the phonetics of the language, dealing with each sound in the utmost detail and using the texts rather as illustrations of the phonetic points involved than for their own sake.

Both books stand in the first rank in their particular class, but it is perhaps not mere insularity to describe the former as the more valuable.

Eastern Türki has been cursed from the earliest days of its investigation by an excessive attention to phonetic detail. It is as if the travellers to this country had devoted themselves not to a study of English language and literature, but to a precise investigation of the phonetic peculiarities of the various English counties. It is no doubt interesting to know what are the shibboleths which distinguish the dialects of Yarkand, Kashgar, Aqsu, Turfan, and the rest, but that is surely a refinement which can wait until we know a great deal more of what the inhabitants talk about among themselves, their daily conversation, their songs, and stories. It is the attention devoted to this aspect of the matter which gives the British book its particular value, and it is perhaps a pity that Sir Denison Ross should have devoted a considerable part of his volume to a reconstructed text in Arabic letters, which must have been expensive to print, rather than publish all the dialogues which he collected. A shorter specimen would surely have been sufficient.

One or two interesting points arising from Dr. Jarring's book are worth mentioning. On pp. 41 and following he discusses the question of vowel quantity and distinguishes between what he calls original long vowels and vowels lengthened by secondary circumstances, such as the elision of certain consonants. He quotes a passage from Kashgari referring to secondary lengthening, but omits to note the fact that Kashgari himself marks a certain number of original long vowels, though not entirely consistently, e.g. *ōt* " fire ", as distinguished from *ot* " vegetable ". It is my impression that these original long vowels (of which there are not a great number) appear in a different form from the corresponding short vowels in the Chuvash dialect ; the whole question is one which requires further investigation.

On page 50 Dr. Jarring has been misled by the faulty transliteration of Kök Türki, which is still generally employed. " Water " in Kök Türki was never *sub*, it was *suv*, just as it is in Uighur and other Turkish dialects. The Kök Türki letter was derived from the Aramaic ב, which is, after all, more often *v* than *b*, and is used to represent both sounds.

On page 57 Dr. Jarring makes the interesting observation that a number of vowels in Eastern Türki are "reduced", that is are pronounced very rapidly and lightly, but do not lose their original character. This is most important, since the phenomenon no doubt occurs in other dialects. Some scholars have built elaborate and rather wild theories of the origin of, and relationship between, some of the early dialects, particularly Coman, on the basis of supposed "palatalization" of certain vowels. It is now pretty clear that these vowels were merely "reduced", and that the theories must be reconsidered.

The statement on p. 104 that no true Turkish word begins with *n*- is incorrect. It is a rare initial, but, after all, *ne* "what" is one of the commonest words in the language.

929, A249 G. L. M. Clauson.

The Sāktas. An Introductory and Comparative Study. By Ernest A. Payne. The Religious Life of India. 7½ × 5, pp. 153, ills. 6. London: Oxford University Press, 1933. 5*s*.

Śākta is the name of that community of Indian worshippers which worships Śakti or Power. Power is its supreme form is the Almighty, is the *Magna Mater* of India. The reviewer has studied the subject of Śakti for some years, and has published a number of books on it, either under his own name or under the pen-name of "Arthur Avalon", which covers himself and a collaborator. These books constitute the bulk of the material on Śākta and Śakti with which the author has built his own book: and are, in part, of an apologetic character. The reviewer is not, however, the "convert" which the author of this book calls him (page 2). That "Arthur Avalon" covers both the reviewer and a collaborator was known from the first and not only at some time subsequent, as seems to be suggested (page 2) in this book. In all the reviewer's writings he has followed the Indian fashion and placed himself at the point of view of the Indian authors and commentators, which standpoint is not necessarily, and in all cases, his own. The author (pages 13 and 122) criticizes the reviewer's " allegorizing " and " laboured interpretation ". What he apparently takes to be the reviewer's words in these and other places are those of the Indian commentators and not inventions of the reviewer.

The Table of Contents, as given by the author (page 5), is as follows. The author first purports to describe the Sect and to outline its practices. He next considers the rise of Śākta ideas in the religious literature of the Hindus. He then attempts to indicate some causes of the popularity of the worship and the origin of some of its beliefs. The background is then filled in in greater detail. He next says (for politics are never far off in English discussions concerning India)—" Moreover, it is this background which helps to explain the close connection in certain places between Saktism and some of the extreme phases of the modern Nationalist Movement." Finally, with the object of the better understanding of the Sect, some comparisons with other systems of belief and practice are made. Under this heading the Reverend Mr. Payne refers to the Mother Goddesses of the Mediterranean, the mystery religions of antiquity, worship of the Virgin Mary, and the consciousness of the " Numinous " which is said to permeate much Śākta worship (page 108).

A bibliography is appended. This, however, is incomplete. Thus only eleven volumes of Arthur Avalon's *Tantrik Texts* are noted, whereas the seventeenth volume has been recently issued. Some other books have also been published, but have not been noted, such as *The Garland of Letters* and various Studies on Consciousness, Mind, and Matter. These subjects are dealt with from the standpoint of the doctrine of Power. Whilst writing this the reviewer has received a copy of the *Varivasyārahasya of Bhāskararāya*, edited by Pandit S. Subrahmanya Śāstri Tanjore.

The reviewer passes to the contents of this book with the observation that the space available does not allow of a complete and detailed criticism. There are, however, two matters which on account of their importance should be dealt with here. The author, referring to Saṁkara, says "he proclaimed a lower kind of Truth for ordinary men and a higher Truth for the philosophers" (page 44). This is an egregious misunderstanding of the Vedānta which accepts the principle that contradictory judgments cannot both be true. Again, the author says (pages 78–9): "In the Śākta literature there are many traces of the different strands of Vedānta teaching," but the Goddess seems always to be regarded in a more personal manner than is reconcilable with pure Monism." But surely the author should know that whatever a man's view may be as a metaphysician, he is, as a worshipper, necessarily a dualist. Advaitavedānta also has its Bhaktas. At page 79 the author says, in note 1, "but Ramprasad is usually a Theist." What is he unusually?

Schopenhauer somewhere says that religion is the metaphysic of the people. Ritual is the expression of the doctrines of philosophy and theology. The author does not state the conclusion of a philosophical or theological survey. Such a survey leads to the stupendous conclusion of the state of unity of Existence as the worlds of birth and death (Saṁsāra) and of the state of Being which is Liberation (Moksha). How is this realized? This is the work of ritual, worship, and Yoga. The author says that one of the three distinctive characteristics of Saktism is (page 3) "attention to ceremonial". This is a poverty-stricken description which tells us nothing. What does distinguish the Śākta ritual is the Mantra and Magical sections and that part of it which deals with the Secret Ritual. In the latter section the physical functions of the body are made the ingredients (*upāchāra*) of worship. It is commonly said that where there is Yoga there is no Bhoga (enjoyment), and where there is Bhoga there is no Yoga; but in this doctrine it is said that a man may have both. This is a distinctive and profound characteristic.

A. 230. JOHN WOODROFFE.

Children of the Yellow Earth: Studies in Prehistoric China. By J. Gunnar Andersson. 8½ × 6½; pp. xxi + 345; pls. 32; figs. 147. London: Kegan Paul, 1934. 25*s*.

The task of writing a book which should deal adequately with the geological history of China and should at the same time be intelligible to, and read by, those of us whose work is equally specialized but in a different direction, might have frightened any writer. It probably frightened Dr. Andersson, but the book he has produced shows clearly that any qualms he may have felt were unjustified. His method is one of great practical and scientific value. Dr. Andersson takes each geological period and gives an account of how the discoveries which led to the knowledge of that period were made. As he himself was instrumental in carrying out so much of the work, few could be more competent to give this historical summary, and, indeed, many parts none but he could have written. At the same time most of the chapter headings are preceded by a pen and ink sketch of the specialist who was most concerned in the particular period described in the chapter. May the reviewer hasten at once to congratulate Dr. Andersson on his skill in seizing a likeness and such essential details as bring one's friends before one from a drawing.

The chapters combine a popular summary of scientific monographs with the advantages of a travel book. The author has usually been fortunate in his translator, but there are occasional much-to-be-regretted lapses. "The blue-violet top-hat of the Temple of Heaven," for instance, is a phrase which seems to lack elegance in the English tongue.

Important as are the earlier phases in the history of the structure of China, no doubt the greatest interest is still centred on the remains of man and his immediate congeners. Dr. Andersson's work on Chalcolithic China is well expressed and the association of his finds with those of the painted ware of Western Asia is generally accepted. The relations of the various cultures are given in great detail in the monographs of *Paleontologica Sinica*, which will naturally be consulted. In this book, however, we have them separated from a good deal of technical detail and put in their relationship to one another which is not possible in a series of special papers. The very excellent half-tones of scenery also help considerably.

In discussing what may be conveniently described as the human geology of China Dr. Andersson presents first a most valuable chapter on dragons' bones with an account of the extinct animals to which they belonged. This naturally leads to Peking Man, as Dr. Black was originally put on the track of his unique discoveries by the Zdansky's purchase of dragon bones which turned out to be Hominid teeth. The importance of Peking man is told clearly and simply without technical obscurities. The next stage is the discovery of Man of the Middle Palæolithic in the Ordos region, with which Père Licent's and Père Teilhard's names are especially associated. Man was living in China before the coming of the yellow mantle with which we, living in this latter age, associate with the home of the sons of Han. Then we come to the early loess dwellers, the discovery of whose villages converted Dr. Andersson from a geologist into an archæologist. In a series of later chapters Dr. Andersson shows the legacies which these people have left to the modern Chinese and so discusses at considerable length the symbolism of the decoration and the distribution of the symbolism.

In dealing with all these complicated subjects Dr. Andersson is clear and simple and balances the evidence in a way that is seldom found in writers of popular narrative. He is careful to point out that the Chou K'ou Tien cave is by no means fully explored and we may still hope for yet further discoveries. It is sad to think that Dr. Black, to whom the book is dedicated, is no longer with us to throw the insight of his brilliant brain and the work of his extraordinary skilful fingers into the solution of the new problems which increased material is likely to provide.

A. 256. L. H. D. BUXTON.

THE DIFNAR (ANTIPHONARIUM) OF THE COPTIC CHURCH. Part III. Ed. by DE LACY O'LEARY. From the Vatican Codex Copt. Borgia 53 (2). 11 × 8½; pp. vii + 66. London: Luzac & Co. 1930. 15*s*.

The Difnar (*'Αντιφωνάριον*) contains the hymns which are appointed to be sung at the Evening (vigil) and Morning Service of Incense in the Coptic Church. These hymns are either in honour of the Saints and Angels or commemorate one of the Feasts of the ecclesiastical year. For each day of the year there are two hymns, one of these, to the air "Adam", is used when the commemoration falls on a Sunday, Monday, or Tuesday, and the other, to the air "Batos", is for use when the commemoration falls on any of the four remaining days of the week. The reason for the use of the terms "Adam" and "Batos" is that the Theotokia of Monday begins with the words ⲁⲇⲁⲙ ⲉⲧⲓ ⲉϥⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲕⲁϩⲛϩⲏⲧ, "Adam, moreover, was sorrowful," and the Theotokia of Thursday begins with the words ⲡⲓⲃⲁⲧⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲡ̣ϣⲁϥⲉ, "The bush which Moses saw in the wilderness." These terms indicate, therefore, the tune to which the hymn is to be sung. Each stanza consists of four lines, and the lines of a stanza in a hymn to the air "Batos" are longer than those of a stanza in a hymn to the air "Adam".

The main theme of the hymns of the Difnar is the eulogy of the Saints, with brief remarks on their life and works, which may be seen from the following verses taken from the hymn in commemoration of St. Athanasius (page 3*b*):—

O great Athanasius, faithful shepherd of Christ's flock which is in the world,
Thou didst flee from before kings for the sake of the holy Orthodox Faith.
Thou wert met by all the people who glorified God on account of thy return.
Thy teaching hath filled the whole world by reason of thine ardent desire for Christ.

The source from which the hymns of the Difnar have been compiled is the Synaxarium or Martyrology of the Coptic Church. The Synaxarium in its Arabic form was completed towards the end of the thirteenth century, and we must, therefore, place the date of the Difnar in its final form somewhere in the latter part of the same century. Who compiled this work or where it was produced is not known, but it seems probable that it emanated from one of the monasteries of the Wādī'n-Naṭrūn, and very possibly from that of St. Macarius. The spelling of Saints' names in the Difnar according to the form which they assumed in Arabic, e.g. Autīkhus (اوتيخس) for Eutychius, may be due to the fact that the compilers of the hymns were using the Arabic Synaxarium, but, on the other hand, this orthography may have been intentional, since it is possible that by the thirteenth century the Saints' names in their proper Coptic or Greek forms would no longer have been recognized by the average layman.

The present volume (Part III) concludes Dr. De Lacy O'Leary's edition of the Difnar. It contains the last four months of the Coptic year together with the five (or six) intercalary days. The MS. which furnishes the text for these months is Vat. Borgia 53 (2). Unfortunately, all the MSS. of the Difnar which are found in the various libraries of Europe are of extremely late date, mostly of the second half of the eighteenth century, and MS. Vat. Borgia 53 (2) is no exception to this rule. It abounds in such debased forms as ⲉⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ for ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ, ⲉⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲩⲗⲟⲥ for ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ, ⲙⲁϣⲁ ⲛⲉⲕ for ⲙⲁϣⲉ ⲛⲁⲕ. A more serious defect, however, is that the hymns in this MS. are considerably abridged. If we take, for example, the hymn in commemoration of St. Iskhirôn of Ḳillin (page 15*b*), we find that it consists of four verses, whereas, in the MS. of the Difnar of the Coptic Museum, Cairo, there are twelve verses.[1] It is to be hoped, therefore, that at some future time this MS. of the Coptic Museum as well as the MS. of the Difnar in the library of the monastery of St. Antony in Egypt (dated A.M. 1101 = A.D. 1385) may be carefully examined, since with the late material at present available no true appreciation of the Difnar can be made.

---

[1] Cf. Muséon, tome xlvii, pp. 8–11.

In the meantime, students of Coptic and of Eastern Church Hymnology owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. De Lacy O'Leary for having made available texts which otherwise would have had to be consulted in MSS.

A. 344. O. H. E. BURMESTER.

ESSAYS ON MOGUL ART. By W. E. GLADSTONE SOLOMON. 9½ × 7¼, pp. xxx + 96, ills. 18. London: Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, 1932. 15s.

The Director of the Bombay School of Art has in this book collected a series of studies, now re-edited and rearranged, formerly contributed to a well-known Indian journal. The essays, which are largely concerned with Mughal painting and architecture, are obviously written for a rather wider public than most books of this nature; they are popular and discursive, but they have value from the facts that Mr. Solomon holds definite opinions and can express them uncommonly well. Freedom from academic restraint has given him an opportunity to indulge a real descriptive talent, and he conveys the atmosphere of Indian scenes with skill and feeling.

The book is, unfortunately, somewhat spoilt by the disproportionate space given to controversy—and rather bitter controversy: Mr. Solomon's especial cuts being directed against "occultists" in general and Mr. Havell in particular.

Most of the illustrations are of pictures in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

982. J. V. S. WILKINSON.

TRIAL OF DIWAN MUL RAJ (Governor of Multan). Edited by SITA RAM KOHLI. Punjab Government Record Office Publications, Monograph No. 14. 9¾ × 6¼, pp. x + 192 + xxxvi. Lahore: Punjab Government Record Office, 1932. Rs. 8.12, or 13*s.* 2*d.*

This is Monograph 14 of the Punjab Record Office publications and is edited by the Deputy Keeper of the Records, who has added notes and an introduction. Mr. Kohli found in the vernacular records the official copy of evidence taken at the trial and has made a fresh translation into English, after collating with some rare contemporary versions, and has added one or two relevant documents. He has done an excellent piece of work and the introduction covers all important features of the rebellion at Multan in 1848, though he should, perhaps, have added that small gold coins issued in the name of Mul Raj are known.

786. R. BURN.

DISCOVERIES IN ANATOLIA, 1930–31. By HANS HENNING VON DER OSTEN, RICHARD A. MARTIN, and JOHN A. MORRISON. (Or. Inst. of Univ. of Chicago: *Or. Inst. Communications*, No. 14.) 8½ × 6¾, pp. xii + 150, figs. 134. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933. $2.00.

This instalment of Anatolian exploration covers two seasons' work at the Alişar Mound, a small excavation at Gâvur-Kalesi, and two seasons' "survey and exploration".

The Alişar excavation began in 1927, but it does not appear that much had been ascertained in the first three seasons' work, about the structure and history of the mound, to judge from the questions propounded for solution thereafter (p. 1). And it is not very encouraging to learn that in 1930, on instructions from Chicago, the objective was "seeking more especially cuneiform tablets" of which two fragments had been found in 1929 "not *in situ* but in refuse layers". The excavator, however, says that "superimposed layers", above the tablet-yielding settlement, were "conscientiously recorded before they could be removed ". An important point was the discovery that on this site " Hittite " hieroglyphic inscriptions only occurred in the layer called " Period IV ", correlated by its pottery-style with the later Phrygian ware of Gordium, that is to say, subsequent to the fall of the " Hittite Empire " at the end of the thirteenth century. Below this stratum it is not easy to follow the excavator's account, except that (pp. 21, 22) " Period III " preceded " Period II ", and that " Period III " is typologically related to " Period I ", which includes five " levels " (p. 23) and seems to embrace the whole of the " Copper Age " and also a Neolithic settlement with pottery richly incised and very seldom painted. Why this is all called " Period I " when the evidence is (p. 27) that 11 metres remain to be excavated, is not very clear. The conjecture is offered by the excavator that the objects described as of " Period II " represent an " alien " culture, which he identifies (because it recurs at Boghaz Keui) with that of " Hittite " conquerors of the Anatolian folk responsible for the culture hitherto referred to " Period III ". Is it not time that these premature " periods " were superseded by references to archæologically determined sequences of culture ?

Gâvur-Kalesi (more familiar formerly as Ghiaour Kalesi) was discovered by Perrot and Guillaume in 1861, but its impressive buildings and sculptures could not be dated without excavation. Both the walls and the reliefs have now (1930) been shown to belong to the earliest occupants of the site, early in the Hittite period, and probably about 1700–1600 B.C. Two later strata carry the history of the site into the " Phrygian " culture of Gordium and the " post-Hittite " of Alişar.

The " survey and exploration " in this report consists of the usual narrative of a hasty tour. Even the " paleolithic station " near Pirun (p. 131) is dismissed in four lines, with a blurred photograph of some bushes. Is this sort of thing worth the cost of printing ?

955. J. L. MYRES.

SUKHANVARĀN-I-ĪRĀN DAR 'AṢR-I-ḤĀẒIR (Poets and Poetry of Modern Persia). Vol. I. By M. ISHAQUE. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. vii + 455, portraits 32. Calcutta : The Author, 1933.

This is the first instalment of an extensive anthology in three parts (two of which are to be devoted to poetry, while the third is reserved for prose), and its publication almost simultaneously with D. J. Irani's *Poets of the Pahlavi Regime* supplies evidence of a growing interest in contemporary Persian literature. Mr. Ishaque, who is lecturer in Arabic and Persian at Calcutta University, possesses unusual qualifications for a task of this kind. In order to collect materials and first-hand information, he went to Persia, where he passed several months and became personally acquainted with many of the thirty-three poets from whose writings he has given extracts accompanied by portraits and short critical biographies. The book shows taste and scholarship ; perhaps its chief merit is that it brings us into close touch not only with the subject but with the authors themselves, their occupations and characteristics, and the literary circles in which they move. Most of the poets represented here—not all, as the preface, p. 2, implies—are still living. The pieces chosen illustrate the same conflict between old and new styles which is going on elsewhere in the East ; yet both are marked by a general absence of artificiality, which no doubt reflects the strong patriotism and moral earnestness of the writers. There is much to admire in this poetry, minor as it is for the most part. The names of Íraj and 'Ishqí will not soon be forgotten, and the future may award an equal or higher rank to some of those who have survived them.

997. R. A. NICHOLSON.

THE RT. HON. SIR ERNEST SATOW, G.C.M.G. A Memoir. By BERNARD M. ALLEN. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, pp. vi + 152, photo 1, map 1. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., 1933. 5*s*.

Dr. Bernard Allen is to be congratulated on having produced a well-written and very interesting memoir of the distinguished diplomat and learned scholar, Sir Ernest Satow. In the writing of it, use has been made of the large collection of private letters and documents which Sir Ernest bequeathed to the Public Record Office and which, Dr. Allen found, threw a good deal of light on Sir Ernest's character and career. The memoir is especially interesting as giving an entertaining account of our early relations with Japan, of the great constitutional changes that took place there, and of the remarkable progress made in that country. We can strongly recommend this memoir to anyone who wishes to gain an insight into the rapid development of Japan and of the important part played by Satow in connection with it. He first went to Japan as a student interpreter in 1861, when he was only 18, served there until 1883, and again as Minister from 1895 to 1900. During that long period of service he had become an expert in the Japanese language and no foreigner was ever better known in that country or possessed of a greater knowledge of it, and the memoir is especially interesting in its account of Satow's life and labours in Japan. But it also gives particulars regarding his activities in other fields which space forbids our dwelling on here. An appendix contains a list of Satow's writings which will be most useful for students who wish to study those scholarly productions. Dr. Allen has written a memoir as instructive as it is interesting.

A. 42. J. H. STEWART LOCKHART.

A CRITICAL PALI DICTIONARY. Begun by V. TRENCKNER (revised, continued, and edited by DINES ANDERSEN and HELMER SMITH). Vol. I, pt. 5 (with list of additional abbreviations, some remarks on critics and new texts). 12 × 10, pp. 48 + 7. Copenhagen: Published for the Royal Danish Academy by Levin and Munksgaard, 1933. Kr. 5.

It is always a treat to receive a new issue of this dictionary. I feel tempted to say a "rare" treat, in both senses of the word. It is the outcome of long years of conscientious and careful work, and by no means simply a "revision, continuation, and edition" of Trenckner's collectanea. Nor is it merely a dictionary. The editions and manuscripts on which it is based have been critically examined, and every available source has been exploited in order to give reliable information about the various forms and meanings: manuscripts, grammatical and metrical texts, commentaries, etc. Many of the articles have thus become small essays, comprehensive and reliable. The authors have tried to make the references as complete as possible, and new material which comes to light in the course of time will be utilized for additions: we are promised no less than 500 such entries for the published pages, 1–234, *a–anodissa*. Such additions will probably have to be collected in a big list when the dictionary is finished.

A. 59. STEN KONOW.

SHITĀB KHĀN OF WARANGAL. By DR. HIRANANDA SASTRI. Hyderabad Archæological Series, No. 9. 13 × 10, pp. x + 28, pls. 6. Published by His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government. Calcutta: Printed at the Baptist Mission Press, 1932.

Dr. Hirananda Sastri, the Government epigraphist, here gives an account of the short-lived kingdom of Shitāb Khān of Warangal in the Nizam's dominions. He also gives a facsimile of the Sanskrit inscription of Shitāb Khān in the fort at Warangal with a careful transliteration and translation. His analysis of the records and traditions found in the Muhammadan historians and Telugu works will contribute to the unravelling of the dynastic history of the Deccan in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

A. 60. E. J. THOMAS.

THE DAWN OF CONSCIENCE. The Sources of our Moral Heritage in the Ancient World. By J. H. BREASTED. $3\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, pp. xxvi + 431, ills. 19. New York and London: C. Scribner Sons, 1933. $3·0.

The title of this book is scarcely defensible. It is extremely improbable that the date at which certain moral ideas were recorded in Egypt synchronized with the "dawn" of these ideas; and the author's casual assumption that the pre-Egyptian world had "customs" but no "conscience" seems very unlikely indeed. Perhaps, however, the author wishes to give "conscience" a *very* narrow connotation and to regard it as a mandatory inner voice (p. 255) preaching "social idealism" of a democratic type (e.g. p. 383) with a tinge of unsuperstitious monotheism rather like Ikhnaton's. If so, his thesis is more plausible.

While it is unhistorical (and unprehistorical) to maintain that primitive man was *only* a labouring drudge, and obviously false to suggest that a highly developed "technocracy" preceded even the rudiments of "social idealism" in human development, it may well be true that the modern world should renounce the ways of Babylon and go to school with Amenemope and a select number of other ancient Egyptians; and the author's account of Egyptian ethico-theologico-eschatological thought (for the ethical vein does not really predominate) is profoundly interesting and very well, if rather exuberantly, told. True, the explicit parallels he draws between Egyptian and other later aphorisms are sometimes rather disappointing. It would be amazing, for instance, if no one before the Egyptian Sindbad, about 2000 B.C., had hit upon the idea that it might be pleasant to remember surmounted misfortunes. In the main, however, the author certainly succeeds in showing that much that we may reasonably regard as the more enlightened part of our modern ethics had pre-Hebraic (and lineal) sources in Egypt; and there is force in his reminder that just as the modern era learnt as much from the rediscovery of the classics as from its own new discoveries, so we, who are so inventive, may learn enormously from the newly accessible evidence regarding the preclassical culture that flourished for millennia in the Nile Valley.

A. 66. JOHN LAIRD.

INDIAN SCULPTURE. By ST. KRAMRISCH. Heritage of India Series. 7½ × 5¼, pp. xvi + 240, figs. 116, map 1. London: Oxford University Press; Calcutta: Y.M.C.A. Publishing House, 1933. Rs. 4.8, 8*s*. 6*d*.

Dr. Kramrisch's work forms part of the well-known Heritage of India Series. The purpose is not to give an outline of a history of Indian sculpture, but to survey its structure in its relevant aspects. . "The underlying and essential qualities will be viewed in their permanency throughout the special conditions that the single monuments imply. Their outward connections, geographical and chronological, will be seen to resolve themselves into ethnical problems and those of the artistic process itself." The first three chapters discuss the periods in which Dr. Kramrisch divides Indian sculpture, viz. Ancient Indian (Indus Valley and Mauryan), Classical (200 B.C.–A.D. 800), and Mediaeval (*c*. A.D. 800 to thirteenth century, in South India to eighteenth century); the fourth contains a survey of the essential qualities of Indian plastic art, and the fifth gives an explanation of the plates. Furthermore there are elaborate notes, a bibliography, an index, and a large number of plates. Dr. Kramrisch possesses a remarkable knowledge of Indian art and does not content herself with mere facts and outward show. Her book, therefore, contains many valuable suggestions. It is a pity, however, that her style and terminology makes her argumentation extremely difficult to understand by people not used to it.

A. 67. A. J. BERNET KEMPERS.

TELL ASMAR, KHAFAJE AND KHORSABAD. Second Preliminary Report of the Iraq Expedition. By HENRI FRANKFORT. Oriental Institute Communications, No. 16. 9¾ × 7, pp. viii + 102, pls. 66. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1933.

This is a preliminary report, well illustrated, with excellent plans, which laymen will not need architects to interpret, and a clear description of a season's work which reflects great credit on the expedition. The periods illustrated are the pre-Sargonid and Sargonid, chiefly at Khafaji, the Third Ur Dynasty and the succeeding centuries at Tell Asmar, and the late eighth century B.C. at Khorsabad. Both buildings and antiquities serve to fill gaps in our knowledge, and give precision to conclusions not previously more than theoretical. Students of Indian antiquities will specially welcome the evidence for precisely dating some antiquities which obviously were imported from the Indus Valley to about 2500 B.C.; it is a misfortune that it is impossible securely to date these objects within the Indus Valley civilization. Attention may be particularly drawn to the interesting discoveries at Sargon II's city, which have finally proved that the "harim" is in reality a three-fold sanctuary, and throw a new light on the installations in Assyrian temples. The Oriental Institute Expedition has a long and arduous task before it on sites of first-class importance; we wish it continued success, and hope that it may always be possible to publish a yearly report as excellent as this.

A. 80. SIDNEY SMITH.

TEXTES LIBANAIS (EN ARABE ORIENTAL). By MICHEL FEGHALI. pp. 100. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1933. Fr. 16.

This collection of texts in the dialect of Mount Lebanon, with a glossary, has been published for use in class. Most of the texts can be classed as folk-lore, but the matter is varied and the vocabulary wide. It is to be feared that the book will not be of much use to the private student, for it is printed in Arabic characters, and vulgar Arabic is more puzzling in that script than in Roman.

A. 85. A. S. TRITTON.

A Coptic Gnostic Treatise contained in the Codex Brucianus: A translation from the Coptic transcript and a Commentary. By Charlotte A. Baynes. 10½ × 6, pp. xxv + lxi + 229, pls. 27. Cambridge: University Press, 1933. 30*s*.

The *Codex Brucianus* was acquired by James Bruce of Kinnaird (1730–1794), the famous Abyssinian traveller, who discovered the Ethiopic version of the Book of Enoch, in Egypt in the year 1772–3. When C. G. Woide (1725–1790) returned in 1773–4 from his royal mission to study Oriental MSS. in Paris it was sent to him for study as the recognized authority on Sa'îdi or Sahidic, i.e. the Coptic dialect of Upper Egypt. He studied the text and made a copy of it, which was subsequently found to contain many mistakes. What happened to the MS. and Woide's copy after 1790 is not known, but they both passed into the possession of Bodley's Librarian in 1848. A little later M. G. Schwartze made a copy of Woide's transcript and found it very faulty: whilst occupied in preparing an edition of the Coptic text death overtook him and nothing more was done until Amélineau published a volume on the Bruce papyrus in *Notices et Extraits*, Paris, 1891. Amélineau was a sick man writing in a hurry against death, but he was a great Coptic scholar, probably the greatest of his day; his quarrel with his Church destroyed him. About this time Dr. C. Schmidt went to Oxford and submitted the Codex Bruce to a critical examination, and discovered that it contained two distinct works, and that as a result of the operations of the Bodleian binder, many of the papyrus leaves had been bound upside down and that three (or four) of them which Woide had copied had entirely disappeared. Dr. Schmidt made a new copy of the Codex, and published it with a German translation and commentary in 1892. There was so much wrong with this translation that he found it necessary to republish it with corrections three years later.

The first work in the Codex filled, in Woide's time, forty-three leaves or eighty-six pages; to this Dr. Schmidt gave the name of " First and Second Books of Jeou ". The second work consists of thirty-two leaves (sixty-one pages) and is the subject of Mrs. Baynes's book. The language used is the ordinary dialect of Upper Egypt, heavily charged with Greek words. The names of the author and scribe are unknown, and the little treatise lacks beginning and end. The great merit of Mrs. Baynes's book is its honesty. She gives us photographic reproduction of the papyrus leaves (sixty-one pages in all), so in studying the text we know exactly where we are. There are no mistakes due to editor or compositor. Each page is followed by a transcript in good, clear Coptic type, and we have no doubt about her readings. Then comes a page for page English translation, and each page is followed by a commentary upon it. Five indices supply the student with all the help he ought to need. And Mr. W. Lewis, M.A., has produced a masterpiece of luxurious Oriental printing.

The little treatise which Mrs. Baynes's labours allow us to study with such satisfaction contains a series of meditations of a highly religious and philosophical character on God and His Universe, and the prosperity of man in this world and in the next. These show clearly that the author and his fellow Gnostics invented nothing, except the so-called " Gnostic systems " which always broke down and covered their creators with confusion. The Gnostics borrowed from every form of religious system, the old pagan cults of Egypt, the Hebrew Ḳabbâlâh, the cults of the Sûdân, Babylonia and Persia, and the Middle East. The old pagan cults of Egypt supplied most of their material, and this is not to be wondered at. Egypt gave them the bisexual god, duads, triads, pentads, ogdoads, and enneads, and the framework of the gnostic views on the cosmogony and the underworld. The god who is discussed in our treatise is only a reflection of the old god of Memphis whose cult flourished in the fourth millennium B.C. Ptah-Nunu, Ptah-Tanen, or simply Ptah was a self-created, self-extant, eternal Mind or Heart, who created the universe by thinking. The Egyptian idiom is *kheper em ab* " it came into the heart ". He was the One, or the One One, or the Only One, without equal. The Memphites held that Temu of Heliopolis and his company of gods were only the *thoughts* of the god Ptah, whose influence and presence existed in all things, who was the source of all life and movement, and the sustainer of all. He was infinitely good and gracious, and praises which the Gnostics showered on their One One are only developments of the phrases found in the hymns to the " father of fathers, mother of mothers, and king and lord and creator of the gods ". The hymn to the Light (p. 26 f.) is based on the hymn to Rā in the fifteenth chapter of the Theban *Book of the Dead.* Often the Gnostics borrowed ideas and phrases from older cults which they did not understand. The texts show that although they adopted the old palindrome *ablanathanalba*, they neither knew its meaning nor its correct form.

The doctrines contained in our little treatise would undoubtedly form the esoteric knowledge of the high priest or chief initiate, but they could never have been understood by the peasant *fallāḥ* or " man in the mud " as he has been called. In his opinion religion was made for man and not man for religion, and he expected his religion to benefit him in this world and in the next. The practical side of gnosticism must never be forgotten. The " man in the mud " clung to his amulets and talismans, and magical drama, and words of power so closely that the very name of Gnosticism came to stink in the nostrils of the Fathers of the Church. In practice men found that the Christian cults could not be welded to the pagan cults, for it was impossible, and therefore the gnostic " systems " collapsed.

The general reader will, of course, find the commentary the most interesting part of Mrs. Baynes's book. It is a good and useful piece of work and should help the student greatly, but there is controversial matter in it and this will provoke criticism. And on some points more information would have been very acceptable. We want to know more about Barbelo, especially in the light of Kropp's remarks in his

Koptische Zaubertexte (iii, p. 20). More might have been said about Abraxas, the angel who sits by the side of the tree in Paradise and possesses a harp. Greater use might have been made of the evidence of the Gnostic gems, and especially of those which have been described by Matter and King. None of these texts stands alone and each helps in the understanding of the other. But every reader of Mrs. Baynes's book will feel that she has earned the right to be grouped with the great native literary ladies of ancient Egypt, viz. Nesi-tanebtasḥru, who wrote a papyrus roll of the Theban *Book of the Dead* 134 feet in length[1]; Nesi-khonsu, who drafted the deed of covenant[2] between herself and Amen Rā, the king of the gods at Thebes; and the Memphite lady who copied the great book of St. Michael the Archangel.[3]

A. 102. † E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.

ANNALES DU SIAM. IIIe Volume: Chronique de Xieng Mai. Traduction de M. CAMILLE NOTTON. Paris, 1932. Frs. 210.

In this volume M. Notton continues the important task of making available to European scholars the more or less legendary chronicles of the Lao of Northern Siam. He is here concerned with the story of the kingdom of Chiengmai from its foundation in the latter half of the thirteenth century until its absorption by the modern kingdom of Siam towards the end of last century. The author has the advantage of a long residence in the country and a thorough knowledge of the language, while there is abundant evidence as to the careful and painstaking character of his researches. One must, however, beware of placing too much reliance on the text of manuscripts which, in most cases, can only be comparatively late copies, and which, judging by the analogy of Siamese histories and law texts, have undergone repeated revisions and alterations. But, whatever the ultimate historical value of the work, there can be no doubt that it forms a mine of information concerning early Tai customs and institutions which will be of lasting interest and importance to students of these subjects. The volume is illustrated with a number of good photographs of some of the abundant archæological remains which exist in this region and testify to the zeal for Buddhism and the high level of civilization attained by this attractive people.

---

[1] The Greenfield Papyrus in the British Museum (ed. Budge).

[2] In the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (ed. Maspero).

[3] Coptic MS. in the Zouche Collection, now in the British Museum (ed. Budge).

A. 108. H. G. QUARITCH WALES.

JEMENICA : SPRICHWÖRTER UND REDENSARTEN AUS ZENTRAL-JEMEN MIT ZAHLREICHEN SACH- UND WÖRTERERLÄUTERUNGEN. By S. D. F. GOITEIN. 9½ × 6¾, pp. xxiii + 194. Leipzig: Kommissionsverlag von Otto Harrassowitz, 1934. RM. 10.

This is a collection of Arabic proverbs in use amongst the Yemenite Jews, preceded by a grammatical sketch and followed by an index of subjects. The number of proverbs collected is 1,432, and almost simultaneously there has appeared a collection of more than 5,000 Arabic proverbs from Palestine (with Arabic and German title-pages, edited by M. Thilo, G. Kampffmeyer, and Pastor Sa'id Abbud, Berlin, 1933). The latter work is in the Arabic character; Herr Goitein's is in transliteration; in both the import of the proverbs is carefully explained, but Herr Goitein furnishes more in the way of illustration. The two collections seem very rarely, if ever, to coincide, though parallels to the Yemenite proverbs are frequently cited.

Herr Goitein's work is of great value owing to the care with which the sounds heard are reproduced, rendering it important for the study of a little-known dialect, the accuracy with which the words employed are interpreted, and the mass of information brought to bear upon the matters to which the proverbs allude. These, as might be expected, belong to almost every variety of human activity, domestic, social, commercial, agricultural, industrial, etc. The local colouring which they display is decidedly richer than a similar collection of English proverbs would show. Herr Goitein's book has earned warm commendation and gratitude.

A. 156. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN ISLAM. By Sir MOHAMMAD IQBAL. 9 × 5¾, pp. vi + 192. London: Oxford University Press: Humphrey Milford, 1934. 7*s.* 6*d.*

The contents of this book scarcely come within the scope of the *JRAS.*, since they are partly metaphysical discussions, partly devotional meditations on the Qur'an, occasionally merging into Islamic propaganda. Its statements both about Islam and its Prophet are likely to be new to many followers of the system: e.g. that the Prophet of Islam was the first critical observer of psychic phenomena, that the birth of Islam is the birth of inductive intellect, that the descriptions in the Qur'an (of Heaven and Hell) are visual representations of an inner fact, i.e. character. Great skill (or may we say ingenuity?) is displayed in showing how the Qur'an either anticipates or at least contains the germs of ideas which we associate with European thinkers: even Einstein must look to his laurels, since " the Qur'an always fixes its gaze on the concrete which the theory of Relativity has only recently taught modern philosophy to see ".

From the Qur'anic law of inheritance which makes the share of the male equal to that of two females the superiority of the male over the female has been inferred; such an assumption would, Sir M. Iqbal observes, be contrary to the spirit of Islam. " The Qur'an says: And for women are rights over men similar to those for men over women." This citation is rather disingenuous, since the text adduced (ii, 228) not only says nothing of this sort, but distinctly affirms the superiority of the males. It can be accurately rendered *And they* (the women) *have rights commensurate with their duties, and the men* (Pickthall) *are a degree above them* (the women) or (Sale) *but the men ought to have a superiority over them.*

The writer's command of eloquent English is complete, and his acquaintance with philosophical literature, both European and Asiatic, extraordinarily wide. The form in which he reproduces proper names and Arabic words is more like what we should expect from an Indian than from an English University Press.

A. 118. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

UN DOCUMENT PORTUGAIS SUR LA PLACE DE MAZAGAN AU DÉBOUT DU XVIIE SIÈCLE. Traduction française avec introduction et commentaires, par ROBERT RICARD, Directeur d'études à l'Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines. Publications de la Section historique du Maroc : Documents d'histoire et de géographie marocaines. 10 × 6½, pp. 81, plan 1. Paris : Paul Geuthner, 1932. Frs. 20.

This is the French translation of the Portuguese text descriptive of the fortress of Mazaghan, Algeria, by D. Jorge de Mascarenhas, who was kept in prison by corsairs from 1615 to 1619 and later became Governor of Tanger. His biography is given by the author in the introduction.

The description consists of two parts. The first part, which in the author's opinion was prefixed to the text at a later date, gives a short description of the place of Mazaghan, its artillery, garrison, officials and officers, the husbandry of its surrounding region, and the fishery of its coast. The second part contains the observations (*regimento*) of Mascarenhas on how to war at Mazagan : in three chapters ("points") he imparts interesting details on the tactics employed by the inhabitants of Azemmour and the Arab nomads of the hinterland in the wars against one another.

R. Ricard's French translation is very careful and is provided with many notes of topical interest and a seventeenth-century plan of Mazaghan. To supplement his work he also appends to it extracts from contemporary and later descriptions of Mazaghan and of the military organization of Tanger as well.

A. 120. JOSEPH DE SOMOGYI.

TĀRĪKH-I MUFAṢṢAL-I ĪRĀN AZ ISTĪLĀ-I MUGHUL TA IʻLĀNI MASHRŪṬIYAT: A detailed history of Iran from the Mongol Conquest to the Proclamation of the Constitution. In four volumes. Vol. I: From the Invasion of Chingiz to the Rise of the Timurid Empire. By ABBAS IQBAL. 9½ × 6¾, pp. 636, map 1, ills. 21. Ṭihran: Majlis Press, A.H.S. 1312/A.D. 1934.

A comprehensive and detailed history of Muslim Persia has long been desired by those who deal with historical texts relating to the country. In the course of their reading they are constantly confronted by the names of numerous personages and dynasties who have played their part in the complex story of the Persian people and have then disappeared leaving some trace, whether great or small, of the activities which brought them a claim to be mentioned. But to give a complete and ordered picture of all these activities requires the literary and historical power of another Gibbon and, even more, a mass of fresh materials to repair the gaps in our knowledge. It is not obvious in the present work that these requirements have been fulfilled. Details there are in plenty and the encyclopædic quantity of them has a value of its own, taken in conjunction with a good index. It is difficult, however, to make out the wood for the trees, and the difficulty is not lessened by the numerous quotations from ordinarily available historical texts. It is to the credit of the author that except for occasional lapses into the more florid style induced by his reading of the Mongol historians his language is simple and straightforward, so that the reading, if dull, is at any rate not hampered by doubts about the sense. A long chapter in the book is devoted to the literary history of the period and a brief and not very satisfactory account is given of the arts, sciences, and crafts encouraged by the Mongols. At the end of the book there appears a map, which, to Western eyes at any rate, would appear to be of small value.

A. 142. R. LEVY.

TUGHLUQ-NĀMA, by AMĪR KHUSRAW of Dihlī. Edited by S. HASHIMI FARIDABADI. 10 × 7, pp. 151. Awrangabad: Persia MSS. Society, 1933. Rs. 4.

This hitherto unpublished work of Amīr Khusraw has been printed under the auspices of a Hyderabad (Deccan) society whose commendable object is the production of Persian works still in manuscript. The work is a *mathnawī* poem having for its basis events in the life of Tughluq-shāh I, Sultan of Dihli, and, like most such compositions, is interspersed with a number of illustrative anecdotes. It was composed towards the end of the poet's life and would appear not to have been amongst his most inspired works. The editing provides a readable text—which is perhaps more than can be said (in another sense) of the printing—but it has unfortunately been based upon an incomplete manuscript, believed unique, and there are about eighty lines lacking, a large section being at the end. A long introduction in Urdu gives an account of the poet's life and works.

A. 127. R. LEVY.

THE PORTUGUESE PIONEERS. By EDGAR PRESTAGE. The Pioneer Histories. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xiv + 352, maps 4. London: A. & C. Black, 1933. 15*s*.

Professor Prestage gives us in readable form the fascinating, but necessarily incomplete, story of the explorations which at last brought the Portuguese to India as well as America. That the story is incomplete is due mainly to the policy of secrecy pursued at the time, but hopes are held out that some of the gaps may be filled in from sources as yet imperfectly explored. At some future time, then, the book may need some additions or corrections, but for the present it can be recommended as giving all that is known. It is also accurate in detail; in fact, the only slip I have noted is the description (p. 266) of cloves and nutmegs as products of India. The concluding chapter gives many interesting details of the equipment by means of which such great results were obtained. There is a good index of persons and places, but some readers will regret the omission from it of many commodities; pepper, for instance, deserved a place.

A. 237. W. H. MORELAND.

SINO-PORTUGUESE TRADE FROM 1514 TO 1644. By T'IEN-TSÊ CHANG. 10 × 6½, pp. viii + 157. Leyden: late E. J. Brill, 1934.

After an introductory chapter on the early maritime trade of China, the author examines in detail the commercial relations between the Chinese and the Portuguese, two nations singularly ill-fitted to understand each other. The value of his work lies in the correlation of Chinese, Portuguese, and Dutch sources, which, taken together, suffice to give a reasonably continuous account of affairs at Macao and Canton, though the absence of statistical material renders quantitative treatment impossible. I have noticed no serious errors. Misprints are somewhat numerous, but nearly all of them are too obvious to mislead.

A. 128. W. H. MORELAND.

IL POEMA DELLA CREAZIONE (*enūma eliš*). By G. FURLANI.

Several translations of the Babylonian *Epic of Creation* have come out in the last few years, and it may be assumed that, with recent additions to the text itself, as much is known about it as the present state of our enlightenment permits. The time, therefore, is well calculated for the appearance of an Italian version which has been wanting hitherto, both for the use of students in Italy, and also for the contributions which so well-informed an editor as Dr. Furlani is able to bring to the general understanding of the poem. Not until p. 39, however, does he reveal the *intento storico-religioso* as alone inspiring his work, rather than any idea of making a new advance on the philological side. With this purpose he has written a fairly long introduction, and the translation is accompanied by somewhat copious notes, chiefly of an explanatory nature, in accordance with the aim of the book. The introduction treats of the date of the poem's composition, its possible sources, astrological element, moral interpretation, literary qualities, and influence upon the native art. Most of these questions, as Dr. Furlani is constrained to admit, are not susceptible of very clear answers, and some of them, such as that of possible sources and the hypothesis of a moral interpretation, are perhaps hardly worth discussion. As to representations in art, the author seems to go farther in the interpretation of certain Assyrian cylinder-seals in this sense than others would be inclined to allow, but it is not always certain which class of scenes he has in mind. Many readers will surely be surprised to find him reviving the notion that the well-known Assyrian reliefs of a winged god in conflict with a monster represent Marduk and Tiamat, an opinion which one had supposed to be generally discarded. The forms *Nin-igi-azag* and *Tišḫu* have also been noted as not in conformity with present usage.

A. 146. C. J. GADD.

LE TEMPLE D'EDFOU. By ÉMILE CHASSINAT. Mémoires de la Mission archéologique française au Caire. 13¾ × 9¾. Tome huitième, pp. xvi + 299; tome onzième, pp. xvi + 10, pls. ccxiii–cccxxii; tome douzième, pp. vii + 9, pls. cccxxiii–ccccxxxiii. Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale, 1933–4.

With the issue of these three volumes of the Mémoires M. Chassinat completes the texts from the temple of Edfu and commences the photographic plates, which cannot be spoken of too highly, and will form a very valuable addition to the hitherto published pictures of Ptolemaic art, so many of which consist merely of hand-copied sketches, giving but a vague notion of it to those who have not been so fortunate as to study the originals. Mistakes indeed have sometimes found their way into print, and M. Chassinat is therefore much concerned, in the introduction to his eleventh volume, to correct these misapprehensions, and to state something in addition of the history of Ptolemaic art. This owes its best qualities to the art of the Saite period, of which it is a continuation, so that it is at its best at the commencement, before outside influence made itself felt. Some of the reliefs here photographed go back to the time of Ptolemy IV, and show us some of the best works of the period, in which the survival of the old traditions is still clearly discernible, for example the relief from the second Hypostyle Hall (pl. ccclxxx) representing the transport of the sacred barque of Hathor—" incontestablement l'œuvre la plus parfaite de temple." When we remember that the reliefs were painted and that we are now looking, so to speak, only at the empty shells, we may be inclined to call for a mitigation of the scorn with which Ptolemaic art has hitherto been regarded. It should be observed, however, that in the representation just mentioned, the Pharaoh standing before the barque has a left hand on the right arm, while that on the left arm is in an impossible position. This is indeed a common fault: the Ptolemaic sculptor was less concerned with the correct representation of the human body than with details of costume and of cult, and it is in the recording of these that the value of the present series of photographs lies.

Ptolemaic art declined after Euergetes II, becoming extinguished in complete mediocrity by the time of Neos Dionysos. M. Chassinat thinks this may have been due to the delegation of the temple adornment to inferior craftsmen, the better ones having been called away in consequence of increased building activity elsewhere.

The texts at this point suffer likewise, and are corrupt to the point of unintelligibility. It is a pity that they are printed in type, so that the interesting Ptolemaic epigraphy cannot be studied without recourse to the photographic plates. For the restoration of lacunæ hand-copies are necessary, since the photographs cannot always show the true outlines.

A. 147, 206. M. F. LAMING MACADAM.

MEDAMOUD. By F. BISSON DE LA ROQUE. Fouilles de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire. Rapports préliminaires. Tome neuvième, troisième partie. 13 × 10, pp. 91, pls. 7, figs. 55. Le Caire : Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale, 1933.

The excavations of the I.F.A.O. at Medamut under the direction of M. F. Bisson de la Roque during the season 1931–2 have revealed an avenue of sphinxes leading from the sacred enclosure of the temple to a quay, beside which once flowed a canal joining Medamut to Karnak. This quay is only a platform ; the real quay should be found below it, but has not yet been revealed owing to the presence of a cultivated field which prevents further excavation. The existence of later canals is proved by deposits of black mud and yellow clay, and a canal still passes a little further west. A deep sounding with the aid of a pump would be necessary to bring up traces of the original canal. A long wall continues the line of the south side of the quay for some distance, and may perhaps mark the bank of a later canal. Upon the top of this wall was found a coin of Constantine, and this is taken to be a proof that the wall is posterior to Constantine, which seems a singular assumption. Even if other evidence points in this direction, the presence of the coin itself proves nothing : the opposite deduction seems equally possible.

The sphinxes along the avenue have for the most part been mutilated by the Copts, the heads being broken off and the bodies overturned. Damage had also been caused by the roots of palm trees, a grove of which had to be removed before the excavation could take place. One sphinx has been reconstructed in the Museum of the Louvre (pl. ii), and this is typical of the rest. The style shows nothing which would admit of a date anterior to the Ptolemaic period.

There are traces of another Ptolemaic temple, the foundations now having been identified, containing deposits with the name Ptolemaios.

Some remains of a Coptic church outside and to the left of the gate of Tiberius have come to light, part of the surrounding enclosure of which had been discovered two years previously. A suggested restoration has been made and the church dated to the seventh century. It is discussed at length by the Rev. Father L. H. Vincent (p. 20).

A point of interest is the identification of the *kôm* of Medamut with the *Κεραμική* of the Greek inscription of Cornelius Gallus (*Cairo Cat. Gk. Inscrr.*, No. 9295). This was shown by a sounding into the *kôm*, which revealed pottery kilns of the same type as in Pharaonic times and at the present day, and a Greek inscription bearing the name *Κεραμεῶται* on a portion of a column.

A. 149. M. F. LAMING MACADAM.

THE GROUNDWORK OF INDIAN HISTORY. By S. N. SEN and H. C. RAYCHAUDHURI. Third edition. 7½ × 5, pp. viii + 436, maps 8, ills. 58. Calcutta: Chuckervertty, Chatterjee and Co., 1934. Rs. 1.12.

That this outline of Indian history by two competent scholars should have reached a third edition in three years shows the popularity it has attained. The authors have set forth succinctly and in a clear and readable style the most important aspects of the chequered history of the sub-continent. They have wisely abstained from overcrowding their pages with excessive detail and a multiplicity of dates, and from pronouncing definite opinions upon many questions that are still open to discussion. The work is well suited to the purposes for which it was written.

A. 154. C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

THE MAUKHARIS. By E. A. PIRES. Studies in Indian History of the Indian Historical Research Institute, No. 10. 9¾ × 6¼, pp. xviii + 220, ills. 12, map 1, table 1. Madras: B. G. Paul and Co., 1934.

This volume forms No. 10 of the series of Studies in Indian History of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, which has done such useful work under the direction of Fr. H. Heras, S.J. The author has here collated all the available data—epigraphical, numismatic, and literary —respecting the Maukharis. He has made full use of Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan's able thesis (*The Kaveri, the Maukharis and the Sangam Age*) published in 1925, and of the recently discovered drama *Kaumudi-mahotsava*, the historical value of which was discussed by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal in *Annals, Bhandarkar O.R.I.*, xii (1930), and *JBORS.*, xix (1933). Among many suggestions made, one may be noted as being of importance for the early history of the Guptas and Maukharis, namely, that the *Magadha-kula* to which King Sundaravarman of the *Kaumudi-mahotsava* belonged was the Maukhari family. The reliance placed on the Chandravalli inscription of Mayuraśarman as proving that the Maukharis were ruling in Magadha in Mayuraśarman's time is, however, discounted by the uncertainty that attaches to the decipherment of the inscription. If Mr. Jayaswal's reading (*JBORS.*, xix, 220–1) be correct, the Maukharis find no mention therein. The fact is, that until further material be found and the date figures on the coins can be interpreted with greater certainty, any connected history of this once important family must be largely conjectural.

A. 208. C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

THE BAMBOO BROOM: An introduction to Japanese Haiku. By HAROLD GOULD HENDERSON. 8 × 5½, pp. 128. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., 1934. 4*s*. 6*d*.

This brief introduction to the study of the *haiku*—despite Mr. Henderson's objections the term "epigram", in its sense of a "short poem treating concisely or pointedly of a single thought of event", seems really as good an English equivalent for *haiku* as any—is on a different plane entirely from Professor Basil Hall Chamberlain's brilliant little essay on the same subject; but it contains nevertheless much information useful and interesting to the general reader.

In the first chapter the author discusses some of the more salient characteristics of the *haiku*, *inter alia* its extreme brevity and conciseness—seventeen syllables is the orthodox length of a *haiku* poem—the peculiarities of its grammar and construction, and its dependence for emphasis on certain fixed postpositions, generally of an exclamatory nature; in the second he passes in review some of its earliest examples, which date back to the thirteenth century; the remaining chapters he devotes mainly to the history of the development of the *haiku* under the great masters of the art—Matsuo Basho (1644–1694), greatest of them all, Taniguchi Buson(1715–1783), a painter as well of eminent merit, Kobayashi Issa (1762–1826), Masaoka Shiki (1867–1902), and others.

No serious student would deny the claims of this strangely exotic form of poetry to our admiration. Much of it is of exquisite beauty, full of delicate fancy and of suggestiveness, tinged with the gentle melancholy (*mono no aware*) which is so marked a characteristic of the national muse; but we fail to discover in it that profundity of thought which the Japanese commentators claim and which, unless we are mistaken, Mr. Henderson appears disposed in some measure to concede.

The author gives many examples of representative *haiku*, which will help the student to form an opinion of his own;

but there is space to repeat only two, both famous and both from the brush of Basho. Here is a description of an autumn landscape at eventide which, in its austere simplicity, recalls vividly to the mind's eye a Japanese painted scroll :—

Kare eda ni
Karasu no tomarikeri
Aki no kure.

On a leafless bough
A crow is sitting ;—autumn,
Darkening now—

And here is the second, composed on the battlefield, now a lonely moor, where Yoshitsune, the great warrior hero of Japan, was slain :—

Natsugusa ya
Tsuwamonodomo ga
Yume no ato.

The summer grasses grow.
Of mighty warriors' splendid dreams
The afterglow.

The book is very well and clearly printed and free from typographical errors.

A. 177. H. Parlett.

A History of Religion. By Herbert H. Gowen. 9 × 6, pp. iv + 698. London : Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1934. 12*s*. 6*d*.

This one-volume history represents an attempt to relate the entire religious story of mankind, from the beginning, so far as it is known, up to the present stage of its unfolding. It is necessarily limited to a brief survey of each chapter in that story, and while it contains much that will be of interest to the general reader, the treatment in most cases is hardly adequate enough to meet the needs of the specialist.

The writer deals first with primitive religion among various peoples, including the Kelts, Teutons, and Slavs, as well as those of Asia; then with the state religions of antiquity, among them those of the Euphrates Valley, Egypt, and Persia. He proceeds to give a short account of the religions of the Orient, and then traces the story through Judaism to Christianity, including a very brief account of Islām, and closes with a chapter on the future life. He states frankly that the volume is conceived from the Christian point of view, and more than a third of the book is concerned with the Christian era.

Of religion as a whole, Dr. Gowen takes the view that man's aspirations shape themselves as a quest for God; his failures to realize fellowship with God beget the sense of sin; his efforts to remedy these failures become creeds and cults, institutions and disciplines. So the writer maintains that religion is fundamentally one and, historically, is the continuous expression of our common perplexities, our common problems, and our common hopes.

From Naturalism man derived a conception of the transcendence and immanence of the Divine, and from Spiritism his realization of a relation between himself and the Divine. From a belief in the universality of life, Animatism, man passed to Animism, which recognized not only the presence of life, but of a living spirit. Then by way of personification man came to polytheism, and thence by slow stages, including a belief in dualism and pantheism, he made his way to monotheism. This process, Dr. Gowen considers, was hastened by the fact that the formation of empires, which included many different nationalities, made the need of a unifying principle obvious.

An interesting chapter in the section on state religions is that dealing with the religions of the Amerindian empires, prior to their conquest by Spain in the fifteenth century, which included the worship of high gods by human sacrifices, made in order that human hearts might be offered to the gods, and thereby the vitality and strength of the sun and other powers of nature be maintained.

The chapters on the religions of India, China, and Japan cover too vast a field for treatment to be at all detailed, but, within the limits possible, they contain much that is suggestive and interesting, and the author writes from first-hand knowledge of Eastern faiths.

As the history of religion started beyond the veil which hangs over the first awakening of creation into consciousness, so the writer, in conclusion, takes his readers to the point where the veil conceals creation's future. In his view, Christianity, accepted as the final and universal religion, will mean the vindication of man's religious instinct, existent from the beginning, persistently manifesting itself throughout the history of man, and primitive man's " first sense of the numinous " will find its justification in the " perfected work " which makes comprehensible both the Divine transcendence and immanence, and its relation to the human soul.

This book is a contribution to the study of comparative religion which will be found of interest and value to the reader anxious to find a comprehensive survey of the subject, while it also contains suggestive lines of thought which the expert might be glad to develop more thoroughly. The index is far from complete, and the bibliography is somewhat disappointing since it is in the main popular and includes no reference to original sources. A number of errors have crept in, e.g. on p. 529 " Ijmah " for " Ijmā' " and " Qujas " for " qiyās ", and others of a more serious type elsewhere.

A. 193. MARGARET SMITH.

INDIA. By RENÉ GROUSSET. Translated from the French by CATHERINE ALISON PHILIPS. The Civilizations of the East, Vol. II. 9 × 6½, pp. 404, ills. 249. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1932. 25*s*.

This is the second volume of a series of four entitled the Civilizations of the East. The work is very fully illustrated, and these illustrations are of very great interest. The author commences his work with references to the recently discovered remains of early Indian culture at Mohen-jo-daro and Harappa. The development of Indian art in sculpture, architecture, and painting is then pursued through the centuries to comparatively recent times, the author's purview including the outlying evidence of Indian culture in farther India and the Malay archipelago, Java, and Sumatra.

The survey is admirably carried out, and though containing little that has not already been made public in previous works, presents a concise, critical, and well thought out summary of the artistic side of Indian civilization as we know it in history as well as from the existing magnificent remains. The book is well translated and should appeal to a wide public.

As a note of criticism it may be added that the excellent illustrations are unfortunately widely separated from the letterpress dealing with them, sometimes by as much as a hundred pages. This involves constant back references by the reader, and forms a blemish on a really attractive book. It should have been avoided.

A. 196. R. E. ENTHOVEN.

TWILIGHT IN THE FORBIDDEN CITY. By Sir REGINALD JOHNSTONE, with a Preface by the Emperor. 9½ × 6½, pp. 486, ills. 36. London: Victor Gollancz, 1934. 18*s*.

It is with a sense of relief that one finishes the first chapter of this most interesting book, and one starts the next with anticipations of satisfaction which are fulfilled. After a hiatus of years, here at last is an author writing history with exactitude about China. Since the rise of Nationalist China we have suffered many books on China written by visitors to that country. Some of these voyagers have been so obviously unbalanced or uninformed that one could but sigh over their gross errors, such as confusing the Allies of 1860 with those of 1900! Others, men of learning and judgment in their own lines, have written helpfully and suggestively; but their inescapable ignorance of China's background has limited their usefulness. Too often even they have brushed aside China's past as a hindrance and an unnecessary adjunct, instead of perceiving it as a root for the present growing stem.

But here in this book we have a return to solid matter upon which the mind can thankfully bite. It gives a human picture of a great web of life in Peking's palaces. The notes at the end of the book afford cynical amusement, for they are indeed a warning to the unheedy not to write by hearsay alone—even of princes. Chinese readers may not agree with Sir Reginald's leanings, perhaps natural, towards a constitutional monarchy: but they will say that he has interpreted aright their traditional ideas on the Throne, and quarried profoundly into their philosophy of government. He explains much that has happened and which has been somewhat incomprehensible to the West. His nurture of his royal pupil in the responsibilities of the Princely Man shows sympathetic comprehension of China's political foundations. Passing foreign journalists may smile at the Manchoukuo declaration that the Government intends to rule by Wang Tao —the Kingly Way: but thanks to this book, we can see the direct descent of ideas with which China has long been imbued. Modern Europe, like the children of Israel, crying for strong semi-divine Leaders, though not called "emperors", on whom to shift the stresses of thought and political responsibilities, has much in common with Monarchic China.

In 1919, as all the world knows, Sir Reginald, then Mr. Johnstone, was appointed English tutor to a Boy of 13 in Peking's Forbidden City. He omits to say that he was picked out because of his known research into Chinese culture. This Boy had been the Infant Emperor of China till his father, the Prince Regent, in 1911, abdicated the throne for him after the revolution of the preceding October. Sir Reginald gives us some valuable chapters leading to this *dénouement*. He attributes the immediate downfall of the Throne to the complacent ignorance and cruel selfishness of the old Empress Dowager—and quite justifiably, in the present reviewer's eyes. She seemed to care nothing that the dynasty might end with herself, or that China would be left adrift after her passing. Certain foreign ladies were attracted by her studied courtesies after the Relief of the Legations. One can but comment that their American *doyenne* was a Christian scientist, as one of her compatriots put it, and therefore unable to behold ill anywhere. Yet it is instructive to read how Chinese officialdom continued to render homage to the Empress Dowager, simply because she occupied the sacrosanct throne. Even so sagacious and great a scholar-statesman as Weng Tung-ho felt reverence, while he saw her foolhardy mistakes. Sir Reginald's explanation is illuminating and should be studied.

Western residents in China have never understood why the Allies allowed the Empress Dowager back to power in 1901 and did nothing to reinstate the enlightened Emperor Kuang Hsü, but left him to his martyrdom. This seems one of our blackest misdeeds in the East—and, like many of them, one of omission rather than commission. When she came back from her flight to Shensi, her first greeting to Peking was to dismount from her chair at the Ch'ien Men and offer sacrifices to Kuan-ti, God of War, under its rampart! Yet Sir Reginald does not seem to realize that Modern China, and a large number of Westerners, remember her misdoings primarily as a warning against the return of the monarchy.

Sir Reginald dislikes Yuan Shih-kai and Feng Yu-hsiang; and with cause. Yet, as historian, he tries to be fair, and says he may be mistaken in his deductions. It would have been invaluable to have had Sir John Jordan's replies concerning Yuan Shih-kai, with whom he had a friendship. After all, there was nobody else at the head of the government. Sir John was a warm-hearted man with a real affection for the Chinese. He was not there as a judge between the

Chinese, but as one truly desirous to foster friendship between East and West. Yuan and he had necessarily to be in constant touch. Yuan lived a decent life, by Eastern standards, had a mind to learn new ways in moderation, and abided by his word to the foreigner—even if, according to Sir Reginald's ideas and Mr. J. O. P. Bland's, he betrayed his fellow-Chinese.

Similarly, Feng Yü-hsiang, who routed the ex-Emperor P'u-yi from the Palace and endangered his life—possibly deliberately—has his defenders among the Chinese. They talk, as does Sir Reginald, with the greatest indignation of the immoral atmosphere of the eunuch-crowded court, and the peculations of the Nei Wu Fu, the Palace circle against whose financial crookedness and inability Sir Reginald waged brave war. True, the young Emperor had dismissed the eunuchs—and one cannot sufficiently admire such courage, which gives promise for the future. But Peking doubted if the sweep had been as clean as evidently it was. "The Nei Wu Fu were selling all the Palace valuables shamelessly, gluttonously," one Chinese avowed in defence of Feng. "It was, also, a ridiculous position, having both Emperor and President, a shame to any ardent republican like Feng. Lastly, the Palace intrigues were a constant thorn in the side to us all, adding to our insecurity." He also defended Feng from the charge of "betraying" Wu Pei-fu, when they were allied against Chang Tso-lin. Wu, he said, had tried to send Feng to the attack round by the Dolonor deserts without commissariat, in the hopes of his obliteration!

One of the chief attractions of the book is the unconscious picture of the author. His single-hearted faithfulness, his high-minded devotion, his affectionate nursing and careful education of the Boy committed to his charge are beyond praise. Here, for that Boy, was one person *sans peur et sans reproche* in that Court upon whom he could lean, and in complete trust that his interests would be studied first. Sir Reginald set his hand to "chisel this piece of jade" with a meticulous regard for the greatest traditions of the Chinese nation. It remains for time to prove whether this particular piece of jade is strong enough to bear the test of the new amazing venture of Manchoukuo. At any rate, since the Japanese gave him a generous refuge when he had to flee from his Palace, one understands why P'u-yi has been willing to reascend the throne of his earlier forbears under the Japanese ægis.

A. 203. DOROTHEA HOSIE.

NOTES ON THE CHALCOLITHIC AND EARLY BRONZE AGE POTTERY OF MEGIDDO. By ROBERT M. ENGBERG and GEOFFREY M. SHIPTON. Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago: Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations, No. 10. 9½ × 7, pp. xiii + 91, ills. 25, chart 1. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934. 7*s*.

The Oriental Institute, which in a relatively brief period of years has given the world some illuminative volumes dealing with the archæology of Egypt and Asia Minor, has fallen behind in the publication of its field work at Megiddo. To judge from this welcome brochure, the explanation would seem to be the natural desire to publish the results of this well-equipped expedition after mature study rather than as a prompt but bare record of materials discovered. This is a laudable ambition, but it is a moot point whether as a policy it is wise or practicable: it inevitably leads to delay in the publication of results, and in this respect the Megiddo expedition is noticeably in default.

This preliminary comment does not reflect upon the merits of this monograph, which is a definite contribution to knowledge. It deals with a series of stratified pottery and flint deposits, found chiefly on the eastern slopes of the mound upon which Megiddo stands, a place used freely as a necropolis for the town above and also from time to time as a dwelling site. The exposition is painstaking and well illustrated, and the stratifications are made doubly clear by a well conceived folding chart. All the deposits are very early, and they fill a big gap in our knowledge of what has hitherto been called, for harmony of nomenclature, the "Early Bronze Age", though bronze was apparently one of the rarest of its products. Seven distinct "stages" are noted: the latest of them links with Dr. Albright's level J at Tell Beit Mersêm, and Mr. FitzGerald's Level XI at Bethshan, and is more fully represented by Tomb A, with its 600 specimens, at Jericho. It is apparently contemporary with the twelfth dynasty and falls approximately about 2000 B.C. Lower stages introduce among other highly instructive ceramic wares the large *pithoi* of which a remarkable series has been found in parallel levels by Mr. Dunand at Byblos. Stage IV, half-way down the scale, shows the maximum frequency of flint implements, all of which are regarded as "Canaanean" in type, not widely separated but at the same time not clearly developed from the Natufian.

In the lowest stages of the ceramic specimens the authors adduce comparisons from Egypt of predynastic times, from Asia Minor, Malta, and elsewhere, observations which not only attest their range of study but give a clear indication of the widening field of archæological research which is being opened out by the excavations proceeding in Palestine. The lowest stages are assigned to the fourth millennium B.C., and when we reflect that Mr. FitzGerald's soundings at Bethshan have disclosed three still earlier culture-levels before reaching the original surface of the ground, we realize what an immense and fruitful task awaits future excavators. Slowly but surely the day is approaching when the culture relations of the Near East in the days of the great Sargon will become as clear as are now those of the Egyptian Empire.

The fact that Mr. FitzGerald found a copper implement in Level XVI at Bethshan, which culturally seems to precede the lowest of the stages at Megiddo, calls for a breathing space before deciding upon the precise relevance of such special terms as chalcolithic and aëneolithic. Let us just collect and classify the materials under a provisional terminology. In this respect our authors might have found perhaps a happier series of expressions for their classification of the pottery: terms like "string cut bowls", "high bowls", and "carinated bowls" are not mutually exclusive. It is very desirable, at the outset of a new inquiry, to select terms which others will readily adopt in their classification. None the less, the authors have earned a vote of thanks from all fellow-students of these matters.

A. 200. J. GARSTANG.

THE CRUSADE OF NICOPOLIS. By A. S. ATIYA. 7½ × 5, pp. xii + 234, maps 3. London: Methuen and Co., 1934. 10*s*. 6*d*.

This books deals with the last episode in the long history of the Crusades. The Crusade of Nicopolis took place in A.D. 1396. During the fourteenth century the Ottoman Turks had been advancing into Europe. Under Bayezid (Abu Yazid b. Uthman) they had conquered Bulgaria and other provinces and were beginning to threaten Hungary, The Eastern Empire was too weak to offer effective resistance and in 1395 Constantinople was besieged. The efforts made by the King of Hungary, Sigismund, to check the Turkish advance were hindered by his own unpopularity and by the fact that it was actually easier for the "schismatic" Christians of Eastern Europe to live under Turkish than under Catholic rulers.

Sigismund looked for help to Western Europe, where the unusual state of tranquillity made it a favourable moment for the preaching of a crusade. The crusading ideal, vigorously propagated by authors and pilgrim preachers, still made a strong appeal, and when in 1394 the Pope proclaimed a crusade against the Turks there was a widespread response. Extravagant preparations were made, and in 1396 there gathered in Buda an army drawn from France, Burgundy, England, Germany, and other places, besides a strong contingent of Knights of St. John from Rhodes. Together with Sigismund and the Hungarian army, they marched down the Danube as far as the ancient city of Nicopolis, then held by the Turks. They were still besieging it when Bayezid arrived. The heterogeneous forces of the West lacked the unity, discipline, and able leadership which characterized the Turks, and in the battle that followed the latter inflicted a shattering defeat upon them. The captured leaders were finally ransomed for an enormous sum, Bayezid having put his price up as a result of the rich presents brought to him by the envoys. Thus ended the last united effort of Christendom against the Turks.

Mr. Atiya deals thoroughly with every aspect of the Crusade, and his work is based on an examination of the many and sometimes conflicting contemporary sources. He devotes one chapter to the propagandist literature for the Crusades, and especially the works of the pilgrim and dreamer Philippe de. Mézières. He promises to deal more fully with this interesting subject in a later work. He also refers to the anti-crusading propaganda of Wycliffe and other reformers. After the Crusade of Nicopolis, Philippe de Mézières was "a forlorn voice in a world of change". The crusading ideal had spent itself, and universal action had become impossible in face of the budding nationalism which was to dominate the new age.

It is a pity that, for one who is plunging the majority of his readers into an unfamiliar period, Mr. Atiya presupposes in them so much knowledge or ability to grasp the significance of unfamiliar names. Such a book might well be readable for a wider and less specialized circle. It is intended to be "the final chapter of a projected history of the crusade in the later Middle Ages", and we look forward to the completion of the larger work.

A. 214. C. WADDY.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE BOUDDHIQUE, IV–V, MAI, 1931–33. With Rétrospective of L'œuvre de M. le Prof. Paul Pelliot. Par MARCELLE LALOU. 11 × 8, pp. x + 150. Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1934.

Since the pleasant task fell to me of reviewing Parts I and II of this timely and efficient compilation in the *Journal* for 1932, there has appeared, beside this, the latest issue to date, Part III, which brought pertinent material up to May, 1931. In this Mr. A. J. Bernet Kempers contributed a "retrospect" of the work of Professor J. Ph. Vogel from 1902 till 1928. Neither of the looking-backs, I need not say, implies a "Here endeth" to the work, even here below, of these eminent scholars. That of the latter, M. Pelliot, finds later mention some fourteen times; that of the former is past counting up. And long may both so fare further!

I need not here repeat what I have said in exposition and appreciation of the excellent style and system in the *Bibliographie*; the excellence is fully maintained. It is neither possible nor desirable here to touch on any catalogued item. The outstanding impression left by a purview is the great expansion of scope attained by the word "Bouddhique", whereby the whole field of both Indology and Sinology is swept into this wider range of that wondrous phenomenon, a world-religion. Decadent, hybridized as this is in all its forms, the great and manifold works wrought by man under its name are yielding a harvest that is more to be called beginning than exhaustion. For this purview once more our thanks to the founder, Jean Przyluski.

A. 228. C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

कात्यायनस्मृति सारोद्धार OR KĀTYĀYANASMṚTI ON VYAVAHĀRA (Law and Procedure). Text (reconstructed), translation, notes, and introduction by P. V. KANE, M.A., Ll.M. 10 × 6¾, pp. xlii + 373. Bombay, 1933. Rs. 4.

This is an attempt to reconstruct the lost *Kātyāyanasmṛti* by assembling the quotations from it existing in later legal authors. Such attempts have been made before, but this is by far the most complete; though, according to Mr. Kane's own modest estimate, the portion which he has succeeded in recovering is probably less than two-thirds of the whole. That there are considerable gaps in the *smṛti* is obvious; and if Mr. Kane be right in assigning to Kātyāyana a date near the end of the *smṛti* period there must be further missing verses. The rules on inheritance to males, for instance, fail altogether to mention the *samanodaka* and the *bandhu*, or even the *gotrāja sapinda* as such: can this possibly be later than *Yāgnavalkya*? Whatever we may think of Mr. Kane's incursions into the realm of comparative law, his consummate knowledge both of the Shastric literature and of the modern Indian law are apparent on every page.

973. S. VESEY-FITZGERALD.

IRAQ. Vol. I, Part 1, April, 1934, published by the British School of Archæology in Iraq (Gertrude Bell Memorial). 11¼ × 8, pp. 111, pls. 14, figs. 2. London: Humphrey Milford, 1934. 18*s*. net.

The British School of Archæology in Iraq (Gertrude Bell Memorial) has started the publication of a journal, to be issued half-yearly, of archæological studies referring to the valley of the Euphrates and Tigris and the adjacent regions, filling a gap in the archæological periodical publications dedicated to Oriental archæology and written in the English language. In April last the first number came forth, containing not less than eight articles about Sumerian archæology, sites of excavations, ceramics of Southern Babylonia, Parthic archæology, Sumerian and Babylonian religion, and Islamic architecture. Contributors to that issue have been Frankfort, Harden, Gadd, Andrae, Jordan, van Buren, Furlani, Campbell Thompson, and Creswell. The volume is introduced by a few lines from the pen of Gertrude Bell on architecture and archæology. The editorial work has been done mainly by

Sidney Smith, of the British Museum. The name of the editor is a warrant that the following issues of *Iraq* will maintain the high scientific standard of the first.

A. 235. GIUSEPPE FURLANI.

ENCYCLOPÆDIA MUNDARICA. By Rev. J. HOFFMANN, S.J., in collaboration with Rev. A. VAN EMELEN, S.J. Vols. V–VII.

The first four volumes of this Encyclopædia have already been reviewed in this journal.[1] Volumes V–VII follow the same lines and maintain the high standard of the earlier volumes, but the lamented death of the Rev. John Hoffmann, S.J., has left the Rev. Arthur V. Emelen, S.J., with a very heavy burden.

The Mūṇḍā country is roughly divided into three parts. The middle part is known as the *Hāsada* country, the western part as the *Naguri* country, and the eastern part as the *Pānch Parganās*. It is in the middle part known as the *Hāsada* country that the Mūṇḍās appear to have been least affected by outside influences. In the *Naguri* area, their culture has been modified by that of the Dravidian Ōrāons; and in the *Pānch Parganā* country by Hindu ideas.

The authors have practically confined their researches to the Mūṇḍās of the central area. Some references have been made to variations of custom or speech in the *Naguri* area, but few, if any, to those of the *Pānch Parganā* Mūṇḍās.

Some philological inaccuracies appear to have crept in. Thus, on page 1911, the word *Indi* is derived by the authors from the Arabic *id*, a festival. But the word is in reality merely a corruption of the Sanskrit *Indra*; the festival is in honour of the Vedic Hindu god *Indra*, and not of the Mahomedan festival of *Id*. Similarly, at page 1382, *Gara* is given as a Hāsada Mūṇḍā word and is explained as "a punishment inflicted or threatened here on earth by Singbonga for a more or less public and extraordinary fault". The word is, however, merely the Mūṇḍā's mispronunciation of the Sanskrit (also Hindi) *Graha* (a "planet" and also "the inauspicious influence of an evil planet"), and the expression *Gara kāṭāo* which the authors explain as "to free oneself of a punishment inflicted at the hands of Singbonga" is really a Hindi (*Sādāni*) expression, meaning "to neutralize the evil influence of an inauspicious planet". Again, though the substantive word *ji*, life or soul, is correctly shown as derived from Hindi *ji*, to live, (p. 2053), its adjectival form *jid* meaning "living" is derived by the authors from "Arabic *jihd*, struggle, diligence". Possibly the authors merely meant to cite an analogous word in another language.

---

[1] January, 1932, p. 180.

The authors call the Mūṇḍā language a *Mon-Khmer* language (pp. 1764, 1815), and the Mūṇḍā people a *Mon-Khmer* people (pp. 1817, 2333), but in India proper it is only the Khasis of Assam who speak a "Mon-Khmer" tongue, and racially they are a Mongoloid and not a pre-Dravidian people. The Mūṇḍā languages, though belonging to the Austro-Asiatic linguistic family, cannot be included in the *Mon-Khmer* group.

Although some statements may be incomplete or even inaccurate, the ethnographical data that the authors have embodied in the book are very valuable. But the statement (p. 2431) that "It cannot be said that the Munda clans ever were totemic", is inexplicable. The authors themselves supply sufficient data (pp. 2406–2431) to prove the undoubted totemic basis of the Mūṇḍā social organization and the existence of totemic beliefs and usages even among present-day Mūṇḍās.

Some of the speculations regarding prehistory and identifications of traditional names of peoples can hardly be supported. Thus at pages 1822–4 the authors refer to a Mūṇḍā tradition about a people named the Asuras and their companions, the Tirkis, as having occupied the Mūṇḍā country before the Mūṇḍās and as having been expelled by the latter, and say that the Asuras are "a Santali tribe still extant", while the *Tirkis*, we are told, are identified by "the Mundas around

Sarwada with the Mahomedans (*Turku*) and relate that in the days of Muhammad Gori (*Ghori*), a body of Mahomedans came to attack the Mundas and defeated them " ; the wives of the Asuras are said to have worn ornaments " which have been unearthed, [and are] so huge that no woman nowadays could wear them ". Now, the prehistoric Asuras would appear from their remains (a number of which have been unearthed and stocked by the present writer in the Patna Museum) to have been a people who had acquired a considerable copper-age culture, and the ornaments are no larger than those worn by Mūṇḍā women at the present day. (See *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, September, 1922, pp. 393–416.) The identification of the Tirkis with the Mahomedans of the time of Muhammad Ghori is as fanciful as their identification by some Mūṇḍās with the ancestors of the Europeans. The authors' criticisms of previous writers are often unjustified.

On the whole, however, the work is one of outstanding merit. One has only to regret that the printing and get-up are not worthy of the high value of the publication.

A. 211. S. C. Roy.

Far-off Things : treating of the history, aborigines, myths and jungle mysteries of Ceylon. By R. L. Spittel. 8½ × 5½, pp. xv + 331, pls. 43 (including 2 maps), ills. 19 (1 plan). Ceylon : The Colombo Apothecaries Co., Ltd., 1933. 10*s*. 6*d*.

Dr. Spittel has brought out another descriptive book on the life of the inland people of Ceylon. *Far-off Things* is a series of essays on a variety of subjects which are of immense interest to the anthropologist. The author records his personal observations, without claiming to be a judge of his facts. He collates all the information of other observers, and gives with it his own account in simple and delightful English. This method of approach is of great value. For instance, he gives all the relevant traditions and opinions regarding the "Devil-Bird", Kataragama, Snakes, etc., and records his own observations without any pretence to finality.

The first two historical chapters, dealing with the varying fortunes of the island people, are not of much value to the critical student; but the author's intimate knowledge of the Veddas enables him to describe the habits of their daily life, and the superstitions to which they are a prey, with the same charm and delightful ease as in his previous work, *Wild Ceylon*. The poignant tale of Kaira and Hudi, and the story of Bandua's vengeance, are examples of the habits of the inland people; and none is more competent than the author to observe and narrate in proper perspective their habits and customs. His first-hand accounts of fire-walking and other gruesome spectacles described in p. 316 seq. will interest even those who are sceptical in regard to these strange and abnormal phenomena.

Far-off Things is decidedly a great contribution to the study of Man and his habits.

A. 73. M. D. RATNASURIYA.

THE HANDBOOK OF PALESTINE AND TRANS-JORDAN. Third edition. 5¼ × 4½, pp. xvi + 549, pl. 1, map 1. London: Macmillan and Co., 1934. 16*s.*

A handy and useful volume of reference; an up-to-date encyclopædia of facts and statistics relating to the country on both sides of the Jordan for the use of officials and others, as well as a guide and handbook containing much that is useful and instructive for the intelligent traveller. The Notes by Road and Rail are clear and gripping. A good index and easily read map complete the varied fare which is served in that easily assimilated style of which the authors are masters.

A. 288.

ROCK PICTURES. (*Journ. of the African Society*, Oct., 1934.)
By A. E. ROBINSON.

The difference in technique, especially that of the engraved

and percussion types, is fully explained and illustrated in this pamphlet. Most percussion types are not prehistoric.
A. 313.

ANCIENT INDIA AND INDIAN CIVILIZATION. By P. MASSON-OURSEL, H. WILLMAN-GRABOWSKA, and PHILIPPE STERN. English edition. 9½ × 6½, pp. xxiv + 435, maps 5, pls. 16, ills. 24. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1934. 21*s*.

This precisely arranged book is very well produced, while the names on the title page are sufficient guarantee for the matter so clearly translated. The original, in French, was reviewed in these pages. See *JRAS.*, April, 1934, p. 356.
A. 325.

RELIGION: THE JOURNAL OF TRANSACTIONS OF THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING THE STUDY OF RELIGIONS.

The *Journal of Transactions* has now clothed itself in a new garb of red and changed its style as above. The new title began with the number for June, 1934, and the new colours with January, 1935. The latter contains a very illuminating set of lectures on certain schisms affecting Buddhism, Islam and Christianity which well repay perusal.

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SCOTTISH ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY. Vol. 1, No. 1, October, 1934. 9¾ × 6, pp. 32 + vi. London: James Clarke and Co. Edinburgh: W. F. Henderson, 1934. 3*s*.

The President and Council of the Scottish Anthropological Society are heartily to be congratulated upon the production and contents of the opening number of the new venture. But much more so upon the foundation of the Scottish Institute of Anthropology which is announced in the preface.

Dr. C. B. Lewis begins the Journal with an interesting theme. The origin of the old Troubadours' love of a lady of high degree whom they might only worship from afar. He traces it back through the centuries to a cult of the Mighty Earth Mother.

There seems no doubt that the pure love of an ideal is at the back of the consciousness of Everyman and has its origin in the spiritual side of his complex nature.

ED.

CORRECTION

In the review of *Die Chronik des Ibn Ijas* on p. 200 of the January number I was mistaken in thinking that the editors had postponed publication of the supplement to the lacuna in the Cairene edition covering the period A.H. 906 to 922. This had in fact been published in 1931. I tender my sincere apologies to the editors for this unmerited criticism.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

The thanks of the Society are also due for the following volumes :—

ESSAYS IN ZEN BUDDHISM. By DAISETZ TEITARO SUZUKI. London : Luzac and Co., 1933.

THE SACRED HEART. The Sacred Heart Middle School. Canton, 1933.

DAS CHINESISCHE SCHATTENTHEATER. By GEORG JACOB and HANS JENSEN. Stuttgart, 1933.

EINE INDISCHE TRAGÖDIE ? By HERMAN WELLER. Stuttgart : Kohlhammer, 1933.

ŒUVRES MÉDICALES D'ALEXANDRE DE TRALLES. By Dr. F. BRUNET. Paris : Paul Geuthner, 1933.

THE WIT AND WISDOM OF THE CHRISTIAN FATHERS OF EGYPT. By Sir E. A. WALLIS BUDGE. London : Humphrey Milford, 1934.

STORIES OF THE HOLY FATHERS. By Sir E. A. WALLIS BUDGE. London : Humphrey Milford, 1934.

TITLE INDEX TO THE SSŬ K'U CH'UAN SHU. Compiled by P. Y. YÜ. Peiping : The French Book Store, 1934.

WISDOM AND WASTE IN THE PUNJAB VILLAGE. By M. L. DARLING. London : Oxford University Press, 1934.

OBITUARY NOTICE

Ernest A. Wallis Budge

All Oriental scholars must have read with deep regret the announcement a short while ago of the death, at the age of 77, of Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, the eminent Egyptologist, who from 1893 to 1924 was Keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum. Sir Ernest's treatises upon Egyptological subjects are more numerous and cover more ground than those of any other English authority, and, after a brief notice of the principal events of his career, it is upon them especially and their significance that the present writer wishes to dwell.

Ernest Alfred Thompson Wallis Budge found his interest in Oriental languages awakened at an early age, while he was yet at school, and, with the help and advice of the Orientalist Charles Seager, he proceeded from the study of Hebrew to that of cuneiform. His work in this direction led eventually to his introduction to Samuel Birch and George Smith of the British Museum, and his first publication, *Assyrian Incantations*, appeared in 1878, actually before he went up to Christ's College, Cambridge. After a distinguished University career which culminated in his gaining the Tyrwhitt Hebrew Scholarship, he was appointed an Assistant to the Egyptian and Assyrian Department of the British Museum, being made Keeper in 1893 at the early age of 36. He married in 1883 Dora Helen, daughter of the Rev. Titus Emerson, Rector of Allendale. In 1920 Budge was knighted, and in October of the year 1926, two years after his retirement, Lady Budge died.

Such is a bare account of the life of this remarkable scholar, and, if full justice were to be done to his achievements, equal space should be devoted to his adventurous travels in the East, which enriched the Museum with some of its most priceless treasures, and to his amazing linguistic ability which enabled him to edit and publish texts not only in Egyptian and Assyrian, but also in Coptic, Syriac, and Ethiopic. But it is his works dealing with ancient Egypt, on which the greater part of his life was spent, that chiefly concern the present writer, who is numbered among those younger students who owe them an incalculable debt. The official publications of the Museum issued under his direction put within the reach of scholars some of the most important manuscripts, both religious and secular, which the Egyptians have bequeathed to us. One need only mention the papyri of Ani, Hunefer, Anhai, Amenemope, and Nes-min to suggest the wealth of his contribution in this direction.

In his private time he wrote prolifically on the history, social life, and religion of the ancient Egyptians, but it was the last mentioned subject, the religion, that was nearest his heart. His *History of Egypt*, in eight volumes, published in 1902, and the companion volumes of the series entitled *Books on Egypt and Chaldea* successfully carried out the plan of presenting, in a scholarly and readable fashion, the results of a century of Egyptology at a price within the reach of all. Herein perhaps lay his greatest service to his subject, for in the library of books which were the work of his pen he made available in a handy usable form material which hitherto had been confined to more inaccessible works, mostly written in foreign languages. His valuable edition of the *Book of the Dead* (1898), in three volumes, consisting of text, translation, and vocabulary, still stands, for all general purposes, unsuperseded, as also does his *Egyptian Heaven and Hell* (1905), which, admirably edited and arranged, reduces to three volumes (in the new reprint, to one volume) the scattered material from the royal tombs of Thebes and the coffin of Seti I. Of equal value are the best known of his more general books, to the preparation of which went a deep knowledge of the work of the earlier Egyptologists, work too often neglected by the younger students of to-day. *The Gods of the Egyptians* (1904) is a storehouse of information concerning the Egyptian Pantheon, and *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection* (1911) collects a mass of material concerning that god which no other single work contains. But Budge's genius in this direction is exemplified most of all by *The Mummy* which, in its revised and enlarged edition (1925), should be considered a classic of its kind. Between the covers of this book is included all, so to speak, that the general reader would wish to know about ancient Egypt, and a good deal more that the serious student might profitably take to heart. As a manual of funerary archæology it has no equal. The same genius is shown in Budge's *Introductory Guide to the Egyptian Collections in the British Museum* (1909), which must have stimulated the interest of hundreds of visitors to the Museum and which was, in the case of the present writer, the first Egyptological book he ever possessed. There remain to be mentioned his big *Egyptian Dictionary*, an amazing product for a single scholar, which is the only one of its kind existing in the English language, and his last book, *From Fetish to God in Ancient Egypt*, which appeared only a few weeks before his death. In the latter work he takes us once more over the whole field of Egyptian mythology and, as the last representative of the older generation of scholars, unmoved by the changing fashions of modern opinion, bids us consider afresh the beliefs of ancient Egypt. It is a fitting close to a great career, and if the present writer has succeeded in presenting, however briefly, that side of it for which he personally feels most grateful, he is content.

9. ALAN W. SHORTER.

Correction to the Calculated Astronomical Length of the Lunar Month in Babylonia

A serious mathematical error in the reduction of the length of the lunar month by the Babylonian astronomer Cidenas was published in my *Babylonian Menologies*, *Schweich Lectures*, p. 11. Cidenas gives 29·530594 days as the length of the lunar month. This should be reduced to 29 days, 12 hours, 44 minutes, 3·3204 seconds. 3⅛ seconds in my book is almost minutely right; either by printer's error or my own "twelve hours" were omitted. This is a serious mathematical error for those who may use my figures in time reckoning and I trust that this correction will receive attention by the readers of my book.

S. H. LANGDON.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Extract from *The Times*, Tuesday, January 8, 1935 :—

Proposed Museum of Asiatic Art

A Revived Scheme

Announcing in a letter to the Editor of *The Times* last week the acquisition by the nation of the Eumorfopoulos Collection, the Directors of the British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum referred incidentally to a proposal for a Central Museum of Asiatic Art in London. Originally advocated in the report of the Royal Commission on National Museums and Galleries in 1929, the proposal was first publicly discussed at a meeting of the India Society in January, 1931, and was the subject of much discussion in the editorial and correspondence columns of *The Times* during the early months of the latter year. Since then the scheme has been in abeyance, largely for obvious financial reasons. But it has not been wholly forgotten, as the letter of Sir George Hill and Sir Eric Maclagan proves; and Mr. Eumorfopoulos's generosity in allowing the nation to acquire for a comparatively small price a collection of Asiatic art treasures that has no equal in this country or elsewhere should prove a considerable stimulus to the revival and fulfilment of the project.

One of the chief objects of such a museum would be to assemble under one roof the wealth of material that is now divided, not only between the two great national museums, but between different departments in those museums. For example the magnificent series of Chinese frescoes which Mr. Eumorfopoulos presented to the British Museum in 1927 is at present housed in the Department of Prints and Drawings, whereas the greater part of the newly purchased collection will go to the Department of Oriental Antiquities, and a not inconsiderable portion to South Kensington. A central unified institution, while it would not entirely denude the existing museums of all their examples of Oriental art and culture, would serve to eliminate the anomalies inherent in the present system of classification.

£2,000,000 *Plan*

Sir George Hill stated at the British Museum yesterday that a Central Museum of Asiatic Art, as at present planned, was estimated to cost something over £2,000,000. While it is not proposed at present to proceed with a plan of this magnitude, it may be hoped that the Chinese Exhibition which is to be held at Burlington House next year will further stimulate public and official interest.

The Eumorfopoulos Collection deserves to retain that name, though divided up in cannot hope to do so. Competent judges have estimated its value at between £400,000 and £500,000, or between four and five times as much as the sum for which it has been purchased; but quite apart from its monetary value, which can be assessed only according to what it might fetch if dispersed in the auction market, it derives an additional importance from the rigid selection which went to make it up. There is hardly a single article in it which is not a masterpiece, and there is none of the overlapping which makes many art collections remarkable rather for their quantity than for their quality. The ability with which Mr. Eumorfopoulos has assembled so fully representative a collection of Chinese art, and his generosity in passing on this valuable property to the nation, deserve to be recorded in a permanent way. Such record might fittingly take the form of a Central Museum, of which the Eumorfopoulos Collection would form the nucleus.

Attention is drawn to Rule 97, concerning the borrowing of books from the Library for the purposes other than review: "In no case shall a book be retained for a longer period than six months." Members desiring the use of books for a longer period must return them to the Librarian for examination at the expiration of that time with a suitable request.

Should the book not be required it will be returned to the holder.

The annual List of Members will be published in the JOURNAL for July. Members who wish to make any alterations in name, style, or address, must send the fully-corrected entry so as to reach the Secretary by 1st June.

The quarterly numbers of the JOURNAL are forwarded to subscribers about 11th January, April, July, and October respectively. Should a volume not be received within a reasonable time after the prescribed date, notification should be sent to the Secretary as early as possible, but, at any rate, by the end of the quarter concerned. Should such notice not be received by the Secretary within six months of the first day of the quarter for which the volume has been issued, the onus cannot be admitted, and the volume cannot be replaced free of charge.

In accordance with Rule 93, the Library will be closed for cleaning and repairs throughout the month of August.

Authors of articles in the JOURNAL who desire more than the twenty off-prints which are supplied gratis, are requested to apply to the Secretary before publication. The cost of the extra copies varies in accordance with the length of the article and in the number of plates.

NOTE

We have been asked by the author to make the following correction as to the designation of the printers of the book, reviewed on pp. 183–4 of *JRAS.*, 1935, *Les Manuscrits Mineurs des Ruba'iyat de 'Omar Khayyam dans la bibliotheque nationale.* Instead of " Imprimerie de la Société Anon ", read " Szeged Municipal Press Co., Ltd."

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
Vol. xv, Parts iii and iv, 1933–4.

Winternitz, M. The Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata: Ādiparvan.
Ganguli, R. Famine in Ancient India.
Dikshitar, R. Migration of Legends.

The Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society.
Vol. vii, Part ii, November, 1934.

Blunt, Sir E. Europeans in the U.P., 1580 to 1800.
Law, B. C. The Mālavas in Ancient India.

Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen. Jaarboek ii, 1934.

Callenfels, P. V. van Stein. Korte Gids voor de Praehistorische Verzameling.
Bijschriften bij de foto's van eenige belangrijke aanwinsten der Oudheidkundige verzameling in 1932 en 1933.

Rivista degli Studi Orientali. Vol. xv, Fasc. ii–iii, 1934–xiii.

Furlani, G. Kakzu-Qaṣr Šemāmok.

Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama. No. 24. 1934.

Pissurlencar, P. Um Frade Capucho na Côrte de Puném.
Telles, R. M. Brazões de armas nas sepulturas no distrito de Goa.

Zeitschrift für Rassenkunde und ihre Nachbargebiete.
Band 1, Heft 1, 1935.

Muhlmann, W. E. Die Frage der arischen Herkunft der Polynesier (5 Abb.).
Davenport, Ch. B. The influence of economic conditions on the mixture of races.
v. Eickstedt, E. F. Die Mediterranen in Wales (25 Abb., 3 tab.).
Schultz-Ewerth, E. Der heutige Stand der farbigen Gefahr.

Archiv für Orientforschung. Band x, Heft. 1–2, 1935.

Weidner, E. F. Aus den Tagen eines assyrischen Schattenkönigs (mit einem Beitrag von Dietrich Opitz, Die Siegel Ninurta-tukul-Aššurs und seiner Frau Rîmeni, mit 8 Abb.).
Van Buren, Douglas E. Entwined Serpents (with 12 figures).

Syria. Tome xv, 1934.

Virolleaud, C. Fragment nouveau du Poème de Mōt et Aleyn-Baal (1 AB).
—— Table généalogique provenant de Ras-Shamra.

Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement, January, 1935.

Rowe, A. The 1934 Excavations at Gezer.
Gaster, T. H. The Tell-Duweir Ewer Inscription : Supplementary Note.
Smith, Sir G. A. Abel's Geography of Palestine.

PRESENTATIONS AND ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ismāʿīl: Folk Medicine in Modern Egypt. Being . . . parts of the Ṭibb al-Rukka or Old Wives' Medicine . . . [tr.] by J. Walker . . . 9 × 6. *London*, 1934. *From Messrs. Luzac.*

Ahrens, K., Muhammed als Religionsstifter . . . (Abh. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Bd. 19, No. 4.) 9½ × 6½. *Leipzig*, 1935. *Exchange.*

Arabian Nights. Hazār dāstān. [A Hindustani version of the Arabic Alf lailah wa-lailah. 4th ed.] *Lithographed.* 10 × 7. *Lucknow*, 1903. *From Mr. Burkill.*

Barnard, J. T. O., A handbook of the Răwang dialect of the Nung language . . . with an appendix of Nung manners and customs . . . 10½ × 6½. *Rangoon*, 1934. *From the Government of Burma.*

Beaujard, A., Les Notes de Chevet de Séi Shōnagon', Dame d'Honneur au Palais de Kyōto. Traduction . . . de l'ancien texte japonais . . . 10 × 6½. *Paris*, 1934.

—— Séi Shōnagon', son temps et son œuvre . . . 10 × 6½. Paris, 1934.

Bengalische Texte in der Aussprache des Standard Colloquial. Von R. Wagner. (Lehrbücher des Seminars für Or. Sprachen zu Berlin. Hilfsheft zu Bd. 33.) 9 × 6. *Berlin u. Leipzig*, 1933. *From Messrs. W. de Gruyter.*

Blom (J. R. van): Tjandi Sadjiwan. Proefschrift . . . 10 × 6½. *Amsterdam*, 1935. *From the Author.*

Bloomfield, M., Edgerton, F., and Emeneau, M. B., Vedic variants . . . Vol. 3. Noun and pronoun inflection. (Spec. publ. of the Linguistic Soc. of America, vol. 3.) 10½ × 7. *Philadelphia*, 1934. *From the Linguistic Society of America.*

Bodding, P. O., A Santal dictionary. Vol. 2. D-Gh . . . 11 × 7½. *Oslo*, 1934. *From the Author.*

Bonneau, G., Yoshino . . . Supplément au Tome 5: Le Kokinshu. Préface chinoise de Ki No Yoshimochi. Tome 9. Le Haiku. Tome 10. Lyrisme du temps présent. *Japanese Texts and transliterations with French tr. and introductions.* 10½ × 7. *Paris*, 1935. *From the Author.*

Breuil, H., Les peintures rupestres . . . de la Péninsule Ibérique . . . 4. Sud-est et est de l'Espagne. (Fondation Singer-Polignac.) 13½ × 10½. *Lagny*, 1935. *From the Fondation Singer-Polignac.*

Brohier, R. L., Ancient irrigation works in Ceylon. Pt. 1. . . . *Colombo*, 1934. *From the Government of Ceylon.*

Charpentier, J., The Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana . . . (Skrifter, K. Hum. Vetenskaps-Samf. i Uppsala, Bd. 29, no. 3.) 9½ × 6½. *Uppsala and Leipzig*, 1934. *From the K. Univ. Bibliotek, Uppsala.*

Chiera, E., Joint expedition with the Irāq Museum at Nuzi. Mixed texts . . . (Amer. Schools of Or. Research. Publ. of the Baghdad School, Texts, vol. 5.) 11½ × 8½. *Philadelphia*, 1934. *From the Oxford University Press.*

Cenival, P. de, Les sources inédites de l'histoire de Maroc . . . Sér. 1. Dynastie Sa'dienne. Archives et bibliothèques de Portugal. Tom. 1. Juillet 1486–avril 1516. (Publ. de la Section historique du Maroc.) 11½ × 8. *Paris*, 1934. *From Messrs. P. Geuthner.*

Chaplin, D., Matter, myth, and spirit . . . 9 × 6. *London*, 1935. *From the Author.*

Chassinat, E., Le temple de Dendara. Tome 1, 2. (Publ. de l'Inst. Fr. d'Arch. Or.) 14 × 10½. *Le Caire*, 1934. *From the Inst. Français d'Arch. Or. Exchange.*

Combe, E., Sauvaget, J., and Wiet, G., Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe. Tome 5 . . . 11½ × 9½. *Le Caire*, 1934. *From the Inst. Français d'Arch. Or. Exchange.*

Congrès International des Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques. Compte-rendu de la première Session, Londres, 1934. 10 × 6½. *Londres*, 1934. *From Sir E. Maclagan.*

Coorg Gazetteer. B vol. 13½ × 8½. [*Bangalore*, 1935.] *From the Chief Commissioner of Coorg.*

Corpus Inscriptionum Chaldicarum . . . herausg. von C. F. Lehmann-Haupt. Textbd., Lief. 2; Tafelbd., Lief. 2. 16½ × 11½. *Berlin u. Leipzig*. 1935. *From Messrs. W. de Gruyter.*

Dairaines, S., Un Socialisme d'État quinze siècles avant J.-C. L'Égypte économique sous la 18e dynastie Pharaonique. 10½ × 7. *Paris*, 1934. *From Messrs. Paul Geuthner.*

Dāraquṭnī. Kitāb al-Askhiyā' . . . ed. by S. Wajahat Husain. (Offprint from *JASB.*, N.S., vol. 30, no. 1.) 10 × 6½. [*Calcutta*], 1934. *From the Editor.*

Davids, Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys, Buddhism. Its birth and dispersal . . . Revised ed. (Home Univ. Library, 47.) 7 × 4½. *London* (1934). *From Messrs. Thornton Butterworth.*

Din Muhammad. Dastur-i-Pahlavi. [A comparative grammar of Pahlavi and Persian, in Persian.] 10 × 7½. (*Amritsar*, 1934.) *From the Author.*

Djajadiningrat, H., and Drewes (G. W. J., Atjèhsch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek door . . . H. D. met Nederlandsch-

Atjèhsch Register door . . . G. W. J. D. . . . Deel 1, 2. 11 × 8. *Batavia*, 1934.
From the Administrateur van's Lands Depot van Leermiddelen.

Eickstedt, E., Freiherr von, The Mysore Tribes and Castes. Vol. 1, chap. 1. The position of Mysore in India's racial history . . . (Univ. of Mysore.) [With loose plates = figs. 1–21.] *Introductory to Messrs. Nandunjayya and Anantakṛṣṇa Ayyar's Mysore Tribes and Castes, vols. 2–4.* 8½ × 6. *Bangalore*, 1934. *From the Author.*

Encyclopædia. The Encyclopædia of Islam . . . fasc. T. Zaitūn-Zūrkhāna. 11 × 7½.

—— No. 50. Al-Nafūsa-Nedroma. 11 × 7½. *Leyden and London*, 1934. *From Sir William Beveridge.*

Fischer, A., and Bräunlich, E., Schawāhid-Indices. Indices der Reimwörter und der Dichter der in den arabischen Schawāhid-Kommentaren . . . erläuterten Belegverse . . . Lief. 1. 12 × 9½. *Leipzig*, 1934.
From Verlag Asia Major.

Follick, M., The influence of English . . . 7½ × 5½. *London*, (1934).
From the Author.

Gaekwad's Oriental Series.
Vol. 63. The Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī . . . Tr. . . . by K. K. Basu . . .
Vol. 64. Siddhāntabindu of Madhusūdana, with the commentary of Purushottama . . . Ed. and tr. . . . by P. C. Divānji . . .
Vol. 65. Iṣṭa-siddhi of Vimuktātman . . . ed. . . . by M. Hiriyanna . . .
Vol. 66. Shabara-bhāṣya. Tr. . . . by Ganganatha Jha. Vol. 1. Adhyāyas 1–3.
Vol. 67. Sanskrit texts from Bāli . . . Ed. . . . by S. Lévi.
Vol. 68. Nāṭyaśāstra, with the commentary of Abhinavagupta. Ed. . . . by M. Ramakrishna Kavi . . . Vol. 2.
Vol. 69. Aḥsanu't-Tawārīkh of Ḥasan-i-Rūmlū. Vol. 2. English tr. Tr. by C. N. Seddon . . .
Vol. 70. Shabara-bhāṣya. Tr. by G. Jha. Vol. 2. Adhyāyas 4–8. 10 × 6½. *Baroda*, 1933–4. *Exchange.*

Gazetteers. Cuttack, by L. S. S. O'Malley . . . 2nd ed. by E. R. J. R. Cousins . . . (Bihar and Orissa Dist. Gazetteers.) 10 × 7. *Patna*, 1933.
From the High Commissioner for India.

Genouillac, H. de, Fouilles de Telloh . . . Tom. 1. Époques présargoniques. (Miss. Arch. du Musée du Louvre.) 12 × 9. *Paris*, 1934. *From Messrs. Paul Geuthner.*

Giles, H. A., and Waley, A., Select Chinese verses. Tr. by H. A. Giles and A. Waley. *Chinese and English.* 7½ × 5½. *Shanghai*, 1934. *From Sir J. S. Lockhart.*

Hempel, J., Die althebräische Literatur und ihr hellenistisch-jüdisches Nachleben . . . (Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft, Ergänzungs-Bd.). 12 × 9½. *Wildpark-Potsdam*, (1930). *From the Akad. Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion.*

Hirananda Sastrī. A guide to Elephanta . . . 8½ × 6. *Delhi*, 1934. *From the Government of India.*

Hrozný, B., Les inscriptions hittites hiéroglyphiques . . . Livr. 2. . . . (Monografie Archivu Orientálního, vol. 1). 10½ × 7½. *Praha*, 1934. *From the Czecho-Slovak Or. Institute.*

India in 1932–3 . . . 9½ × 6½. *Delhi*, 1934. *From the Secretary of State for India.*

Kalpa-sūtra. A descriptive and illustrated catalogue of miniature paintings of the Jaina Kalpasūtra . . . by W. N. Brown. . . . (Smithsonian Inst. Freer Gallery of Art, Or. Studies, no. 2.) 14½ × 11. *Washington*, 1934. *From the Smithsonian Institute.*

Khāṭīb, al-Baghdādī. Ta'rīkh Baghdād. [A biographical dictionary of learned Muslims of Baghdad, down to about A.H. 450. Preceded by a topographical account of the city and its neighbourhood.] 14 vols. *Arabic.* 10½ × 7. *Cairo*, A.H. 1349, A.D. 1931. *From Mr. A. Rhuvon Guest.*

König, F. W., Älteste Geschichte der Meder und Perser . . . (A.O., Bd. 33, Heft 3–4.) 9½ × 6. *Leipzig*, 1934. *Bought.*

Langdon, S., Babylonian Menologies and the Semitic Calendars . . . (Schweich Lectures, 1933.) 10 × 6½. *London*, 1935. *From the Oxford University Press.*

Lecerf, J., Littérature dialectale et renaissance arabe moderne . . . (Extr. du Bulletin d'Études Or. de l'Inst. français de Damas, tom. 2 et 3.) 11½ × 9½. [*Le Caire*, 1933–4.] *From the Author.*

Loeb, E. M., and Heine-Gelders, R., Sumatra ; its history and people. By E. M. L. The archæology and art of Sumatra. By R. H. G. . . . (Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte, vol. 3.) 10 × 7. *Wien*, 1935. *From the Institut für Võlkerkunde der Univ., Wien.*

Madras. Records of Fort St. George. Fort St. David Consultations. 1745. Vol. 14.

—— Letters from Tellicherry. 1732–33, vol. 2. 1733–34, vol. 3. 1736–37, vol. 5. 1745–46, vol. 6. 1749, vol. 7.

—— Letters to Tellicherry. 1736–38, vol. 2. 1738–39, vol. 3. 1743–44, vol. 7. 1745–46, vol. 8.

—— Tellicherry consultations. 1741–42, vol. 13. 1743–44, vol. 15. 1747–48, vol. 17–B.

13½ × 8½. *Madras*, 1934. *From the High Commissioner for India.*

Maes, P., Un ami de Stendhal. Victor Jacquemont . . . 8½ × 5½. *Paris*, [1934]. *From Messrs. Desclée, De Brouwer et Cie.*

Mahābhārata. The M. Analysis and Index. By E. P. Rice . . . 9 × 6. *London*, 1934. *From the Oxford University Press.*

—— The M. Southern recension . . . Ed. by . . . P. P. S. Sastri . . . Vol. 9. Droṇa Parvan. Pt. 1. 7½ × 5½. *Madras*, 1935. *From Messrs. V. Ramaswamy Sastrulu and Son.*

Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa. An Imperial History of India in a Sanskrit text (*c.* 700 B.C.–*c.* A.D. 770) . . . [Tr.] By K. P. Jayaswal. . . . Text revised by V. Rāhula Sāṅkṛityāyana. 11 × 7½. *Lahore*, 1934. *From Messrs. Motilal Banarsi Dass.*

Mingana, A., The early spread of Christianity in India . . . (Repr. from the Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, vol. 10, no. 2.) 10½ × 7. *Manchester*, 1926. *From the Author.*

Moortgat, A., Bildwerk und Volkstum Vorderasiens zur Hethiterzeit . . . 9½ × 6½. *Leipzig*, 1934. *From J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.*

Nelson, H. H., and Hölscher, U., Work in Western Thebes, 1931–33 . . . (Chicago Univ., Or. Inst. Communications, no. 18.) 10 × 7½. *Chicago*, 1934. *From the Oriental Institute, Chicago.*

Niẓāmī, Ganjavī. Heft Peiker. Ein romantisches Epos . . . herausg. von H. Ritter und J. Rypka. (Monografie Archivu Orientálního, vol. 3.) 10½ × 7½. *Praha*, 1934. *From the Oriental Institute, Prague.*

Orton, E. F., Links with Past Ages . . . 9 × 6. *Cambridge*, 1935. *From Messrs. Heffer.*

Paret, R., Zur Frauenfrage in der arabisch-islamischen Welt. (Veröffentlichungen des Or. Seminars der Univ. Tübingen, Heft 8.) 10 × 6½. *Stuttgart*, (1934). *From Messrs. W. Kohlhammer.*

Pettazzoni, R., La confessione dei peccati. Vol. 2. Egitto, Babilonia, Israele, Arabia Meridionale . . . (Storia delle Religioni, vol. 11.) 8 × 5. *Bologna*, 1935. *From Messrs. Zanichelli.*

Punjab. Report on the Census of the Panjáb taken on the 17th of February, 1881. By D. C. J. Ibbetson . . . Vol. 1, Text; and Appendices C and D. Vol. 2, Appendix A. 14½ × 11. *Calcutta* (vol. 2, *Lahore*), 1883. *Given by Miss Ibbetson.*

Qu'rān. The Holy Qurān. English tr. and commentary, with Arabic text. By A. Yūsuf 'Ali. Pt. 1. . . . *Lahore*, [1934 ?]. *From Messrs. Muhammad Ashraf.*

Ryckmans, G., Les noms propres sud-sémitiques . . . 3 tomes. (Bibl. du Muséon, 2.) 10½ × 7½. *Louvain*, 1934. *From the Author.*

Rusconi, J., Sja'ir Kompeni welanda berperang dengan Tjina. Voorzien van Inhoudsopgave . . . Acad. Proefschrift . . . door J. R. . . . 10 × 6½. *Wageningen*, 1935. *From Messrs. Veenman and Zonen.*

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS

ASIATIC SOCIETY MONOGRAPHS.

Vols. XX–XXI.

A Study in the Economic Condition of Ancient India. By Dr. Pran Nath. 1929. Price 12s. 6d.

The Kumzari Dialect of the Shihuh Tribe, Arabia, and a Vocabulary. By Bertram Thomas. 1930. Price 2s. 6d.

PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND.

Vols. XII–XIII.

Outlines of Tibeto-Burman Linguistic Morphology. By S. N. Wolfenden. 1930. 15*s*.

A Guide to Ismaili Literature. By W. Ivanow. 1933. 9*s*.

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND.

Vol. XXXI.

Vicitrakarṇikāvadānoddhṛta. Nevāri Text and Translation. Edited by Dr. Hans Jórgensen. 1931. 12*s*. 6*d*.

JAMES G. FORLONG FUND.

Vols. VII–XI, XV.

The Elements of Japanese Writing. By Commander N. E. Isemonger. 1929. £1 5*s*.

Falakī-i-Sh̲īrwānī. His Dīwān. By Hādī Ḥasan. 1929. 10*s*.

Ta'rīkh-i-Jahān-Gushāy of Juwayni, Vol. III, Facsimile of MS. dated A.H. 690, belonging to Wahīd-ul-Mulk. With Introduction by Sir E. Denison Ross. 1931. 7*s*. 6*d*.

Dialogues in the Eastern Turki Dialect on Subjects of Interest to Travellers. By R. O. Wingate and E. Denison Ross. 1934. 4*s*. 6*d*.

Phonetic System of Ancient Japanese. By S. Yoshitake. 1934. 6*s*.

An Introduction to Colloquial Bengali. By W. Sutton Page. 1934. 10*s*. 6*d*.

Balti Grammar. By A. F. C. Read, Central Asian Mission. 1934. 8*s*. 6*d*.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

74 Grosvenor Street, W. 1.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

The JOURNAL of the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY is published quarterly. It is frequently illustrated and it contains Original Articles on the Languages, the Archaeology, the History, the Beliefs and the Customs of the East.

Each quarter the principal books published on Oriental subjects are reviewed.

The Annual Subscription to the Society is THREE GUINEAS for Resident Members (except in the case of Ministers of Religion, Teachers of certain Oriental Subjects or Officials in certain Museums and Libraries, when the Council may reduce this subscription to Two Guineas), TWO GUINEAS for Non-resident Members residing in the British Isles, and THIRTY SHILLINGS for Non-resident Members residing abroad.

Each Member, whose Subscription for the current year has been paid, receives the Journal post free, has the use of the Library at the Society's rooms, and admission to the meetings of the Society. Three-guinea Subscribers may borrow books. Two-guinea Subscribers may be allowed to borrow books on payment of an additional fee to be determined by the Council.

Libraries and persons who are not Members may obtain the Journal post free by paying a Subscription of **Two Pounds Eight Shillings** a year in advance direct to the Secretary. The price of each part separately is **Fifteen Shillings.**

NOTICE TO MEMBERS AND STUDENTS.

Teas can be supplied by the Caretaker at a small charge.

STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS, LTD., PRINTERS, HERTFORD.

THIRD QUARTER JULY, 1935.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNI
AUG 8 - 1935
LIBRARY

THE JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF *GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND*

With which are incorporated the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology

QUOT RAMI TOT ARBORES
A.D. MDCCCXXIII INST.
J. COOPER

July **1935**

July 15

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
74 GROSVENOR STREET, LONDON, W. 1

Price Fifteen Shillings

Indexes to the Transactions and Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society

FOR THE YEARS 1827–1888. *Price Four Shillings and Sixpence.*
FOR THE YEARS 1889–1903. *Price Four Shillings and Sixpence.*
FOR THE YEARS 1920–1929. *Price One Shilling and Sixpence.*

Centenary Volume of the Royal Asiatic Society, containing a brief history of the Society from 1823 to 1923, together with indexes of authors, their contributions to the Journal and of the regions and countries dealt with, 1827–1922. Compiled and edited by F. E. PARGITER. 1923. Price 7*s.* 6*d.*

The Centenary Supplement of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1924. Being a selection of papers read to the Society during the celebrations of July, 1923. Price 7*s.* 6*d.*

Decade Index of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1920–29. Paper Covers similar to JOURNAL, each 1*s.*; Bound in paper boards, each 1*s.* 6*d.*; Bound in paper boards and interleaved, each 2*s.*

Members are asked to present the following numbers of the R.A.S. Journal:—

OLD SERIES.

1842. Vol. VII, No. 13.
1861. Vol. XIX, Pt. II.
1849. Vol. XI.
1863. Vol. XX. Pt. I.

NEW SERIES.

1870. Vol. IV, Pt. II.
1873. Vol. VI.
1876. Vol. VIII, Pt. II.
1879. Vol. XI, Pt. III.
1881. Vol. XIII, Pts. I, II, III.
1882. Vol. XIV, Pts. III, IV.
1883. Vol. XV, Pts. I, II.
1885. Vol. XVII, Pt. IV.

PRESENT SERIES.

1903. Pts. I, III.
1904. Pts. I, II, III.
1906. Pt. II.
1907. Pt. I.
1909. Pt. II.
1920. Pts. I, IV.
1921. Pt. I.
1929. Pt. I.

Also any complete volumes of the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology.

LONDON:
THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,
74 GROSVENOR STREET, W. 1.

JOURNAL OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
1935

PART III.—JULY

Some Ethical Ideals of the *Tso-chuan*

BY ARTHUR MORLEY

(Concluded from p. 284.)

THE reader of the *Tso-chuan* cannot but be impressed by the number of suicides it records. Two instances at least are given of suicide because of the loss of wealth, both by men who had no claim to be considered virtuous—Fu-ch'ai, King of Wu (XII, xxii, 2), and King Ling of Ch'u (x, xiii, 2). I Chiang, marchioness of Wei, preferred death to the disgrace of being superseded in her husband's house (II, xvi, 5). Tsang Chien died on a point of honour. Taken prisoner to Ch'i, the marquis of which State sent a eunuch to condole with him and promise protection, he bowed in acknowledgement, but said: "I thank your master's condescension; the favour, however, is not complete, for why has he sent a castrated servant on a visit of courtesy to an officer?" Then he drove a stake into his wound and died (IX, xvii, 4). When Wu made its great invasion of Ch'u, the plan of defence drawn up by Marshal Hsü was wrecked through the self-seeking of the Chancellor, and all the marshal's efforts could not retrieve the disaster. After repeated battles he fell wounded, but not mortally. "In each of these three battles," he said, "I have been wounded, and now I am of no more use. Which of you officers will carry off my head ?" One of low rank at length offered his service, and the marshal, referring to the courage which would face the obloquy of having killed his superior, said: "It is my fault that I did not recognize your worth earlier" (XI, iv, 15). The story is told with evident approval, but it may be doubted whether more strict Chinese moralists would justify the marshal's death, his prince being still alive and contending against the enemy. Two other virtual suicides are recorded through patriotism, which were more in accord with Chinese feeling. When Marquis Chao was banished from Lu there was a real upsetting of the constitution, no one being put in his place, and if Shu-sun Shê, when he found his efforts at reconciliation in vain, had put an end to his life, he would, at least in motive, have supplied a near parallel to Cato. But, retiring to his chamber, he contented himself with ordering prayers to be offered in the ancestral temple for his speedy death (x, xxv, 7). Again, when Shih Hsieh's advice in the council chamber of Chin was rejected and the victory at Yen-ling was won, he stood before the chariot of the marquis and besought him to remember that the continued favour of Heaven could be secured only by virtue. Then, on his return home, foreseeing the difficulties which would beset the State because of the character of its prince, he, too, prayed for death (VIII, xvii, 2, addtl. narr.). The death of both, following so soon after their prayer, may have been hastened by starvation, but there is no other suggestion of it. Though desiring death, it would seem that they would not compel it without the approval of their ancestors. There is no Chinese legend of a Curtius clad in armour, plunging into the abyss amidst the admiration of his fellow-countrymen, yet in a quieter and more domestic way China has her heroes who gave themselves for the welfare of their land. Tung An-yü, steward to the Chao clan in the State of Chin, informed his chief of the intended revolt in Han-tan which began the long civil war. Rather than be the first to shed blood, Chao decided to wait until the insurrection broke out, whereupon Tung said: "In that case make your preparation to spare the people by throwing the blame upon me." His chief would not do so, but others brought the accusation against Tung and demanded his execution. "If," said he, "my death will give repose to the State, why should I live ? Otherwise I shall only die too late." So he strangled himself. Chao accepted the fact and caused his body to be exposed in a public place as that of a criminal, but instituted sacrifices to him (xi, xiii, 5; xiv, 1, addtl. narr.). If this account be correct, his death surpassed that of Brutulus the Samnite, which led Niebuhr to pronounce the surrender of himself for the freedom of his country to be the greatest deed in classical history. We are also told the stories of Viscount Wên of Chü, who persisted in moving his capital for the public benefit, although told by divination that it would be fatal to himself (vi, xiii, 3), and of King Chao of Ch'u, who refused to allow an omen of death to be transferred by sacrifice from his own person to that of a minister (xii, vi, 6), though in the latter case there is reason to doubt whether the king believed the omen.

There are several instances of those who met death because of domestic affection. When King P'ing of Ch'u believed the slander that his son was about to rebel, he spoke about it to Wu Shê, who defended the prince and was put under arrest on suspicion of being an accomplice. His two sons were at a frontier fortress and the father's life was made dependent upon their submission. Shang, the elder, argued with his brother that the king might be content to spare their father if one of them surrendered, and as he himself had the less ability he should be the one, so that his brother might be left to preserve the family line and if necessary avenge their death (x, xx, 1, 2nd addtl. narr.). The sacrifice was unavailing. Both father and son were put to death. When Wu Shê heard that his younger son had escaped he observed drily: "Now the king and his ministers will often dine late." Prince Shou was a son of the Marquis of Wei by a secondary wife, who plotted against the legitimate heir Chi-tzŭ and won the consent of the marquis to procure his death. Chi-tzŭ was accordingly sent on a mission to Ch'i and given a distinctive white banner, by which ruffians hired to murder him on the way might know him. Shou became aware of the plot, and urged his half-brother to flee, and, seeing that the latter was determined to obey his father and so be able, as he put it, still to be called a son, he made him drunk and then, taking the banner, went on before and gave his life for him. Chi-tzŭ came in haste after him and, finding him already dead, surrendered himself into the hands of the assassins to die with him (II, xvi, 5). Prince Shên-shêng of Chin, again, preferred to die rather than deprive his father of the comfort of his concubine (V, iv, 8, addtl. narr.). There is also the instance of Duke Chao of Sung, who would not save his life by opposing his grandmother; he was unpopular in the State and the dowager arranged to have him murdered at a hunt; refusing to flee, he distributed his treasure among his followers and set out with I-chu as his sole companion to the place of death (VI, xvi, 7). From a Chinese point of view Hu Tu of Chin, in dying to preserve the lives and virtue of his sons, rose to a still greater height. When Marquis Huai took the title in Chin he allowed one year for the followers of Ch'ung-êrh to make their submission. Hu Tu's two sons were amongst them, and, being threatened with death unless he recalled them, he replied that if he obeyed, he would be teaching the youths unfaithfulness to a master whom they had long served, and so he died (V, xxiii, 3).

Fidelity to superiors was a leading motive for facing death, but not in the true spirit of suttee. The minister of justice in Wei was deprived of his office through the machinations of the elder brother of the marquis. He had previously recommended Tsung Lu to the service of that prince, but now, plotting revenge, he advised him not to go abroad with his master. Tsung Lu replied: "It was you who recommended me to him because of my character: I know him to be a bad man, but I have served him for gain and if I leave him in his danger I shall belie what you said of me: therefore I will die with him and so complete my service to you." He would not, however, warn the prince, and rode with him into the ambush; as the blow was struck he interposed his body and both were slain (x, xx, 3). When the rebel Duke of Pai in Ch'u strangled himself, he forbade his followers to disclose the place of his burial so as to avoid ignominy being done to his body. Shih Ch'i under threat of being boiled alive refused to betray the secret and endured the cruel death (XII, xvi, 2nd addtl. narr.). The man Pi, ill-treated by Marquis Chuang of Ch'i, did not allow resentment to prevent him from giving his life to enable his master to escape (III, viii, 5).

These two men died in the hope of saving their respective masters, but Tsung Lu had no such hope; indeed, he led him to his death. As the story is told, he died rather in the service of the minister whom he would not betray; he suggested, too, another motive which will include him amongst those soon to be mentioned, who died in order to redeem their own guilt. There are, however, at least two cases of death which come near to suttee. Early in the period, when Marquis Hsiang came to his title in Ch'i, his known irregularities led many of the ministers to leave the State. Two of them took Prince Hsiao-pai to Chü, whilst Kuan Chung and Shao Hu took Prince Chiu to Lu. On Hsiang's death, Kuan Chung was sent from Lu to bar Hsiao-pai's road to Ch'i. He reported, however, that the prince had been slain in a skirmish, and in consequence Chiu made his journey to Ch'i in leisurely fashion and Hsiao-pai, arriving first, was proclaimed marquis (III, viii, 5; ix, 3). The story is that Kuan Chung shot at Hsiao-pai and hit his buckle, whereupon Hsiao-pai fell, simulating death; cf. SM., ch. 32. The *Tso-chuan* only alludes to the incident (v, xxiv, 1, 2nd addtl. narr.). Hsiao-pai then defeated Lu and demanded of that State the death of his brother with the surrender of the two officers. Prince Chiu was executed and, in the phraseology of the *Tso-chuan*, Shao Hu "died with him", whilst Kuan Chung "begged to be made a prisoner".

He won the favour of the officer to whom he was handed over and was recommended to the new marquis, whom he served through nearly the whole of his long and glorious reign. Undoubtedly Shao Hu chose the manner of his death, but the intention of the marquis was clearly to punish the two officers and, unless we suppose in Shao Hu the same self-reliance which encouraged Kuan Chung, his life in Ch'i would have been at the best precarious.

The other case is a somewhat clearer instance of a suttee suicide. When Duke Chao of Sung went knowingly to the hunt, which was to be his death, and the other officers stayed behind, I-chu, the minister of war, went with him, and when he was warned by the dowager not to be near to the marquis he replied: "I have been his minister, and if I skulk away in his calamity how can I appear before his successor?" The words suggest that there was something of self in his reply, but also that it was his recognized duty to die. If not Shao Hu or I-chu, there is no instance in these times of what may fairly be called a suttee suicide. Hsün Hsi of Chin had not served the infant prince with whom he died, and was fulfilling a vow made to the late marquis (v, ix, 6), and the two officers who died with Marquis Chuang of Ch'i were probably defending him (IX, xxv, 2). When the philosopher-statesman, Yen-tzŭ, heard that his libertine prince, Marquis Chuang of Ch'i, had been murdered by a minister in the act of intriguing with his wife, he went to the house and, the door being shut, stood outside whilst the people asked him whether he proposed to die or to go into exile. He did neither, but he refused the oath which the murderer proposed to impose, and it was thought prudent to spare his life (IX, xxv, 2). In condemning the murder he risked death, but he did not think it his duty to seek it. Yen-tzŭ had already won a name for virtue, whereas Kuan Chung had not yet distinguished himself, and it was his later reputation which perplexed the moralists of Confucius' day. To the close of these times the duty of a suttee death was qualified. The crowd which watched

Yen-tzŭ's behaviour allowed an alternative and he, explaining himself to them, laid it down that the altars should be a ruler's first care, and that a minister was obliged to follow him to death or into exile only when he was serving the altars and not when seeking his own gratification. This judgment does not exonerate Kuan Chung, and Confucius, condemning his lack of proper behaviour, did not instance his failure to die with his prince, but only said of him in that connection that it was well for his State that he did not die (A. XIV, xvii, xviii). This view implies a further limitation of suttee death, namely that when a minister is conscious of being able to confer good upon his country he may refuse to die with his master. Nevertheless, the idea of suttee, as distinct from that of personal failure in duty, grew amongst a certain class of moralists and, transferred to Japan, it was accepted by the Samurai as a proper part of loyalty.

The Chinese code of fidelity to a superior included the duty of recalling him to a sense of his responsibility, and even in the army an officer of low rank might reprove his commander. A story is told of the battle of An with a literary neatness which perhaps in its details exceeded the reality. The general Ch'i K'o, wounded until the blood ran down to his shoes, continued beating the drum for the advance until at last he cried out: "I am in pain" whereon his charioteer said to him: "At the first encounter an arrow pierced my hand and another my wrist. But I broke them and continued my driving until the left wheel is of a deep purple, and I did not dare to speak of the pain. Do you, sir, bear yours." Ch'i K'o resumed beating the drum until the victory was won (VIII, ii, 3). Among those who faced death in defence of their personal honour or in fulfilment of their office we may recall how Tzŭ-lü of Ch'u refused to make himself a usurper of the throne, how Hsün Hsi of Chin would not fail in his promise, and how Shên Chou of Ch'u carried out his mission to pick a quarrel with Sung, knowing that it meant his own execution. This last, it should be pointed out, was not a minister, and it did not lie within his duty to criticize the king's action or make its immorality an excuse for disobedience. It was not admitted that obedience to a superior was sufficient exoneration for an officer in breaking the recognized rules of his position. The three historiographers of Ch'i who one after the other disobeyed their new ruler's command to falsify the record concerning the death of Marquis Chuang are the most celebrated examples of Chinese who refused to live in dishonour (IX, XXV, 2). In this survey we have excluded the many examples of willingness to meet death in the course of military duty; but some soldiers also faced it to fulfil their idea of high chivalry. For instance, we are told that during the troubles in Sung with the Hua clan, Shêng, a brother of the duke, met Hua P'ao in the field. Both were in chariots and Shêng turned away from the encounter, but P'ao called upon him to stop, and shot an arrow, which missed. He bent his bow again before Shêng was ready. Shêng then said: "It would be unchivalrous not to let me first return your shot." So P'ao withheld his hand and was killed, standing in his chariot (X, XXI, 5, addtl. narr.). The story goes on that P'ao's spearman was slain and the charioteer begged also to die with his master. Shêng, however, offered to spare him, and to report his loyalty to the duke. But he said: "How can the duke employ a rebel like me? So I pray you be quick." And his choice was allowed.

Confession of sin tended to become conventional, but there are instances in which the sense of wrong-doing was sufficiently strong to be a cause of suicide. Many generals and some ministers ended their own lives after failure in war or in policy. Most of them did so in order to avoid greater ignominy at the hands of the executioner, but if the account of the death of Tzŭ-fan of Ch'u be correct, his motive was to atone for a serious lapse. At the crisis of the battle at Yen-ling, the king found him drunk and had to draw off the army. On the return march, however, he spoke kindly to the general, and told him not to take the fate of Tê-ch'ên after the defeat at Ch'êng-p'u as a precedent, for on that occasion Tê-ch'ên was in sole command, whereas at Yen-ling the king was present and the fault was really his own. Nevertheless, on reaching home, Tzŭ-fan, encouraged by his friends, determined to die, and though the king, hearing of his resolve, sent a messenger to stop him, the effort was too late (VIII, xvi, 7). After his victory at Hsiao, the Marquis of Chin released the captured generals at the prayer of his mother, the dowager; whereupon Hsien Chên in his indignation spat upon the ground in the presence of his prince. The expected punishment did not come; but a few months afterwards war began with the barbarians and Hsien Chên, to redeem his fault, put off his armour and died in the midst of the foe (v, xxxiii, 3, 8). When the wilful Marquis Hui of Chin was defeated in three battles he asked Ch'ing Chêng what was to be done. The officer said: "It is your Highness who has brought us to this pass; why then do you ask what is to be done?" In consequence of this, when the Marquis was preparing for another effort at Han and divination advised him to make Ch'ing Chêng his charioteer, he would not do so. In the battle his chariot got stuck and seeing Ch'ing Chêng he called to him for help, but was told "Disobedient to the oracle and seeking defeat, would you now escape?" So Ch'ing Chêng turned away and the Marquis was captured. The vindictive spirit of the Marquis being well known, Ch'ing Chêng was advised to flee before his return, but he said: "I plunged our ruler into defeat and was unable to die myself; I will not also be the cause of his failure to punish crime." So he remained and was put to death before the Marquis would re-enter the city (v, xv, 13).

Chinese idealism strove to meet the difficulty of conflicting duties by living to fulfil the more important one and dying to atone for the breach of the other. Yü-ch'uan of Ch'u felt obliged to remonstrate with the ruler of that State, and went so far as to brandish a weapon before him. His prince yielded and the event turned out well, but because he had used threats Yü-ch'uan maimed his own feet and for his fidelity was made grand porter. Later, when his ruler accepted defeat from the people of Pa, Yü-ch'uan refused him admission on his return. The king of Ch'u then went back to the war and was successful, but died on his way home. Yü-ch'uan went out to bury him and, because he had driven his ruler to death, he took his own life (III, xix, 1, 2). Another king of Ch'u had Ch'i-chih, son of the chancellor, for his charioteer. Having resolved to put the father to death for corruption, he could not look upon the son without sighing. When the young man noticed it, the king told him the reason, and asked: "Can you now bear to be my charioteer?" Ch'i-chih answered: "If I did, how could your Majesty bear to employ me? Yet I will not commit the great fault of betraying what you have told me." After the execution, he begged the body for burial, and when the funeral was over he strangled himself for having been privy to his father's death without warning him (IX, xxii, 6). The same motive influenced Tsung Lu of Wei (X, xx, 3), and when Marquis Ling of Chin sent Ch'u Mei to assassinate Chao Tun, he accepted the task and then repented; in the conflict of duties he chose justice, but because he had broken his fealty, instead of taking flight, he killed himself by dashing his head against a tree (VII, ii, 4).

The selection of incidents which has been given in this brief paper suggests the great value of the *Tso-chuan* in the study of ancient Chinese ethics. Our author does not give us the maxims of philosophers who were remote from the life of the common people, but tells us an abundance of anecdotes about men who were engaged in public affairs; and while most of those of whom he writes belonged to the official class, many of them pertained to the lower ranks of that class, whose ethical ideals were probably those which were recognized by the people as a whole.

238.

A Bilingual Text Concerning Etana

By OLIVER R. GURNEY, B.A.

THE present text is a duplicate of Ki. 1904–10–9, 87 (for a copy of which see *AJSL.*, vol. xxxv, p. 138, and for transcription and translation *Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts*, vol. vi, p. 32), as indeed has been already noted by Güterbock (*ZA.*, xlii, p. 9). But the fragment previously published was so small as to be scarcely intelligible, and the present fragment (K. 5119) throws a great deal more light upon the real nature of this text. It is probably, as will be shown, a text concerning Etana, thirteenth king of the first dynasty of Kish and subject of the famous myth in which he ascends to heaven on the back of an eagle in search of the plant of birth[1]; but it is a type of text not hitherto associated with that hero.

The purpose of the text is plainly shown by ll. 16 ff. of the reverse. It belongs to the familiar type in which an incantation exorcizing the devils from a sick man is preceded by a long myth, explaining how such evil first came to mankind.

Of the myths hitherto found associated with this type, the most important have been those of Adapa, Atarḫasis, and the "Descent of Ishtar".[2] The legend of Etana is associated with a ritual on *KAR.* 170, though the nature of the ritual is not clear. Now the myth on the obverse of K. 5119 is in any case something entirely new. It is unfortunate that owing to the smallness of both fragments no very satisfactory sense can be made of the myth. Ll. 7 to 9 of Ki. 1904–10–9, 87 (= ll. 14–16 below), contain an address (?) to a "great spirit, sage, who was born in Kish and who enraged Adad in heaven and for three years caused rain and verdure to fail in the land". This, when taken together with ll. 3 and 4 of the present text (" he who ascended to heaven "), points directly to Etana as the subject at least of these two lines. For Etana was king of Kish, ascended to heaven, and, as may be inferred from *The Legend of Etana* (Langdon), pp. 7–8, caused the gods to be angered against mankind.

---

[1] For the Accadian poem, see Langdon, *Legend of Etana*. The myth was written originally in Sumerian. Güterbock supposes that the text concerns Adapa, but Adapa was not born in Kish (see below).

[2] See Langdon, *Semitic Mythology*, 182, 276, 334. Cf. also "Legend of the Kiškanu," *JRAS.*, 1928, pp. 843–8.

Can we assume that the whole of this text consisted of a myth concerning Etana? It must be recognized that, though the Sumerian words preserved in l. 3 are precisely the same as those used of Etana in *OECT.*, ii, 10, 16, nevertheless they are not in any way peculiar, and the Accadian translation of them is used verbatim of *Adapa*, in the Assyrian fragment K. 8214 published by A. Strong and edited in Dhorme, *Choix de Textes*, p. 158, l. 14, and Langdon, *Poème Sumérien du Paradis*, 96, 14. Consequently the only lines of the text here edited certainly referring to Etana are ll. 14–16, and these are the only lines fully preserved (i.e. in Ki. 1904–10–9, 87). These lines are, however, so expressed as to be clearly statements of further facts about some person mentioned before; they appear to be *addressed* to that person; and since it is most unusual for Sumerian myths to be concerned with more than one hero, it may be regarded as almost certain that Etana is actually the subject of this myth.

If this is granted, the importance of the text is obvious. The Etana Legend, as has been remarked above, has already been found associated with a ritual; see Langdon, *The Legend of Etana*, p. 53. But that legend is still known only from Accadian tablets, and therefore K. 5119, being bilingual, is the first Sumerian mythological text of which Etana is the subject. This myth is entirely new; for Etana is here woven into the theological doctrines of the Eridu school. L. 18 (which from the context appears to be addressed to the same person as l. 14) describes him as born in the *abzu*, or nether sea, the home of Ea. Ll. 7–8 describe him as the *apkallu* (" sage ") created in the river. In ll. 5 and

21, he is associated with the " Fish-goat " of the sea, though the exact sense of these lines is not clear ; see notes thereon. In l. 13 of the reverse he is actually called a " priest of incantations at Eridu ", if indeed this line refers to him.

Perhaps the most important fact is the occurrence of the word *apḳallu.* Rev. l. 10 contains an instruction for the fashioning of seven clay figures of these " Wise Ones ", and the word is applied not only to Etana himself (?) in ll. 1 and 8, but also to Enmekar, with whom Etana is compared in ll. 10 and 12, and who here has the title of divinity. The use of the figures of the *apḳallê* in incantation rituals will require a separate discussion[1]; but it may be remarked here that the list of the Wise Ones with their home cities in *KAR.*, 298, 5–10, contains no mention of Kish or Erech and would appear to belong to another tradition ; though Kullab, the city of the fourth Wise Man (*ûmu damḳu*), ibid., l. 7, was a part of Erech, and is used synonymously with it in the legend of Lugalbanda in which *En-me-ir-kar* appears (*OECT.*, i, 6, 35 ; 8, 26 ; 9, 27), and thus the two traditions may not have been entirely distinct. Certainly Etana was not recognized as an *apḳallu* in the canonical list.[2]

In the transcription below the figures in brackets refer to the lines of the duplicate. The diacritical system is that of Professor Langdon, to whom I should like to express my gratitude for the assistance he has given me in the preparation of this paper. I should also like to thank Mr. Gadd, who has kindly collated certain passages for me.

K. 5119

Obverse

1. – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – išib ab[gál[3] – – – –]
2. – – – – – – – – – – – – *i-šib-bu* [*ap-ḳal-lu*[3]]

– – – – – the priest of incantations, the [sage – – – –]

---

[1] See *Liv. A.A.*, 1935, pp. 31 ff.

[2] See *JRAS.*, 1926, pp. 689 ff. ; especially p. 695 for *KAR.*, 298.

[3] The traces in l. 1 suggest *gal.* But in l. 2 there is barely room for *ap-ḳal-lu*, whereas in l. 1 there is room for at least two more signs after *gal.*

together with ll. 3 and 4 of the present text ("he who ascende
to heaven") points directly to Etana as the subject at le
of these two lines. For Etana was king of Kish, ascended
heaven and, as may be inferred from *The Legend of Et*
Langdon, pp. 7-8, caused the gods to be angered agai
mankind.

Can we assume that the whole of this text consisted
myth concerning Etana? It must be recognized th
though the Sumerian words preserved in l. 3 are preci
the same as those used of Etana in *OECT*., ii, 10, 16, nev
theless they are not in any way peculiar, and the Accad
translation of them is used verbatim of *Adapa*, in the Assy
fragment K. 8214 published by A. Strong and edite
Dhorme, *Choix de Textes*, p. 158, l. 14, and Langdon, *P*
Sumérien du Paradis, 96, 14. Consequently the only
of the text here edited certainly referring to Etan
ll. 14-16, and these are the only lines fully preserved (i
Ki. 1904-10-9, 87). These lines are, however, so expr
as to be clearly statements of further facts about some p
mentioned before: they appear to be *addressed* to
person; and since it is most unusual for Sumerian
to be concerned with more than one hero, it may be reg
as almost certain that Etana is actually the subject
myth.

If this is granted, the importance of the text is ob
The Etana Legend, as has been remarked above, has al
been found associated with a ritual; see Langdon,
Legend of Etana, p. 53. But that legend is still known
from Accadian tablets, and therefore K. 5119, being bili
is the first Sumerian mythological [illegible] of which Et
the subject. This myth is entire [illegible] for Etana i
woven into the theolog [illegible] the Eridu s
L. 18 (which from th [illegible] be addr
to the same person as [illegible] born
apsû, or nether sea, th [illegible] describ
as the *apkallu* ("sage [illegible] In ll.

, he is associated [illegible]
exact sense of these lines [illegible]
l. 13 of the reverse [illegible]
at Eridu [illegible]
rhaps the most important [illegible] of the
apkallu. Rev. l. [illegible] contains an instruction for the
ming of seven clay figures of these Wise Ones [illegible]
is applied not only to Etana himself (?) [illegible]
also to Enmekar, with whom Etana is comp[illegible]
and who here has the title of [illegible]
figures of the *apkallu* [illegible]
discussion; but it may be [illegible]
Wise Ones with their home [illegible]
[illegible] of Kis [illegible]

nu-ú] ^{ilu}*Adad*

3. [e-ta-na-sipa (?)] lù an-šú ba-an-è [1]
4. [*e-ta-na ri-'-u*] *šá ana šami-e i-lu-*[*u*]

[Etana the shepherd (?)] who ascended to heaven,[1]

5. (1) [– – – – – – – [2] suǵu]r^{kua} a-ab-ba imin-na-ne-ne
6. (2) [– – – – – – [3] *nam* (?)-]*ru*(?)*-tum bu-rad tam-ti si-bit-ti-šù-nu*

[– – – – – – glor]y (?), the *burādu*-fish of the sea (of ?) the seven of them,

7. (3) [Ug-gal abgal íd-da mú]-mú-da [4] giš-ǵar an-ki-a si-di-dé
8. (4) [*ûgallu* [5] *ap-ḳal-lu*] *ša ina na-a-ri* [6] *ib-ba-nu-ú*
9. [*muš-te-ši-ru ú-*]*ṣu-rat šami-e ù irṣi-tim*

[the " great spirit ", the sage, who was] created in the river, director of the plans of heaven and earth,

10. (5) [[7] Ug-gal-gim ab-gal ^{d}en-]me-kar ^{d}Inninni šag é-an-na-ge
11. [an - ta] - ĕ - dé.
12. (6) [*ap-ḳal* ^{ilu}*Enmekar* [8] *šá* ^{ilat}*Iš-tar iš-tu*] *šami-e ana ḳí-rib aịa-ak-ki*
13. [*ú* - *še*] - *ri* - *da*

[like the " great spirit ", the sage En]mekar,[8] whom Ishtar caused to descend into the midst of the sanctuary (i.e. Eanna).

---

[1] Same line in *OECT.*, ii, 10, 16 Etana is an imperative form from the verb *è* " go up ". Cf. the god ^{d}*e-ta-na dingir è kur-bal-ge* " God Etana, he that goes up to the hostile land ", Lutz, *PBS.*, i, 112, 67.

[2] Possibly [*suǵur-má*]*š*, but *burādu*, so far as we know, = *suǵur* (a kind of plaice), not *suǵur-máš*. If *suǵur-máš* is right, perhaps Etana is here identified with that monster. But the meaning of the line is obscure. The seven are presumably the *Apḳallê* (see rev. l. 10), who are elsewhere described as wearing fish-skins. Are they perhaps the subject of the line ?

[3] Uncertain. The traces on the duplicate might be *še*, *zi*, *mu*, or *nam* ; or *šub-tum* (= the abode of) may be right.

[4] Var. *dé*.

[5] Written *ditto*, or perhaps [*Ug-gal-l*]*u* ?

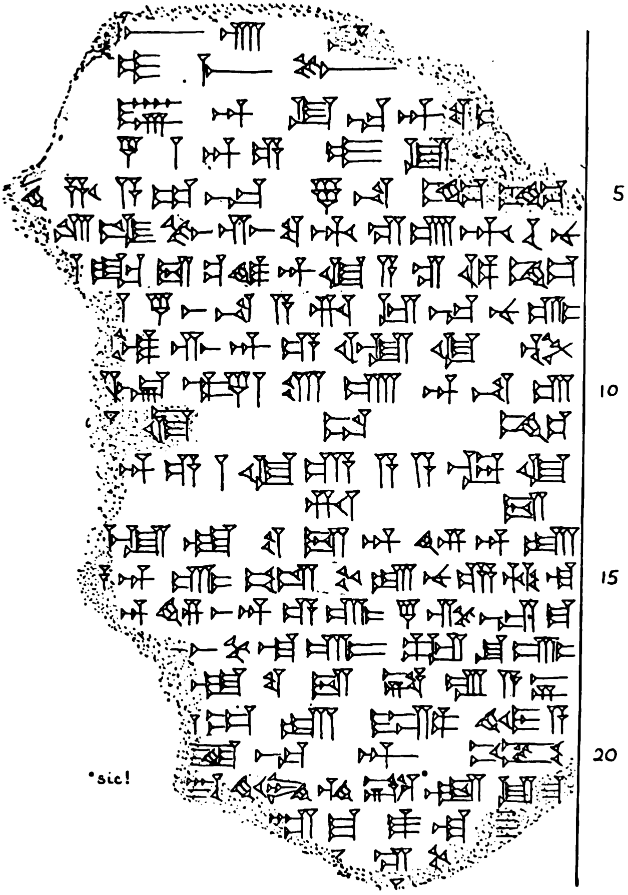
[6] Var. *íd*.

[7] Room for one more sign here. First three signs not translated in Accadian.

[8] Second king of Eanna and builder of Erech (*OECT.*, ii, p. 11, iii, 7–9). See discussion above. Güterbock renders "*Apkallu* of Enmekar".

14. (7) [Ug-gal abgál šag Kiš-(ki)-ta] ù-tu-ud-da ^{d}Immer an-ta

15. [sur-g̃uš-a mu 3-kam-ma im-]šèg ú-šim kur-ta nu-un-gál-la



K. 5119. Obverse.

16. (9) [*ûgallu apḳallu šá ina ḳí-rib Ki-ši ib-ba-nu-ú*] ^{ilu}*Adad ina šami-e ú-šá-zi-zu-ma*

---

[1] *Ditto* in text.

17. (10) [*3 šanāti zu-un-na u ur-ḳí-tam*] *ina māti* [1] *la ú-šab-šu-ú*
["Great spirit," sage, who] was born [in Kish] (and) who in heaven caused Adad to be enraged, and [for three years] caused rain and verdure not to be in the land.
18. (11) [Ug-gal abzu [2]-šag ù-]tu-ud-da ^{nà}kišib-a-ni
19. [gab-ri nu-tuk (?) [3] ^{d}en-ki (?) ab]zu-ta súr-ğuš-a
["Great spirit"] who was born [in the Deep [2]], whose seal [has no rival (?)], who enraged [Ea (?)] in the Deep,
20. – – – – – – – – – – – ág ba-an-gaz
21. – – – – – – – – – – – – . . . . suğur-máš . . . . [4] -li-lu-ú (?)
– – – – – –slew (?) – – – – – the fish-goat . . . . . .
22. – – – – – – – – – – – – – – *ma-aš-la* – – – – – – – –
23. – – – – – – – – – – – – – – *si-mat* – – – – – – – –
– – – – – – – – – – – – – the insignia (?) – – – –

Reverse

2. [– – – – – – – – ù-]tu-ud-da an [– – –]
3. – – – – – – – – – – – *ib-ba-*[*nu-ú*]
– – – – – – – – were (was ?) born – – –
4. – – – – – – – – – – – *šá uznu rapaš-tum* – – – –
– – – – – – – – whose vast understanding – – – –
5. – – – – – – – – – – – an-ki-a ŠU – – – – – – –
– – – – – – – – in heaven and earth – – – –
6. – – – – – – – – – – – *up-pát KU* – – – – – –
– – – – – – – . . . . – – – – –
7. – – – – – – – – – – *šá ina ú-sal-li* – – – –
– – – – – – – who in the meadow – – – – –

---

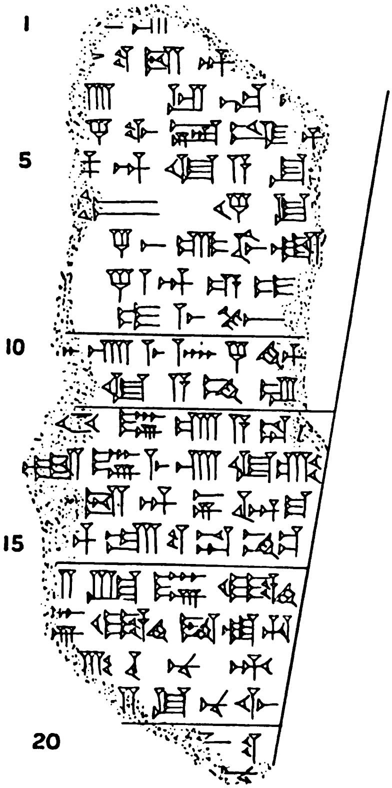
[1] Var. *ma-a-ti.*

[2] Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln für den Wahrsager*, 45, iii, 7 (now completed by K. 7860) has "Figures of the 7 (*apḳallê* ? follows Naruda + 7 *apḳallê*), *binût apsî*". See *Liv. A.A.*, 1935, p. 48.

[3] Restoration conjectured from *KAR.*, 88, frag. 4, 12. Doubtful.

[4] The signs here might be UŠ.ḲA.

8. – – – – – – – – – – *šá ana šami-e i*-[*lu-u*]
– – – – – – – who ascended to heaven,
9. – – – – – – – – – – – – – *i-šib-bu* – – –
– – – – – – – – – the priest of incantations – – – – – –



K. 5119. Reverse.

10. [7 *ṣalmê*] *apkallî ša ṭîṭi* – – – – – – – –
[Seven figures] of the Wise Ones, of clay – – – – –
11. – – – – – – – – – – –*ki-a-am taman*-[*nu*].
– – – – – – – – – – – thus shalt thou recite.

12. [*šiptu.* – – – –] *amēlu* É. A. DU – – – – – – –
13. – – – – – – – *li*^{amēl}*išibbi Eridu*
– – – – – – – – priest of incantations at Eridu.
14. – – – – – – – *da-an-ni šiptu* (?) [1]*-ma*
– – – – – – – – me (?). Incantation (?).
15. – – – – – – – *ištu šamê ušêrida.*[2]
– – – – – – – – – – caused to descend from heaven (?)

---

16. [– – (?) *ana bu-ul-lu*]*-ṭu* (?) *amēlu marṣu*
[– – – – to revi]ve (?) the sick man,
17. – – – – – – – – – – – *amēlu marṣu it-tu-ḫu* [3]
– – – – – – [when] the sick man is comfortable,
18. [– – – – – – – (?) *ki-a-am taḳa*]*bbi*[4]*-šù-nu-ti*
[– – – – thus shalt thou ad]dress them :
19. – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – *ku-nu-ši.*[5]

[1] Apparently *ÉN-ma*, but possibly *lim-nu-ma*. The line would then read : [*ḫi*(?)-]*ḫa an-ni lim-nu-ma* " sin, wickedness, evil ".

[2] *an-ta-è-dé.* Cf. obv. l. 10 and *PBS.*, x, 2, No. 5, 16.

[3] Either from *nâḫu*, I^2, or (with Muss-Arnolt) from *natāḫu.* Dhorme, *Choix de Textes*, 156, 20, has *it-tu-uḫ libba-šu*, and *CT.*, 29, 36, b. 1, has a proper name *Nannar* (?)*-in-tu-uḫ*.

[4] [DUG.]GA.

[5] This line contained the words addressed (probably) to the clay figures mentioned in l. 10. Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln*, No. 48, 1 : *ina ṭiṭi* ^{ilu}*E-a ib-ni-ku-nu-ši* (Ea created you out of clay) may supply the necessary restoration.

Recent Finds near An-yang

By W. PERCEVAL YETTS

TWO years ago an attempt was made in these pages to give a general survey of archæological events since 1899 at An-yang, in the north of Ho-nan province.[1] Though excavation was still in progress, and investigation of results far from ended, the great interest taken by Western students called for an interim statement. This was specially needed because most of the literature of the subject is written in Chinese. Besides the clandestine activities of treasure-seekers and the earlier, less organized digging by the peasants, scientific exploration had been carried out since 1928 by the National Research Institute of History and Philology of the Academia Sinica, which had published three parts of *Preliminary Reports of Excavations at Anyang*[2] under the editorship of Dr. Li Chi 李濟. The main purpose of the present article is to take account of part iv,[3] which appeared in 1933 after my former article was written, and includes the results of excavation during 1931 and 1932.

Following these results, the theory previously advanced by Dr. Li Chi and his colleagues to account for the destruction of the supposed Shang-Yin city has been abandoned. The theory was that one or more floods overwhelmed the place, burying it under mud and washing material away to deposit it elsewhere. It is now agreed that no such event brought about the ruin of the settlement, though the actual cause has not yet been established. An article by Mr. Kuo Pao-chün 郭寶鈞 contains reasons for this change of opinion (*PREA*. 590–596). Accordingly, the description and deductions quoted on pp. 660 and 661 of my earlier article should be disregarded. The various cultural layers have been proved to be on the whole intact, not confused and mixed through denudations and redeposits, as previously reported. For instance, the distribution of ash is uniform throughout the different layers, and remains of foundations of buildings are found superimposed without disturbance. Also silt and other signs of denudation are absent.

---

[1] The article, entitled *The Shang-Yin Dynasty and the An-yang Finds*, appeared in *JRAS*. 1933, pp. 657–785. The date 1161 B.C. in the seventh line on p. 684 should be corrected to 1171 B.C.

[2] 安陽發掘報告, written in Chinese and published in Pei-p‘ing by the Academia Sinica: parts i and ii, 1929; part iii, 1931; the series being referred to here as *PREA*.

[3] Reviewed by W. Eberhard in *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, 1933, 208–213.

Besides the three articles by Mr. Tung Tso-pin 董作賓 in *PREA*. iv, a most important contribution by him is included in 慶祝蔡元培先生六十五歲論文集 (*Studies presented to Ts'ai Yuan P'ei on his Sixty-fifth Birthday*), part i (1933),[1] pp. 323–424. Unfortunately, I had not seen this volume before my earlier article was published, but only an offprint of Dr. Li Chi's contribution which came just in time to be noted on p. 680. Lack of space forbids a full review of Mr. Tung's writings; but his remarks on the names of the sovereigns of the Shang-Yin dynasty (*TYP*. i, 325–336) claim special notice in order that the data on pp. 669–671 of my earlier article may be supplemented. The total number on his list is 32, including Ta Ting 大丁 (which I had entered as Ia) and Tsu Chi 祖己, who does not appear by that name in the traditional accounts.[2] Tsu Chi was the son, named Hsiao Chi 孝己, of Wu Ting 武丁, who was the twenty-second sovereign (or the twenty-third if Ta Ting be counted). It seems that he was in disfavour and died young, before his younger brother Tsu Kêng 祖庚 came to the throne, since in oracular inscriptions of the latter's time there is mention of sacrifices to him by the name Hsiung Chi

---

[1] Hereafter referred to as *TYP*. i.

[2] A person of this name is mentioned in the *Shu ching* and *Shih chi* as one who delivered to Wu Ting a homily following a portent when the latter was sacrificing to T'ang, founder of the dynasty. A pheasant had alighted upon the handle of a ritual vessel and uttered a cry. v. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, iii, 7, 264, 265, and Chavannes, *Mémoires historiques*, i, 196, 197. Apart from this tale, nothing is known about him; he is supposed to have been a minister, such an explanation being consistent with the narrative.

兄 己 and to his father by the name Fu Ting 父 丁. At the time of Lin Hsin 廩 辛 and K'ang Ting 康 丁 he is called Fu Chi 父 己; but not till after the time of Wu I 武 乙 does he appear in these inscriptions as " Ancestor " Chi 祖 己 (*TYP*. i, 335, 386, 387).

On p. 671 of my previous article the statement was made that eight of the traditional names of sovereigns seemed to be lacking from the inscriptions. Mr. Tung claims to have proved that three of these are certainly mentioned under other names: Hu Tsu Ting 虎 祖 丁 for Wu Ting 沃 丁; Hu Chia 虎 甲 for Wu Chia 沃 甲; and Hsiung Hsin 兄 辛 for Lin Hsin 廩 辛. With these Hu names he compares the name Ch'iang Chia 羌 甲, by which the traditional Yang Chia 陽 甲 is called in the inscriptions, and shows that they are names of territories or tribes. Thus " Hu " may be identified with the Hu Fang 虎 方, which occurs in the inscriptions, and " Ch'iang " with the tribe in the west. Probably the sovereigns were so named because of some personal association, such as a successful campaign.

Of the remaining five names which formerly seemed to be missing, the last two have not yet been equated. The following three probably correspond: Nan Jên 南 壬 with Chung Jên 中 壬; Chung Chi 中 己 with Yung Chi 雍 己; and K'ai Chia 開 甲 with Ho Tan Chia 河 亶 甲. According to Mr. Tung, Hsiao Chia 小 甲 and Yung Chi 雍 己 were sons of Ta Kêng 大 庚, and Ta Mou 大 戊 was the son of Wu Ting 沃 丁. The relationships are shown differently in my list on p. 670.

Reference should be made to a discussion of this subject by Mr. Kuo Mo-jo 郭 沫 若 in the first part of *Ku tai ming k'o hui k'ao* 古 代 銘 刻 彙 考 (Tōkyō, 1933), 1–8. He reads Chien Chia 戔 甲 for Ho Tan Chia; Kou Chia 狗 甲 for Wu Chia; Hsiang Chia ⿰阝象 甲 for Yang Chia; and Fan Kêng 凡 康 for P'an Kêng.

Among the many important facts reported by Mr. Tung, the presence of bones inscribed with a brush is of special interest (*TYP.* i, 417, 418, and pl. 7). Until recently the traditional belief prevailed that a wooden style was the tool used for writing up to the time when Mêng T'ien 蒙 恬, the Ch'in general who died in 210 B.C., is supposed to have invented the brush. Also some explained the scribes' knives, mentioned in the *Chou li*, as tools for incising script; but probably they were erasers.[1] Certainly, examples of bronze knives with curved points, which have been called *tao pi* 刀 筆, seem unsuited to engraving. Examination of the oracular sentences proves that the incised script was done by at least two kinds of tools—knife and burin. In 1929 I put forward various arguments to support a surmise that the brush was used for writing during the Shang-Yin period, and chief among these was the calligraphic qualities of certain inscriptions on bronzes.[2] The bronze-casters are not likely themselves to have been scribes, and doubtless they copied faithfully the inscriptions drafted for them. Here, upon some of the bones found near An-yang, are written characters displaying complete mastery of the brush. One can go further back and find clear evidence of brush-work on the painted neolithic pottery. So the ancient tradition that the brush originated in the third century B.C. should be abandoned definitely. Mêng T'ien may have invented a certain kind of brush—probably one made of hare's hair.

Two fresh excavations, occupying a month in the spring and a month in the winter of 1931, gave results of the highest importance. The site was a low mound, named Hou-kang 後 岡, lying south of the Huan River, within the western part of the loop over which the railway crosses.[3] The longest diameter (north to south) measures about 330 yards. Mr. Liang Ssŭ-yung 梁 思 永 contributes the account (*PREA.* iv, 609–625). Here were found three distinct cultural layers, though the three are not uniformly distributed. The top or first layer, about 5 feet deep, contains characteristic remains of the Shang-Yin period ; the middle or second, about 13 feet deep, contains remains of the Lung-Shan 龍 山 culture (notably the black pottery like that discovered in Shan-tung) ; and the lowest or third, about 5 feet deep, contains remains of the Yang-shao 仰 韶 culture (well known from the writings of Dr. J. G. Andersson). Thus here is manifested the sequence of these three cultures—a discovery of prime archæological value. Of minor importance are remains of Chou habitation. Since the Chou period, the site seems to have been left unoccupied till about the middle of the seventeenth century, when it became a cemetery.

---

[1] v. Chavannes, *Les Livres chinois avant l'Invention du Papier*, in *Jour. Asiatique* (Jan.–Feb.), 1905, 5–75.

[2] *The George Eumorfopoulos Collection Catalogue of the Chinese and Corean Bronzes*, etc., i, 14–17.

[3] See sketch-map on p. 658 of previous article.

Some of the remains in the lowest of the three cultural layers differ from those found at Yang-shao itself. The pottery, for instance, seems to be more primitive. Designs of the painted ware consist of parallel lines in red upon a red ground—the simplest kind of decoration ; and the usual shape is that of a bowl with rounded base (v. pl. 3). Tripods of the *ting* class are made of a coarse, grey body, and lack "basket" imprints and miniature " ears "; the base is rounded, and the legs have a median groove (v. pl. 4). There is also a ware not known in others parts of China proper. It is unpolished, the body is red throughout and hard, and it is incised with crossed or parallel lines, generally arranged in triangles (v. pl. 5). Another point of comparison with Yang-shao is the presence of shaped bone implements, somewhat like those found at Hsi-yin 西 陰 in Shan-hsi. Many bones, which had been used for divination by the scorching process, were found at Hou-kang; but only one of these was inscribed.[1]

An article by Mr. Wu Chin-ting 吳 金 鼎 describes finds at other sites in the neighbourhood. The most noteworthy are those at Hou-chia Chuang 侯 家 莊, a village about one mile north of the Huan, where three layers, similar to those at Hou-kang, exist (*PREA*. iv, 627–633).

---

[1] v. Tung Tso-pin in *PREA*. iv, 705–8.

Mr. Liu Yü-hsia 劉 嶼 霞 contributes an essay on bronze casting in the Yin period (*PREA*. iv, 681–696). So far as I know, it is the only attempt to deal with the subject since Dr. Sirén's in 1929 [1] and my own which appeared earlier in the same year.[2] In the thirteenth-century work *Tung t'ien ch'ing lu* 洞 天 清 錄 there is a brief account of the *cire perdue* process, which the late Prof. H. A. Giles translated.[3] Neither that nor the passages translated by Dr. J. C. Ferguson [4] gives certain essential particulars which a craftsman would know; indeed, it is unlikely that a practising caster has ever disclosed his secrets in writing.

Mr. Liu records several finds which establish the fact that casting was actually practised on the Hsiao-t'un site. A lump of malachite, weighing about 20 pounds, which was excavated in 1919, may give the clue to the copper supply. There is no mine in the vicinity, he says, from which it might have been obtained. Charcoal, burnt clay, and slag represent remains of fuel and furnace. Fragments of "helmet-shaped" pots Mr. Liu accepts as remnants of crucibles, and as proof he instances the fact that some metal slag was found adherent to one of the sherds. Another argument he advances is a pictographic element in archaic forms of the character 鑄 for the word *chu* "to cast". It might be argued, however, that while this element, depicting an inverted vessel, displays a slender stem, the latter generally has a flat base, which the "helmet-shaped" pots have not. An essential test would be to determine whether these supposed crucibles are made of material which can withstand the high temperature of molten bronze. The same test should be applied to the remains of moulds which Mr. Liu presumes were those into which the molten mental was actually poured. His data on this point are not complete, nor does he include in his article a consideration of the *cire perdue* process. So far as my experience goes, all archaic Chinese bronze vessels have been cast by this process; and I venture to suggest that the excavated moulds (or at least many of them) are really those which were used for shaping the wax models. Some of the mould fragments may have been bits of the fire-clay envelope to the wax model. The envelope is broken away after the metal has been poured and cooled; and, of course, such fragments show signs of burning. Without specimens to hand for examination, which I have not, a definite conclusion cannot be formed. Those reproduced on pl. 5, illustrating Mr. Liu's article, are not very clear; one looks as if it might have been a die. Better examples are included in a recent book of photographs of various objects from An-yang, and some of these moulds certainly look as if they had been designed for the wax.[1]

---

[1] *A History of Early Chinese Art*, i, 46–50.

[2] *The George Eumorfopoulos Collection Catalogue of the Chinese and Corean Bronzes*, etc., i, 34–9.

[3] *Chinese Bronzes* in *Adversaria Sinica*, No. 9 (1911), 293, 294.

[4] *An Examination of Chinese Bronzes* in *Annual Report of Smithsonian Institution* (1914), 587–592.

A brief note (printed in English) by Sir Harold Carpenter on four bronze fragments from An-yang is accompanied with micro-photographs which illustrate the mechanism of corrosion (*PREA*. iv, 677–9 and 3 pls.). He states that unfortunately the advanced state of corrosion precludes an accurate chemical analysis of the alloys. It is doubtful, however, whether such an analysis would provide criteria of much archæological value except clues to the sources of metal supply. Reasons for this view and also for questioning the specifications of alloys in the *K'ao kung chi*, which Sir Harold Carpenter quotes, I have given elsewhere.[2]

To part iv of the *Report* Dr. Li Chi contributes an introduction and a summary stating what has been achieved and the tasks yet to be done in tracing the composite factors of Shang-Yin civilization. The general thesis is as follows.

---

[1] *Yeh chung p'ien yü* 鄴中片羽 by Huang Chün 黃濬 (Pei-p'ing, 1935), i, 36–40.

[2] e.g. in the Eumorfopoulos Catalogue cited above, i, 34, 35; ii, 5, 7, 40, 41.

From the east came divination by the scorching process, sericulture, tatooing, black pottery, dagger-axes and halberds of 戈, 瞿 and 戚 types, and certain jade objects such as those called 璧, 瑗 and 琮. To central and west Asian origins bronze casting, the spear 矛 and socketed celt are to be assigned, to the south the shouldered axe, tin, rice, elephant, and water buffalo (*PREA*. iv, 576). Certain apparent affinities are to be found with the north: for instance, cave dwellings and bone-carving technique.

The last item gives rise to questions concerning a problem which Dr. Li does not treat; it is the connection with the animal style art of the steppe. Ten years ago I advanced the theory that from China came a major contribution to this steppe art,[1] and evidence to support this surmise seems to be growing, although specialists on what was formerly called "Scythian" art have agreed that the influence moved in the opposite direction. Ultimately the main argument must be one of priority, and the results of systematic digging, such as is being carried out by Dr. Li Chi and his colleagues, may go far to solve the problem. But, meanwhile, precious opportunities are being lost through the clandestine activities of treasure-seekers in the An-yang area. Bishop W. C. White has recently published in the *Illustrated London News*[2] accounts of bronzes which are said to have come from tombs to the east of Hsiao-t'un, a short distance on the other side of the River Huan. As he remarks, the circumstances of excavation are unfortunately not known. Thus the evidence is lacking which might have dated the finds, and we must await further information before the bronzes decorated with animal style designs, resembling those long familiar to us among products of the Northern Steppe, can be assigned to a definite period.

---

[1] *Bronzes*, pp. 41–3, in *Burlington Magazine Monograph, Chinese Art*, 1925.

[2] Issues of 23rd March, 480–2; 20th April, 639–641; and 18th May, 888, 889, pl. iv.

The Date of Bhūti Vikramakēsari

BY K. A. NILAKANTHA SASTRI

VENKAYYA and I are of opinion that the Koḍumbāḷūr inscription of Bhūti Vikramakēsari must be dated in the tenth century A.D.; Father Heras proposes a date three centuries earlier. The arguments originally put forward by Venkayya, together with others drawn from Cōḷa inscriptions, have been summarized by me in my paper on the Koḍumbāḷūr inscription to which Fr. Heras has referred in his paper published in a recent issue of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (January, 1934, pp. 33 ff.). I propose here to examine the steps by which Fr. Heras reaches his conclusion.

The first observation to be made is that Fr. Heras misquotes me and ignores most of the arguments I have produced in support of my position—which is, it will be remembered, also that of Venkayya and, let me add, of Krishna Sastri, the two writers who, after Hultzsch, have rightly commanded the greatest authority in the realm of South Indian Epigraphy.

Fr. Heras writes: "Professor Nilakantha Sastri, moved by 'the similarity of names or vague palæographical inferences', finally concludes that 'we have therefore no reason to accept a date about A.D. 800 for Vikramakēsari in preference to one, say, between A.D. 950 and 970, suggested by considerations urged in the preceding paragraph'." What I actually said is, however, this: "The contemporaneity of Vikramakēsari and Parāntaka II Sundara Cōḷa is borne out in fact by much stronger evidence than the similarity of names or vague palæographical inferences,"[1] and I cited an inscription of this Cōḷa monarch found in Koḍumbāḷūr itself. I may draw attention to the arguments ignored by Fr. Heras by citing just another sentence from the same paper[2]: "Thus, the mention of Vikramakēsari's queens in Rājakēsari inscriptions and the facts that Sundara Cōḷa

[1] *JOR.*, vii, p. 4.

[2] Ibid., p. 5.

is a Rājakēsari, that an inscription of his is found in Koḍumbāḷūr, and that a general from Koḍumbāḷūr fought in Sundara Cōḷa's army in the Pāṇḍya country—doubtless in the same war with Vīra Pāṇḍya in which Āditya II, the son of Sundara Cōḷa, distinguished himself—furnish conclusive proof of the political subordination of Vikramakēsari to Sundara Cōḷa Parāntaka II." This Cōḷa monarch reigned *c.* A.D. 956–970. I have only to add that the second part of Fr. Heras's quotation is the conclusion of my examination of the views of another writer who assigns Vikramakēsari to A.D. 800.

Fr. Heras cites Krishna Sastri in support of the view that the Koḍumbāḷūr inscription is "much earlier" than the time of Āditya II Karikāla; "much earlier" is a relative expression, and a reference to the *South Indian Inscriptions* [1] would show that Krishna Sastri means by it about twenty to thirty years earlier, not three centuries as Heras supposes. For Krishna Sastri definitely says that Vikramakēsari, also called Madhurāntaka Irukkuvēḷ and Parāntaka Iḷangōvēḷār, was the contemporary of Gaṇḍarāditya, the son and successor of Parāntaka I, whose reign ended about A.D. 950.

At this stage of the argument two general considerations of a decisive character become relevant. First, according to Fr. Heras, the Koḍumbāḷūr inscription must be assigned to about A.D. 670; now, most decidedly, the script of the record is too far removed from the Pallava grantha script of the seventh century for such a position to be tenable. On this very obvious and decisive fact I can only invite the reader to compare the general look of the Koḍumbāḷūr record and the individual letters in it with those of any genuine Pallava inscription of the seventh or even the eighth century, and to consider the points made by me regarding the palæography of the Koḍumbāḷūr record in my edition of it in the *Journal of Oriental Research.* [2] The second general consideration, in my opinion equally decisive, is the architecture of the temple. It must be acknowledged that Fr. Heras concedes that the general style of the temples built by Vikramakēsari appears Cōḷa rather than Pallava, and looks " more of the tenth century than of the seventh ", though he proceeds to weaken the force of this admission by arguing that these temples are " an archæological puzzle " [1]; they are nothing of the sort; they fall in a regular line in the evolution of the South Indian temple styles. This, however, is a subject that cannot be pursued here.[2]

---

[1] Vol. iii, p. 249.

[2] Vol. vii, p. 2.

The next point made by Fr. Heras is that there was no Cāḷukya empire or emperor in the ninth or tenth century, and Samarābhirāma could not have killed a Cāḷukya emperor in that period. The inscription says of Samarābhirāma: *Adhirājamangalājau yo nijaghāna caḷukkim.* The verb *nijaghāna* may mean either " killed " or simply " attacked ", " set upon "; and there is not a word about the Cāḷukya having been an emperor. Hence the statement that Samarābhirāma " killed the Cāḷukya emperor " has no support from our sources. Again, the existence of Cāḷukya chiefs at Bādāmi or elsewhere under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas is not " an unwarranted assumption " on my part, or so " absolutely improbable " as Fr. Heras thinks. Fleet drew pointed attention to the traditions which connected the later Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇi and the earlier Bādāmi line, and discussed the data regarding Ayyaṇa I and Vikramāditya IV, the contemporaries of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II and his successors [3]—all on the evidence of an early eleventh century grant. He also drew attention to the line of Arikesari, the patron of the Kanarese poet Pampa, *c.* A.D. 941–2 and Pampa's data on the Cāḷukyas of this line have received confirmation from two grants of this ruler Arikesari II.[4]

---

[1] *Ante*, 1934, p. 38, n. 3.

[2] I have with me photographs of several Cōḷa temples with *vimānas* like those of the Koḍumbālūr temples; they are not " without precedent and without consequent, totally unique in South Indian architecture " (Heras).

[3] *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, part ii, pp. 378–380.

[4] *Bom. Gaz.*, ibid., p. 380; the Kollipara plates of Arikesari edited by Somasekhara Sarma in the Telugu journal *Bhārati*, vii, pp. 297–317.

I suggest that some feudatory of Cāḷukya extraction might have accompanied Kṛṣṇa III in his invasion of the Cōḷa kingdom at the end of the reign of Parāntaka I, and might have been either defeated or killed at Adhirājamangalam; and I see nothing improbable in this.

The presence at Śittaṇṇavāśal of rock-cut caves of the time of Mahendravarman I, and the practice of subordinate petty kings claiming for themselves an exaggerated share in the campaigns of their overlords, are well known; but these have obviously no probative value with regard to the age of the Koḍumbāḷūr chiefs, unless there be other independent grounds pointing to a seventh century date; as a matter of fact, not only are no such grounds present, but there are several which render such a date impossible.

Fr. Heras says: "The Karnūl plates of Vikramāditya I inform us that Pulakeśi II was defeated by three allied kings", and then he argues that Narasimhavarman I Pallava, Mānavammā of Ceylon, and Paradurgamardana were the three opponents of Pulakeśi. There is much confusion here. The Karnūl plates under reference say nothing of Pulakeśi II except his defeat of Harṣavardhana. Of Vikramāditya I they say, indeed: *sva-guroś-śriyam avani-pati-tritayāntaritām ātmasātkṛtvā*, meaning: "Who acquired for himself the (regal) fortune of his father, which had been interrupted by a triad of kings."

It should be noted that the "three kings" were the enemies not of Pulakeśi, but of his *śri*, i.e. his kingdom. This is obviously a reference to the period of confusion in the Cāḷukya kingdom that followed the Pallava invasion of Vātāpi (*c.* 642), and the interval of about thirteen years between that invasion and the accession of Vikramāditya I. I think the identity of the three monarchs was very satisfactorily established long ago by Fleet,[1] on the evidence of the

---

[1] *Bom. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 362; *Mad. Chr. Coll. Mag.*, 1927, p. 241. The verse in the Haidarābād plates is: *mṛdita-Narasimha-yaśasā* | *vihita Mahendra-pratāpa-vilayena* | *naya*(*e*)*na vijit-Ēśvareṇa* '| *prabhuṇā Śrī-Vallabhena jitaḥ.*

Haidarābad plates of Vikramāditya. They were no other than the three successive Pallava monarchs, Narasimha I, Mahendra II, and Paramēśvara I. More recently Dr. N. Venkataramanayya has made an alternative suggestion that the *avanipatitritaya* means the rulers of the three branches of the Pallava line, the *trairājya-pallavas* of some other inscriptions of this period.[1] In any event, there is no need to go outside the line of Pallava rulers for recognizing the identity of the foes of Vikramāditya I.

The remarks of Fr. Heras on Samarābhirāma and his reign will not bear scrutiny; and his bold simplification of Pallava history in this period is entirely unwarranted, and his observations on the relations between the Pallavas and the chieftains of Koḍumbāḷūr contain some baseless assumptions. The Gadvāl plates of Vikramāditya say that Uragapura was in the *Cōḷika viṣaya*; but it is hard to see how this statement of a geographical fact warrants the inferences that the Pallavas had lost the southern provinces to the Cōḷas, and that the Koḍumbāḷūr chieftains had become subject to the latter. If that was the course of events, one wonders why Vikramāditya, whose aim was to chastise the Pallavas, should have encamped in the Cōḷa country. The exact manner of Pulakeśi's death is not known; Fleet did not commit himself to any definite statement on this point, while Smith said with becoming caution[2]: "In A.D. 642 he (Narasimhavarman I) enjoyed the satisfaction of taking Vātāpi, the capital of his enemy, Pulakeśin II, who presumably *then* lost his life." Now, Fr. Heras identifies Adhirājamangala with Maṇimangala[3] or some other unnamed battle in the series of victories claimed for Narasimha in the

---

[1] *Mad. Chris. Coll. Mag.*, 1929 (Jan.), p. 12.

[2] *E.H.I.*, p. 495.

[3] This identification is improbable. Inscriptions, M.E.R. 359 and 360 of 1921, show that this name was applied to Tiruvadi in South Arcot in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Pariya-bhūmaṇimangala is now read "Pariyala Maṇimangala" (Hultzsch). Apparently Fr. Heras has not noticed this.

Kūram grant of Parameśvara and elsewhere. Pulakeśi II could have died but once; it is easy to accept Smith's surmise, because it is most probable; but if he died in the sack of Vātāpi, he could not have died at Maṇimangala or any other battle that we might postulate; and it is difficult to believe that if Pulakeśi died there, this fact escaped the notice of his Pallava rivals, or that they omitted to record this capital fact in unmistakable terms, instead of merely claiming to have beaten him and driven him from the field. On the other hand, if the Cāḷukya emperor did not lose his life in battle in Maṇimangala or some other place in the south, the statements of the Koḍumbāḷūr record regarding Samarābhirāma and the battle of Adhirājamangala cannot be brought into any relation with the Pallava-Cāḷukya conflicts of the time of Pulakeśi II. These considerations show that the elaborate chronological scheme[1] constructed by Fr. Heras rests on very insecure foundations.

But the most surprising part of Fr. Heras's thesis is his explanation of Vikramakēsari's campaign against the Pallavas. He postulates a Cōḷa revival led by Kōccengaṇṇān, in which the Koḍumbāḷūr chiefs took part, and as a result of which the Pallavas lost the southern part of their kingdom, though only for a time; for the Pallavas recovered the lost territory soon after, and inscriptions of the later Pallavas from the reign of Nandivarman II are found in the Pudukkotah state. Evidently Fr. Heras does not know, or has overlooked, several well-known facts regarding Kōccengaṇṇān. This king is mentioned in the most ancient Tamil anthologies—the *Puṟanāṉūṟu* and the *Naṟṟiṇai*, and is the hero of an equally ancient war-poem, the *Kaḷavaḻi Nāṟpadu*. Again, he had become a legend by the time of the Tamil Śaiva saint, Appar, the contemporary of Mahendravarman I. Śengaṇṇān does not belong to the late seventh century A.D., but to a time three or four centuries earlier. And there is not the slightest evidence in epigraphy or literature of any attempt on the part of the Cōḷas to regain their lost position before the reign of Vijayālaya, in the middle of the ninth century. The Cōḷas were one of the "three crowned dynasties" of the Śangam age; then, after an interval of confusion—the "Kaḷabhra interregnum", as it may conveniently be designated—followed a period of three centuries (seventh to ninth) when the Pāṇḍyas and Pallavas divided South India between themselves, the Cōḷas having simply disappeared from history. If the fact that the Gadvāl plates mention Uṟaiyūr as located in the *Cōḷika viṣaya*, and that the Koḍumbāḷūr inscription (of which the date is the subject under discussion) mentions a marriage alliance between the Koḍumbāḷūr line and the Cōḷas and a success of Vikramakēsari against the Pallavas, if these are the only data on which Heras's theory of a temporary success of the Cōḷas against the Pallavas rests, and if we are further required to believe that this Cōḷa revival was led by Kōccengaṇṇān, a king whose name had begun to gather legends round itself by the beginning of the seventh century, no apology is needed for our declining to accept the conclusions of the learned Father.

---

[1] p. 41 of his article.

This discussion has shown that at every stage the argument of Fr. Heras by which he seeks to establish a seventh century date for the Koḍumbāḷūr inscription breaks down under examination. On the other hand, I should not omit to say once more that the title "conqueror of Vātāpi" applied to Paradurgamardana in the Koḍumbāḷūr inscription is not susceptible at present of a satisfactory explanation. But as against this one fact that cannot be explained on the assumption of a tenth century date for that inscription there are, as we have seen, quite a host of insuperable difficulties created by our postulating a seventh century date for it; and not among the least important of such difficulties is that of explaining Vikramakēsari's opposition to Vīra Pāṇḍya, and the names of his sons Parāntaka and Ādityavarman.

238.

The Eastern Relations of Early Hungarian Folk-music

(The persistence of an archaic Middle-Asian music-style in Middle-Europe)

BY BENEDICT SZABOLCSI

THE latest scientific opinions concerning the origin of the Magyars may be summed up as follows. The primary home of the Magyars as an Ugro-Finnish tribe was probably in Eastern Europe between the Volga and the Ural Mountains. Here they may have lived with kindred Ugro-Finnish peoples, the ancestors of their near relatives, the Ostyaks and Voguls, and of their more distant relatives, the Finns, Lapps, Mordwins, Zyryäns, and Tsheremis, about 2500–2000 B.C. From there they drifted eastward. In the fifth century A.D. they moved south-westward in close connection with several peoples of the Turkish race, chiefly with the Bolgars, Sabeers, "Blue" Turks,. and Khazars, absorbing a considerable Turkish stratum, to become organized into a nation, or rather an alliance of several tribes, on the territory of South-Eastern Europe of to-day. About the year 800 they were in the region of the Caucasus, then on the northern coast of the Black Sea. In the last years of the ninth century the Magyars, under the pressure of kindred tribes, proceeded westward and occupied their present home in the basin of the Carpathians.

To these facts, which history, philology, and archæology testify, musical science could not add anything until recent times. Only the researches of the last thirty years, the activities of Béla Bartók and Zoltán Kodály, the founders of Hungarian scientific folk-music study, made it possible for us, by means of a careful exploration of Hungarian territory, and the study of about 10,000 folk-melodies, to deal with the historical sources of Hungarian music and thereby with the primeval history of the Magyars from a musical point of view.

We must bear in mind that only a small portion of Hungarian folk-music can be derived from the art-music influences of the latest centuries. The greater part, which is of ancient origin, is still historically uninvestigated. Our present sketch will show that this ancient folk-music is really the bearer of the oldest national traditions and that its roots reach to the primary home of the Magyars in Eastern Europe where they lived with kindred Ugro-Finnish tribes. By way of this Turkish connection we may trace these roots even farther eastward as far as the great Middle-Asian basin. From there some Turkish tribe may have brought, in the first centuries of the migration of the nations, that archaic type of music which is still to be found at the bottom of Hungarian folk-music.

§ 1

The researches of Bartók and Kodály revealed a very ancient type in Hungarian folk-music, the characteristics of which they determine as follows[1]:—

1. A scale of 5 degrees, without semitones (pentatonia), the intervals of which are placed in such a manner as to give the scale a minor character, e.g. *e-g-a-b-d-e*.
2. A free, recitative delivery (*rubato-parlando*).
3. The four-line strophes consist of equisyllabic, chiefly eight- and twelve-syllable, lines. Within the strophes prevails a closed construction, but not an architecture based on the returning of the lines. Especially characteristic is the repetition of the 2 first lines a fifth lower in pitch. This latter is, perhaps, the most ancient constructional principle of Hungarian peasant-music.
4. The ornamentation consists of adjunctive tones which are organically connected with the melody. *See musical examples Nos. 8, 13.*

All these traits are signs of great antiquity, and form, undoubtedly, the basis of the whole folk-musical evolution in Hungary. They certainly do not originate from the music of the present neighbours of the Hungarians.

---

[1] See, in the English language, the book of Béla Bartók, *Hungarian Folk-Music*, London, 1931, and his last study, "Hungarian Peasant Music" in the *Musical Quarterly* (July, 1933, xix). Bartók-Kodály, *Transylvanian Folksongs*, Budapest, 1923.

Beside this prevalent material of old Hungarian peasant-music, we know a group of folk-melodies which, though much smaller in quantity, reaches likewise back into the distant past, but to which none of the above-mentioned characteristics are applicable. These melodies show certain common features. They are the *regös*-songs (the remains of ancient popular song-plays at Christmastide), the dirges, and the melodies of some children's plays. Their characteristics can be summed up as follows:—

1. The basis of their scale is the major pentachord or major hexachord which, in the dirges, often widens to a Dorian or Phrygian scale, e.g. *f-g-a-b♭-c*, or *f-g-a-b♭-c-d*.
2. Their delivery is mostly of a measured, "ceremonial" character, although that of the dirges is chiefly *parlando*.
3. They are devoid of the strophic form. Instead of this they show a chain or litany-like untied formation. They go back to a but small number of fundamental motifs. Their text is, accordingly, for the most part, a rhythmic, rhymeless "free" verse or prose.
4. They have no ornamentation.
5. According to their employment and their character they appear to be descendants of a few ancient (on the whole three to four) rite-melodies. *See musical examples Nos. 3, 4, 6.*

The major hexachord, as proved by the researches of the German music historian Oscar Fleischer,[1] is a common, ancient musical inheritance of the Aryan peoples of Europe. Accordingly, our Hungarian melodies would seem to be part of a great European connection or else they point back to some ancient Aryan influence.

For brevity's sake we classify our material into two groups:

Group 1: *Pentatonic melodies.*
Group 2: *Rite melodies.*

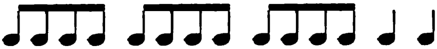
Let us now examine what still exists of this ancient art in the music of the peoples related to the Magyars and what still survives in Hungarian music to-day.

---

[1] *Ein Kapitel vergleichender Musikwissenschaft* (*Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, i, 1899).

§ 2

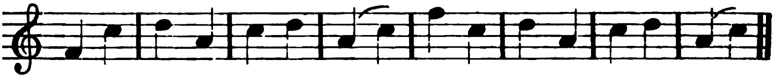
The music of the Ugro-Finnish nations of Northern Europe, i.e. the Esthonians, Finns, and Lapps, is, from our point of view, of a rhythmical interest, e.g. the eight-syllable Kalevala-line and the following rhythm:—



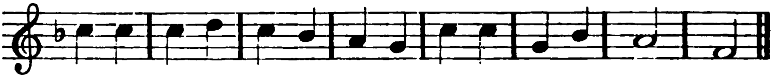
It is to be found in the whole of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe and even in Western Asia. It possesses near Hungarian relatives which show partly a common origin and partly commonly received influences. Regarding the melody, we find the following striking traits. The Lapps know a sort of pentatonia which, however, has no connection whatever with the Hungarian form. In the Finnish material there are but fragmentary traces of pentatonia. On the other hand a group of shorter Finnish, Esthonian, and Lappish melodies show a close relationship, even identity with Group 2 of Hungarian melody types. That is just the type of which an extensive kinship lives in the whole of Europe.

Here we oppose a Lappish and a Finnish melody to two Hungarian folk-tunes (a *regös*-song and a children's ditty).[1]

1. *Lappish melody*



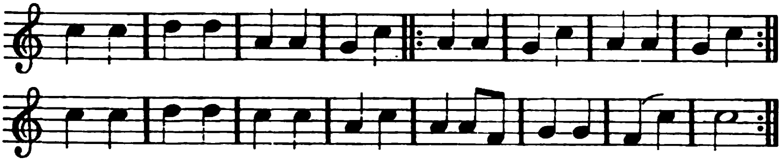
2. *Finnish melody*



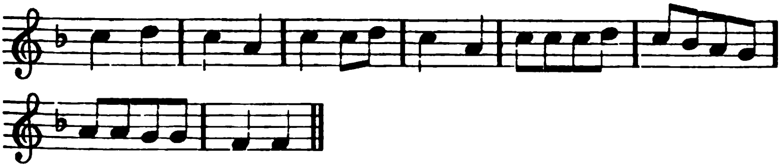
---

[1] Sources: Lappish melody, Armas Launis, *Lappische Juoigos-Melodien*, Helsingfors, 1908, Nr. 424. Finnish melody: I. Krohn, *Laulusävelmiä*, iii, Helsinki, 1932, Nr. 2525. Hungarian "regös" song: *Magyar Népköltési Gyüjtemény*, iv, 1902, p. 341. The children's ditty is everywhere known in Hungary. Every melody is transposed on a common key-note.

3. *Hungarian "regös-song"*



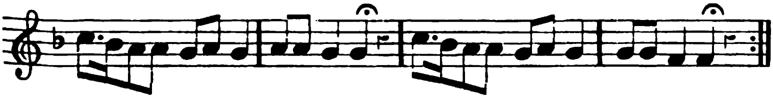
4. *Hungarian children's ditty*



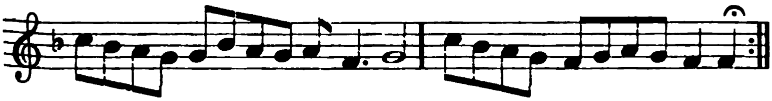
§ 3

If we now turn to the Ugro-Finnish tribes of Eastern Europe and Western Asia, i.e. the Zyryäns, Mordwins, Wotyaks, Ostyaks, and Voguls, we find, in general, a similar musical dialect. The most usual form is the "litany-type" which consists of several short, reiterated parts. As to the melody, it is remarkable that among the Ostyaks of Western Siberia we discover the primitive melody-type of the old Hungarian dirge. This is also a tradition which belongs into the sphere of Group 2 of the Hungarian melody types, i.e. that of the stropheless rite-melodies.[1]

5. *Ostyakish "bear-song"*



6. *Hungarian dirge*



---

[1] Sources: No. 5, Patkanov, *Die Irtysch-Ostjaken und ihre Volkspoesie*, ii, 1900, p. 263. No. 6, from the North-Hungarian collection of Zoltán Kodály.

§ 4

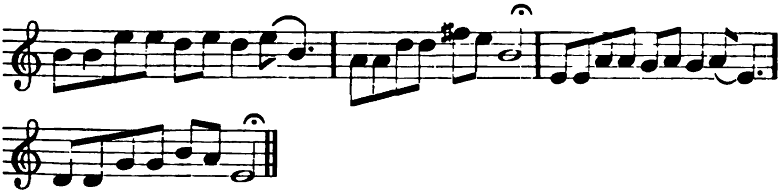
Much more surprising is the fact that nearly the whole ancient Hungarian popular singing-style is to be found to-day among the Tsheremis folk of the Volga. It is the style which Bartók and Kodály discovered among the Hungarian peasantry and which we have classified as Group 1 of the melody types. The Tsheremis material, of which we know about 500 published melodies, in its principal traits, corresponds to the Hungarian. It shows the 5-degree scale of minor character, the *rubato*-recitative delivery, the equisyllabic four-line strophe in the musical construction of which the repetition of melody-line a fourth or fifth lower in pitch manifests itself. Bartók considers this latter as the most ancient structural principle of the Hungarian folk-song. The Tsheremis transpose even longer melodic phrases, whole strophes, downwards (more seldom upwards) than they do in the Hungarian folk-song.

It is characteristic, too, that the four-line strophe, in the text as well as in the melody, points back to a two-line origin. In the text, the four-line conception results out of a two-line one by way of repetition, in the melody by way of transposition, just as in several types of the earliest Hungarian folk-song. Even the ornamentation seems to be akin to the Hungarian. This latter is interesting, as, until now, we could not trace the relationship of Hungarian ornamentation farther than to neighbouring peoples, or at most to the Southern Turks. A difference may be however stated insomuch as the Tsheremis folk-music knows in a higher degree the pentatonic forms of major character (" Mongolian ") than that of minor character (" Hungarian "), e.g. beside the form *e-g-a-b-d-e* there also occur *d-e-g-a-b-d* and *g-a-b-d-e-g*. Less frequent are *a-b-d-e-g-a* and *b-d-e-g-a-b*.

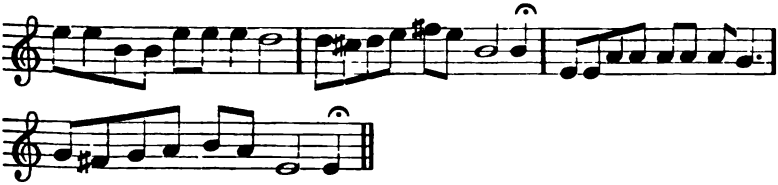
The close connection of all these forms, their relationship in the sense of " authentic-plagal " of the old church-scale-system, is demonstrated by a large number of transitional types. On the occasion of the transposition of the melodic phrases, the pentatonic form is often subject to a change.

It makes a difference, too, that the Tsheremis folk-song prefers the heterometric (inequal-syllabic) strophic forms.[1]

7. *Tsheremis melody*



8. *Hungarian melody*



Here we have neither an original Tsheremis nor even an Ugro-Finnish peculiarity, but rather an acceptance of the musical tradition of one or more peoples of the Turkish race. This is proved by the fact, which several investigators observed in the coast-region of the Volga, that the nearer the Tsheremis settlements are to those of the Tshuwash or Tartar inhabitants, the more Tartarish or, at all events, more Turkish characteristics are to be found in their culture. In our case, the pentatonic musical style is the more developed. Lately an Austrian musicologist and folklorist, Robert Lach, pointed out with particular stress that the primitive singing-type of the Ugro-Finnish peoples is the motive-repeating, mostly tactless "litany-type", whilst that of the Turk-Tartarish peoples is the strictly symmetrically articulated, strophic, and pentatonic melody-form.[2] Hitherto, Hungarian scholars have declared the Hungarian strophical construction to be of Turk-Tartarish origin.

---

[1] Sources: No. 7, Vasiljev, *Marij Muro*, Moscow, 1923, No. 96. No. 8, from the North-Hungarian collection of Z. Kodály. See also, Kodály, *A peculiar melody-structure in Tsheremis folk-music*, Budapest, 1935, in Hungarian.

[2] *Gesänge russischer Kriegsgefangener*, i, Bd. 1, Abt. 1926, p. 11; i, 3, Abt. 1929, pp. 7–8, 14–17.

All this coincides strikingly with our contention that Group 2 of the Hungarian melody types is to be found in the music of *every* Ugro-Finnish people, whilst Group 1 is only found among those Ugro-Finns who came under Turkish influence. Thus Group 2 must accordingly be an Ugro-Finnish, and Group 1 a Turk-Mongolian peculiarity.

If this is accepted, it is quite evident that Hungarian folk-music carries a double archaic inheritance, at latest from the time of the migration of the peoples, an inheritance crystallized into rite-melodies, the heritage of a very ancient *minority*, into which some early Aryan influence has joined in, and a much richer Turk-Mongolian inheritance, in which we undoubtedly recognize the heritage of an ancient *majority*. We may suppose that this latter style might have been considerably strengthened by settlements of Turk character (Kumanians, Petchenegs, Tartars, etc.). Surely it is not by chance that they are just the Transylvanian Sekler (of Turk origin) who have preserved the pentatonic style the most consequently up to this day.

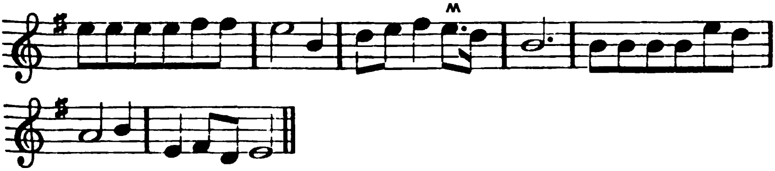
Yet the real pith of our demonstration is still missing. What is the proof that this ancient Hungarian style, which we discovered among the Tsheremis folk, is really of Turkish origin, a peculiarity of the Turk peoples ?

§ 5

Those Turkish peoples with whom the Tsheremis population had the most frequent intercourse and under whose influence they chiefly came were the ancient Bolgars (Bulgarians) of the Volga-region, and their successors, the Tshuwash and the Tartars of the Volga. In the Tshuwash and Tartar melodies from the districts Orenburg, Ufa, and Kazan we can recognize the common features of an " Ural-Volga musical dialect ", i.e. the pentatonia, the symmetrical, bipartite, four-line strophe (mostly with a heterometric structure) and the repetition of the melody transposed. (It was probably through the Northern Tartars that some pentatonic traits penetrated into Great-Russian folk-music.) The proportion of the different pentatonic types to one another shows here an even stronger Mongolian influence. Among the Tartars, four principal forms of pentatonia are to be found. Of the Kazan-Tartarish melody-material known to the author, comprising about sixty melodies, fifty are based upon a pentatonia of the major (" Mongolian ") form, whilst ten are based on that of minor (" Hungarian " or rather " plagalized Hungarian ") character. In general, we find the same among the Bashkeers of the Ural Mountains, but it is uncertain whether it is a Tartarish influence or the trace of an earlier Turkish tradition.

How characteristically this constructional principle found in Hungarian-Tsheremis territories asserts itself in that pentatonic material is illustrated by a Tshuwash, a Kazan-Tartarish, and a Bashkeer melody.[1] Regarding these melodies we must remark that, like the melodies of the Orient in general, they are often, during the performance, subject to more or less variation. To this form-change also belongs the frequent type-variation of their pentatonic scale, in the exchange of its key-note.

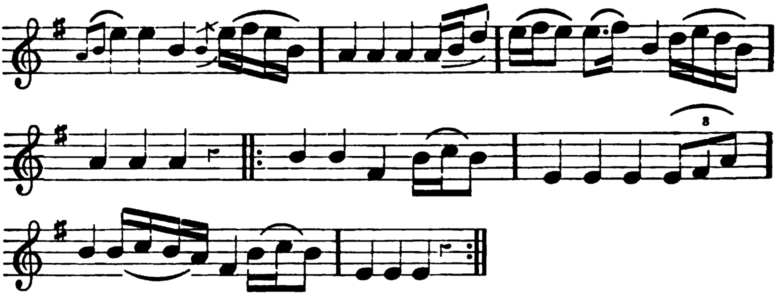
9. *Tshuwash melody*



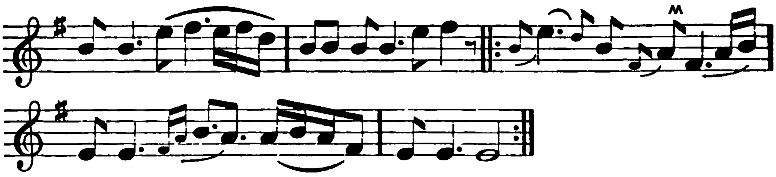
---

[1] Sources : No. 9, from the collection of Rob. Lach (*Vorläufiger Bericht*, 1918, supplement). No. 10, from the collection of G. Schünemann (*Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, i, pp. 511–12). No. 11, noted down by the author after the singing of the Bashkeer professor Galimdshan Tagan, Budapest, 1934.

10. *Kazan Tartar melody*

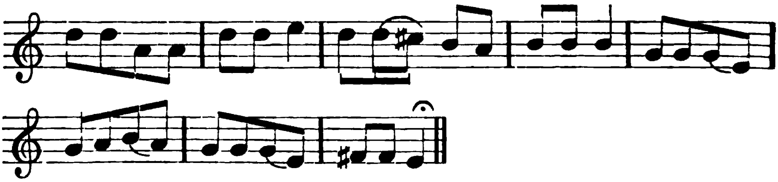


11. *Bashkeer melody*



Though but sporadically, and chiefly in the vicinity of Tartar territories, the traces of this " stratifying " pentatonic style are to be found also among the Kirgheez of Western Asia. The following Kirgheez tune (with the second and sixth degree of the scale as passing notes) is from the district of Akmolinsk and shows, in its structure, a Tartarish influence. Beside this we place an ancient Hungarian folk-melody of similar structure, but with a richer ornamentation.[1]

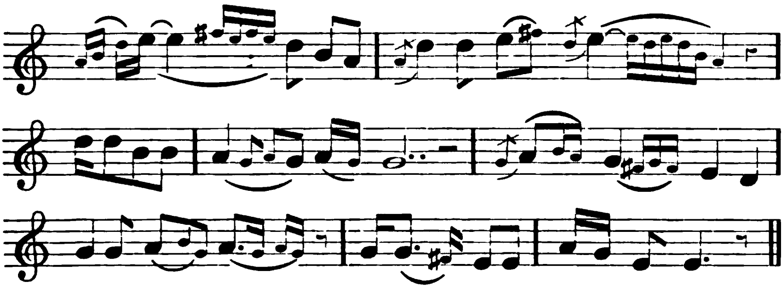
12. *Kirgheez melody*



---

[1] Sources: No. 12, A. Zatayevich, *1,000 Pjesen Kirgheezskavo Naroda*, Orenburg, 1925, No. 88. No. 13, Bartók, *Hungarian Folk-Music*, No. 21.

13. *Hungarian melody*



§ 6

How and wherefrom did this pentatonia come to the environs of the Volga and Ural? There are some historians who presume that the Tartars of the Volga are descendants of the ancient Bolgar-Turk people. The original home of the latter, according to the Hungarian linguist Julius Németh, is in the Irtish region of Western Siberia. There are others, like George Schünemann, who suppose the ancient home of the Kazan Tartars to have been in the region of the Altai Mountains, and who think that at their early settlements in the Altai they adopted from the Chinese, or from a common source with them, some very old principles of musical construction, among others the different types of the 5-degree scale.[1] So much seems to be certain that between Northern Turkish (more exactly North-Eastern Turkish) and Mongolian (Tibetan, Chinese, Manchu, etc.) musical cultures there must be some ancient and organic connection. We speak especially of the Northern Turks, because the folk-music material collected among the Southern Turks, i.e. the Osmans, Krimians, Turkomans, Usbegs, shows a thoroughly different musical tradition, a system of *Maqams*, related rather to that of the Arabs and Persians. Although the "terraced" principle of the melodic structure is not so predominant (at least to our present knowledge) beyond

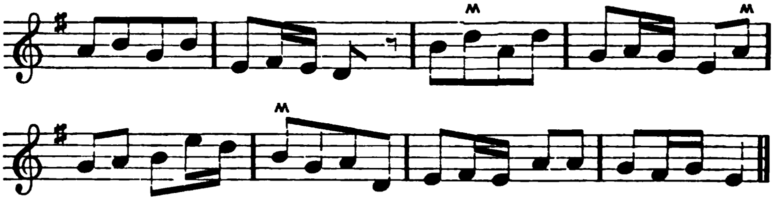
---

[1] *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, i, pp. 507–8.

Siberia, yet we meet with it here too. Indeed, this is the real home of the pentatonia.

It is true that the pentatonic dialect of Mongolian territories changes from district to district in the use of the "Middle-Asiatic" or major scale-type and the "East European" or minor scale-type. How Chinese music, which, in theory, shows all the form-combinations of the 5-degree scale, is divided, in practice, between these types, is a question hitherto unexamined. That it does know the Hungarian-Tsheremis form, and that formerly it might have known it even better, can be amply demonstrated. Out of Tibet, Inner-China, even Peking and Shanghai, we have a series of melodies whose scale corresponds to the Hungarian-Tsheremis minor-pentatonia, the structure of which, though more complexly developed, carries the four-line conception, like the following two melodies. The first was noted in Sining-Fu, on the north-eastern boundary line of Tibet, by Gustave Kreitner, a member of the expedition of Count Béla Széchenyi in 1877–1880,[1] whilst the second was taken in the environs of Shanghai by Chinese missionaries.[2]

14. *Tibetan melody* (*first part*)



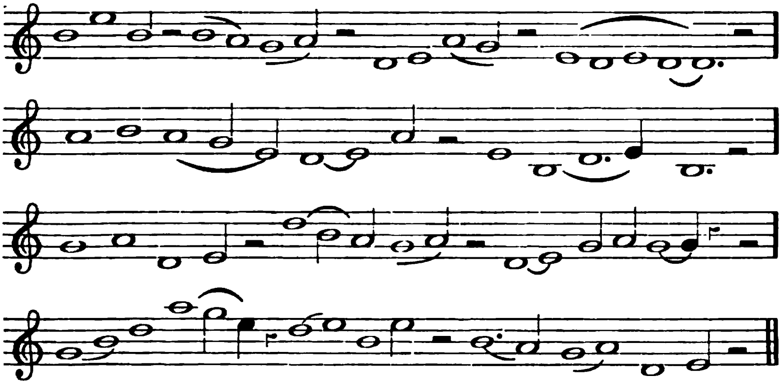
Indeed, not only Chinese practice but also Chinese theory knows this mode, in its traditional scale-system, under the

---

[1] G. Kreitner, *Im fernen Osten*, Vienna, 1881, pp. 700–1.

[2] Communicated (as a sung melody accompanied by instruments) by A. Dechevrens in his study "Étude sur le système musical chinois" (*Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, ii, 1901) pp. 541–3. We communicate only the sung melody, on a common final-note with the preceding ones. The bar we employ in our examples henceforth only to mark the division of the melody-lines.

15. *Chinese melody*



name of Yü-Tshou.[1] They say that to the ancient *Shi-King*, that classical collection of more than a thousand year's Chinese song-production, there belonged, originally, a large number of pentatonic melodies of minor character. But the music of the Tsheremis people, as well as that of the Tartars, shows us that between the different pentatonic scale-forms there is no essential, no fundamental, difference. A difference is often caused rather by an accidental postponement of the key-note (cf. the authentic and plagal forms in the church-scales). We may, therefore, reasonably suppose a common source of all these Eurasian pentatonic types, and that this source, which is perhaps also the birthplace of the four-line, symmetric, "stratified" melody-strophe, is most probably the great Middle-Asian plateau, perhaps the Altai region, or maybe the Tarim-basin in Eastern Turkestan. This territory, as we know from the investigations of Sir Aurel Stein and others, was, in the early Christian era, still the channel of virile culture-currents.

§ 7

Even at the bottom of Chinese music some ancient Tartarish peculiarities are still to be found. The fact that the oldest

---

[1] R. Wilhelm, *Chinesische Musik* (publication of the Chinese Institute in Frankfurt) Frankfurt a/M., 1927, p. 50.

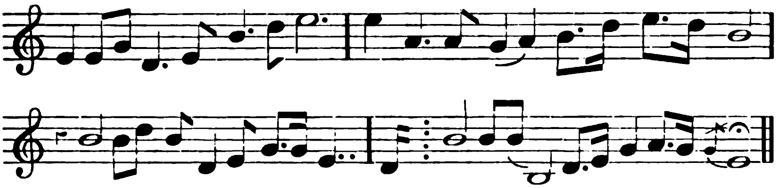
Chinese hymn-melodies, as e.g. the famous *Ta-tsai-k'ung-tzu* hymn in honour of Confucius,[1] consist of four-line equisyllabic strophes, that in old Chinese melodies there often appears the repetition of the motives in fifth-intervals, all show that Mongolian and Turkish musical cultures are, at their roots, akin to one another, or that at some time they stood in close connection. How and when might this have been ?

There is the legend in which we are told how Ling-lun, the sage of the mythic emperor Hoang-ti, brought, about 4,600 years ago, from the *north-western* country Si-Yung (approximately the Ordos district of to-day) to China the traditional music-system sanctified by a series of nature-myths and symbols. The cradle of the Turkish and Mongolian peoples could have hardly been far from one another. Ferdinand Richthofen supposed the oldest Chinese settlements to be in Eastern Turkestan, at the southern border of the Tarim-basin, from where the Chinese were to wander into their present home. Thus we find these two ancient nations in the closest proximity of each other, and therefore we must accept the probability that between Chinese musical culture and that of the North-Eastern Turkish peoples there is a much stronger connection than that of an allied or inimical, conquering or conquered, neighbour. A decisively demonstrative document in this connection is a number of Mongolian and Mongolian-Chinese melodies from the Ordos district (Southern Mongolia), actually from that territory whence, according to the legend, Ling-lun brought the old musical laws of the Chinese. They evidently show an archaic stage of development, and point back to the very roots of the Chinese music of to-day. These melodies reflect exactly the Tsheremis-Tartarish principle—the four-line strophe, the symmetrically articulated, terraced construction, and the pentatonia of both the major and minor character. In the Chinese material about one-tenth, in the Mongolian however more than half of the melody material, show these characteristics, a proportion which brings it even nearer to the Hungarian melodies than the Tsheremis material. There is another peculiarity in Tsheremis and Tartar music. Under equisyllabically constructed melodies we often find heterometric texts. The Mongolian country stood, as we know, for many centuries in a close connection with the Altai-Tartar territories, and so the relationship can hardly be surprising. This music which completes the last link in the chain of this old musical culture stretching from the Volga to the Yellow Sea is to be illustrated here by two melodies from the collection of P. van Oost.[1]

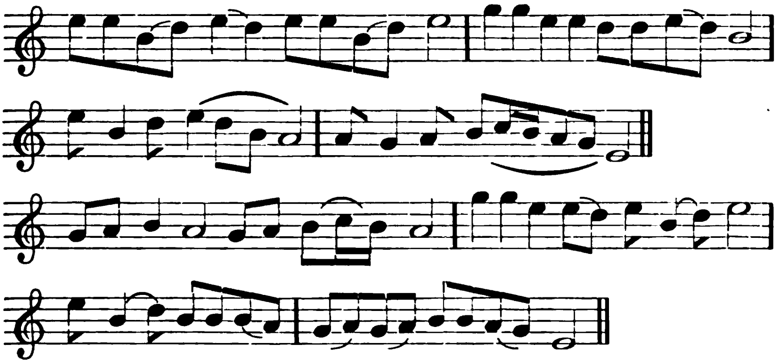
---

[1] This melody (publ. by Van Aalst 1884, M. Courant 1913) is nearly related to many of the earliest Hungarian folk-tunes. A few other Chinese melodies noted down lately by the author show a nearly exact transposition of the melodic phrases downwards, just like the Hungarian and Tsheremis melodies.

16. *Mongolian melody*



17. *Mongolian-Chinese melody*



---

[1] *Anthropos*, x–xi, p. 380; vii, p. 915.

In the early contact of the Magyars with the Turkish tribes of Middle Asia (fourth–eighth century) we have, perhaps, the sole explanation of the fact that *at the bottom of Hungarian folk-music there still lives an archaic, Middle-Asian melody-style.* As for the other European types of pentatonia, from the tone-system of archaic Greek music to ancient Celtic and Iberian tunes,[1] they sprang, evidently, from other sources and never blended with such peculiarly "Eastern" principles of the melody-weaving as the 5-degree system of the Magyars, Tsheremis, Tartars, and Mongolians.[2]

---

[1] Cf. H. Riemann, *Folkloristische Tonalitätsstudien*, 1916.

[2] The same can be said of the American and African types of the pentatonia. In general, this musical phenomenon must always be considered together with those structural principles, in connection with which it manifests itself.

Junayd

By A. J. ARBERRY

PROFESSOR LOUIS MASSIGNON, the value of whose contributions to the study of Sufism cannot be overestimated, gives a short but penetrating account of the doctrines of Junayd in his *Essai sur les Origines du Lexique Technique de la Mystique Musulmane.*[1] This account is preceded by an analysis of the contents of the manuscript of Junayd's *opuscula* which is preserved at Istanbul.[2] In his *Recueil de Textes Inédits*[3] Massignon gives extracts of this manuscript. It has recently been my good fortune, through the generosity of the Egyptian University, to obtain a photograph of this manuscript—and I must not omit to acknowledge the kindly services of Dr. Ritter in this connection—as a preliminary to the fulfilment of what has been for some time my immediate intention, namely, to write a monograph on the life and doctrines of Junayd, and to edit all his surviving *reliquiae.*

This is not the place to enter into a detailed criticism of this work. In introducing my translation of the first of the short treatises contained in the Istanbul MS., I have to record that Massignon's account of its contents is in some particulars somewhat inaccurate. The *risálah fi 'l-sukr* and the *risálah fi'l-ifáqah,* nos. 8 and 9 of his list, are in reality the product of a later pen, as is proved by the fact that, on f. 49 *b*, there are references to Junayd himself among other Sufis.

Letter of Abu 'l-Qásim al-Junayd to Yúsuf Ibn al-Ḥusayn[4] (God have mercy upon them).

In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

May God keep thee in His keeping, wherein He keeps those among His friends who are pure, and may He stablish us and thee[1] upon the path[2] of His good pleasure. May He make thee to enter the courts of His intimacy, and give thee pasture[3] in the gardens of His manifold blessings. May He watch over thee in all (thy) circumstances, even as He watches over the child while it is yet in the womb of its mother, [4]and the baby as it lies in its cradle.[4] May God lengthen for thee the life that is withdrawn from the subsistence of life, in the perpetuity of eternity[5]: and may He set thee apart from that which is thine through Him, and that which is His through thee, so that there may be His Singleness[6] in its eternal continuance, not thou, nor thy state,[7] nor the knowledge of Him, and so that there may be God alone.[8]

---

[1] pp. 273–9. [2] MS. Shahíd 'Alí 1374. [3] p. 49 f.

[4] D. A.H. 304. For an account of his life, vid. Qushayrí, *Risálah* (Cairo, 1330), 22; Sha'rání, *Al-Ṭabaqát al-Kubrá* (Cairo, 1343), i, 77; Abu

By my father I adjure thee, this that I say comes from the continuance of calamity and the consequence of misery, from a heart that is stirred from its foundations, and tormented with its ceaseless conflagrations, by itself within itself. For thus it is, being without perception, without speech, without feeling, without joy, without repose, without effort: not in the sense of passing away, but because it is constant in the calamity of its ceaseless torment, a torment without meaning, past indication, beyond limit, irresistible in its fierce onslaughts.[9] If it speaks, speech is an affliction, and if it is silent, silence is an affliction. Unto God is the complaint without complaining: and there comes no

---

'l-Falláḥ al-Ḥanbalí, *Shadharát al-Dhahab*, ii, 254; Al-Khaṭíb, *Ta'ríkh Baghdád*, xiv, 314–19. The exordium of this letter is quoted by Abú Naṣr al-Sarráj, *Kitáb al-Luma'* (ed. Nicholson), 242–3, where the text exhibits slight variations, as noted later.

[1] "thee and us" *K.L.*

[2] "paths" *K.L.*, the variant "path" being given.

[3] "elevate thee" *K.L.*

[4-4] Omitted in *K.L.*

[5] "in the continuance of the perpetuity of His eternity" *K.L.*

[6] "that thou mayest be single through Him" *K.L.*

[7] "nor what is thine" *K.L.*

[8] Here the quotation in *K.L.* ends.

[9] Lit. breaths.

answering reply, no easing. So it continues, wholly swallowed up: in loneliness hidden, yet it appears, and is hidden, and appears, and is hidden. I know not what I say, nor what he says, whose reins have fallen from him, whose straps have been severed; who wanders in most perilous wildernesses, and thereof has no pleasure in the conditions of blessednesses, but driving sings:—

"What way to win His pleasure,
Whose wrath no treason
So kindled past all measure,
Nor any reason?"

Or haply he says:—

"No more will I resist my fate:
Though grief me slay,
Whate'er thy whim, inobdurate
I will obey."

It was my wish, my dear friend, that I should not write to thee words of raving or evil thoughts, or the talk of one diseased in mind or soul[1]: but as I know thee, so I know that thou knowest that fate has more power over a man than his own resolve. So may God take thee into His friendship, and choose thee for Himself,[2] and make thee familiar with the knowledge which is hidden from His creatures, but which manifests from Him to His elect: for these He has changed from state to state, and transported through all the grades. First He raised them up, by confirming the condition of (their) actions[3]: then He raised them up, through the realities of reaching unto Him. He veiled from them the eyes of the hearts: for these are not worth any definition or description, save as He appoints them in their (separate) life through His Oneness, being alone Himself with them in the realities of the Unseen. What marvel then is there more marvellous than that certainty without doubt in which they dwell, and that doubt without certainty[1]: and God is God alone. O my brother, may God crown thee with the crown of blessing on the bank of Resurrection: and may the Prophets glory in thee, and the wise men, and all God's servants. He is (our) aspiration and hope, and to Him doth praise belong, both first and last. May God bless Muḥammad the Prophet, and grant him peace evermore.

---

[1] Lit. mad and sick with pleurisy.
[2] As was Moses, *Qur'án*, xx, 43.
[3] *Sc.* by making their acts accord with the Divine Law.

Thou hast written (may God cherish thee!) under the protection and preservation of God: and I petition God, that He may make in us and you a gratitude whereby we may attain increase in His bounty and favour. Thy letter has reached me (God keep and bless thee!) and he has come who was united with thee[2]: and I have learned how lofty are thy purposes in thy prayers. I pray that God may of His mercy answer (our) pious prayers, thine for us, and ours for thee. Thereafter I learned of the niceness of thy words in counselling, and I do not cease through thee to enjoy an increase of God's blessings, though ever despairing of being near to thee, yet in thy absence taking comfort in those that are thy friends; and to God I commend thee. In counsel excelling, in exhortation striving, with thy food satisfying, with thy blows stinging: in all thou hast followed the manners of the Prophets in gentleness of speech. Before God I pictured, as I read thy writings, Moses and Aaron (God's blessings be upon them!), when they were commanded to speak gently[3]: and it was a terrible thing to me, that my place should be the place of the Pharaohs, in thy striving to be kindly with me: for cajoling is only used with one who is insolent and ignorant, or with a child. But what means have I, seeing that my station with thee is the station of one who must needs be treated with gentleness, that he may accept the truth, and of one who lags behind in seeking the (right) path ? And then I recall to myself the words of the poet :—

---

[1] The "certainty without doubt" is the existence which is in God; the "doubt without certainty" is the existence in separate life.

[2] *Sc.* the messenger who brought the letter.

[3] *Qur'án*, xx, 46.

"Not out of weakness we obey,
But as God destined unto us
Before time was, fate draws our way :
We follow thus."

And also I say :—

"Know now, my spirit, thy Creator's might,
Who turns men's destinies to His delight :
Though your bonds forge my heart's captivity,
I thank you still, abroad and secretly."

I pray that He may bless us with that whereunto He has commanded us, and that He may preserve us from that whereof He has forbidden us. I heard Aḥmad ibn Abi 'l-Ḥawárí[1] saying, I heard Abú Sulaymán[2] saying : "The deeds of men are not such as to please Him or to anger Him : but with some people He is pleased, and employs them in the deeds of good-pleasure, and with others He is angry, and employs them in the deeds of anger."[3] He therefore that flees from that which is, is only at the beginning of (his) quests. With God is the consolation, for from Him is the affliction : may God preserve us and thee from His wrath, and bless us with His greatest good-pleasure, in well-being and safety.

Now thou knowest (may God cherish thee !) that the Prophets did indeed possess apostlehood, but that they did not possess the power of guidance. God says (Blessed and Exalted is He !), "Deliver that which hath been sent down to thee from thy Lord "[1]; then He said, " Verily thou dost not guide him whom thou desirest."[2] I pray God, Who gave thee speech wherewith to counsel me, and tasked thee with the task of writing to me, that He may not make void to me thy prayer, in such a place as this in which we do hope for His blessing, O my brother and the delight of my heart. Accepted from thee is all that thou brandishest, and indicatest to the eye. To God I pray for help in this, and that He may reward thee for us. If every hair upon my body were a tongue, yet wouldst thou be worthy of this from me. May God undertake to thank thee, and to reward thee for us as thou deservest.

---

[1] Acc. to *S͟had͟harát al-D͟hahab* (ii, 110), d. 246 ; acc. to ***Risálah Qus͟hayriyyah*** (17), and *Al-Ṭabaqát al-Kubrá* (i, 70), d. 230.

[2] Acc. to *S͟h. D͟h.* (ii, 13), d. 205 ; acc. to *R.Q.* (15), and *Ṭ.K.* (i, 68), d. 215.

[3] Quoted by Sarráj, *Kitáb al-Luma'* 38.

I remember, my beloved, that urgent need in thee which so hastened unto me, that need concerning which thou puttest hope in me, namely, that I should avoid all intercourse save with those who are my true fellows: and I remember (may God guard thee!) speech whose purport this was. So gentle thou wast, so tender: and I ask God's help in this, and with Him take refuge, that I may make my pleading a cover (for my sins), and fully repay right with right. Thou knowest that it is a grievous thing to set a bound to the truth: and I ask God for sincerity in acknowledging the truth.

Moreover (and God is my protection) there is a day when I imagine that I have confirmed the people of my age, both common and elect, in some small particular other than the mere expression of the tongue: I do not know whether this shall be reckoned for me or against me; and as for the path of merit in the assigning of judgment, may God protect us and thee from the vision of that.[3] I am satisfied that there should rest for me, in the highest grade of the learned in the law, the burden of His Unity,[4] and in the highest grade of the religious, the eschewing of the greater sins. Haply with this verse I have made parable :—

---

[1] *Qur'án*, v, 71.

[2] *Qur'án*, xxviii, 56.

[3] *Sc.* because man's merits disappear before the true judgment of God.

[4] *Sc.* instead of the burden of my own shortcomings.

O Thou Whose power hath kindled in my soul
This raging fire,
Were it Thy will, my heart should be made whole,
Its blaze expire.

It were no shame—so Thou hast dealt with me—
Of grief and fear
If I should die, a victim unto Thee:
No shame it were.[1]

And haply I have made parable with this verse :—

Shall any part
Of penitence into my soul be brought,
Since that my heart
With all my wretchedness is still distraught ?

I have heard that a certain wise man wrote to another: "May God not cause thee to taste of the food of thy carnal soul: for if thou tastest of its food, thou wilt not find any other food."[2] I therefore hope that thou mayst preserve thy limitations. I heard D͟hu 'l-Nún say: "Whoso is ignorant of his value, is stripped of his veil."[3] I ask God that He may grant sincerity in confession, and with God I take refuge against making a display of censuring the soul, or of eschewing display. And of thee I ask, that thou shouldst continue towards me in brotherhood and friendly counsel, recompensing me and favouring me and praying for me, and that thou shouldst ever have me in thy mind: for thou hast adorned me with thy writing, and wakened me with thy counsel—if haply thou shouldst find (in me) a wakeful zeal. And "him only thou shalt warn, who followeth the monition and feareth the God of mercy in secret"[1]; and God saith, "to warn whoever liveth."[2]

---

[1] These verses are quoted (with "care" for "grief"), *K.L.* 246.

[2] In *R.Q.* (22) and *S͟h. D͟h.* (ii, 245) these words are ascribed to Yúsuf ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Rází (the recipient of this letter) in a letter to Junayd.

[3] This saying is quoted in *T.B.* (xiv, 314), as made by D͟hu 'l-Nún to Yúsuf ibn al-Ḥusayn.

"If in the heart there be no goad
To prick the heart,
It will not stir, whoe'er its load,
Whate'er its smart."

My friend, with thy own tongue[3] I have addressed thee, and with that wherewith God hath profited me, both aforetimes and in these latter days, I have answered thee. If there be (God cherish thee!) in this writing any error or confusion, or any slip of the tongue, thou art the most worthy to pardon it: and if there be in it aught that pleases thee, it is of thee and through thee. For thou art praiseworthy in all events: thou art the *shaykh* of all the pious now living, nay, thou art the lord of the wise men and the gnostics of thy time; and God's is the praise for this.

Now I do not complain (God cherish thee!) that certain of those who serve thee on our behalf, pious men who are inclined to satisfy themselves with little, have asked sustenance of us: for by my life, I am as it were a keeper of sustenance.[4] If any man had shown me his goblet, I would have found for him one who should fill it, and men would have been satisfied with a satisfaction that hath no bound. By my life, if a man amends his inner life, God will amend for him his outer circumstance; and if a man makes his peace with God, God will make peace between him and all men: and if a man labours for his portion in the world to come, God will suffice him in the affairs of this world. I pray God to amend our affairs with His mercy.

---

[1] *Qur'án*, xxxvi, 10.

[2] *Qur'án*, xxxvi, 70.

[3] Presumably referring to the fact that he has quoted sayings of his correspondent, as noted above.

[4] Spiritual sustenance, of course, which he has obtained from God and from his *shaykhs*.

Now upon thee be peace, and God's mercy and blessings, so long as this world and the world to come abide. And upon those who be with thee, who desire that which is with God (Blessed and Exalted is He !) and yearn for thy intimacy and thy friendship, God's greatest and most excellent peace. If thou seest fit (God perpetuate thy glory) to favour me with thy writing, thereby to acquaint me that thou art well and that God's protection is with thee, together with any need which may be calling, and which we can meet, thou wilt thereby rejoice me. And God bless Muḥammad the Prophet, and his people, and grant them peace evermore.

Cairo, 1934.

223.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

THE "ROUND DATES" IN THE "NARRATIVE ABOUT SANJĀN"

By the words "round dates[1] in the Narrative about Sanjān" of Bahman-ben-Keiqobād (A.D. 1600) I mean the dating in the round dates of the centuries, which differs from the dating by years (with the exception of one case—the hundred years of sojourn in Kohistan). This last dating is given by the author in the beginning of the narrative and has relation to the dating of the emigration of the Sassanian Persians (or the Parsees) from Persia to India. The dating in round dates is given with reference to the time from their coming to India to the sack of their original place of habitation in India, Sanjan town, by the Musalmans. It is very well known that frequent attempts at the interpretation of this chronology in "round dates" have up to the present failed to clear it up, and this is in fact the cause of the conviction of Bahman's inaccuracy (a conviction which is in my opinion not right). In this connection I find it necessary to remark that—apart from the question of the accuracy of the chronological calculations of ancient authors[2]—the interpretation of the literary work (the Narrative about Sanjān) in which we have this chronology (and which is exceptional in this character) cannot, in my opinion, derive essential assistance from the sources (literary and epigraphical) for local Indian history. The circle of interests of these sources is foreign to the theme of Bahman. The isolated life of the Parsees, its relative remoteness in character from the surroundings, and the smallness of the community, are the causes of this. The "Narrative about Sanjān" must be interpreted in the light of its own contents, and in this lies the greatest difficulty of the interpretation.[3] To this must be added, partly perhaps

[1] "Comptes ronds" of Anquetil.

[2] Very good remarks on these calculators of past times were made by Sh. H. Hodivala in his *Studies in Parsi History* (Bombay, 1920, pp. 16–17).

[3] The greatest merit of the work of Sh. H. Hodivala, in my opinion, is that he has shown that the colophons (traditional dates) cannot help in regard to the events of the most remote times.

as a result of the versified form, a conscious or unconscious indeterminateness of exposition, which gives to the "round dates" of which I wish to speak the character of an enigma which must be resolved in order to arrive at the actual result.

These "round dates"—700, 500, 300, and 200 years—which are dispersed in the verses of the author, for the most part without distinct and clear definition of the facts to which they relate, have been the subject of misconception and dispute to previous investigators, but they are of fundamental moment in the understanding of the author and his work.[1]

I will proceed in my investigation from the date of the arriving of the Parsees in Indian territory (Sanjān), which is derived from the narrative of the migration in the work of Bahman, on the basis of the "Parsee era".[2] This date is A.D. 785. The greatest round date—700 years—is mentioned after the narrative of the dispersion of the Parsees on Indian territory from Sanjān and before the narrative of the sack of this place by the Musalmans (see Hodivala's translation, p. 107 [3]). The questions present themselves: (1) After what event did the 700 years elapse? and (2) What event happened after this term? The interesting point is that, immediately after this, the author, in the next section, begins the narrative of the aggression of the Musalmans on the Rājā of Sanjān, and at the same time mentions Chāmpānīr. It is very well known that Chāmpānīr was occupied by Sultan Mahmud of Gujarat and Islām was introduced in A.H. 889 = A.D. 1484. (Even the day is known—2 Zū-l-qua'da = 21st November.[1]) When to the year of the arrival of the Parsees in India, A.D. 785, we add 700 years, we have the date (the difference of one year having no significance[2]) of the Musalman conquest. *Exactly* 700 *years elapsed from the arrival of the Parsees to the occupation of Chāmpānīr.* Against this interpretation the objection can be put that in the beginning of the next section (on the expedition of Sultan Mahmud against the Rājā of Sanjān), immediately after this date, Bahman states that Islām entered Chāmpānīr after the elapsing of 500 years in India (*see* Hodivala's translation, p. 108)—the second great " round date ". Investigators have had to answer the question: From what event are the 500 years reckoned? Eastwick translates, " from the time of the arriving of the Parsees in India " ; Modi, " from the time of the introduction of Islām into India " (this being dated from the first invasions of the Ghaznavids). Hodivala's translation supposes that the starting point of the 500 years was not known to the author himself.[3] In my opinion Bahman in his dating had his own chronology, the chronicle of the history of the Parsees: but, in this instance, he did not count from the arrival of his co-religionists in India (Eastwick's opinion), nor (without specific mention—the taking of Chāmpānīr is mentioned, and reckoned from) from the chronology of the Musalman invasions and conquests (Modi's

---

[1] The Narrative about Sanjān has been twice translated into English—by Eastwick, and recently by Hodivala (op. cit., pp. 94–118). I find it necessary to say here that the reading of the word شاهرایان conjecturally as the name of the local dynasty Shilahra (pp. 75–6) is impossible from the point of view of versification. The first and the second syllables must be long and short. This word can be translated by the usual word—Mahārājās. The conjecture was regrettably introduced into the translation, p. 102. On the other hand the author's identification of Ibn Batūta's Moghistān with Bahman's "Hurmuz" is indisputably important and, in my opinion, right (p. 100, n. 19).

[2] See J. J. Modi, *A few events in the early history of the Parsis and their dates* (1905, p. 9), and my "Emigration of the Parsis to India and the Musalman world in the middle of the VIIIth century" (*Journal of the Cama Oriental Institute*, Bombay, No. 1, 1922, pp. 35–6).

[3] Cf. ibid., p. 13—"Of the six MSS. of the Kissah—some of them very good and old—which I have seen, there is not one in which it does not occur"; and Modi, pp. 27–8. The following verse, ending this portion of the narrative, can characterize the event which followed the term of 700 years: "and there in some years was struck a blow which destroyed the former happy life (زینکونه and بدینسان).

[1] Modi, pp. 32–5.

[2] Modi, p. 41.

[3] Hodivala, pp. 63–4: " Bahman . . . himself had no starting point." The translations of Eastwick and Modi—" after 500 years " and " at the end of 500 years ", are more closely answerable to the text—از آنپس —than " some time after " in the translation of Hodivala.

opinion), which perhaps was not known to him in full. For the understanding of this date the passage which precedes has to be taken into consideration. The author has related in brief the destinies of the Parsees from the landing in Sanjān to its sacking by Sultan Mahmud. In this narrative he has given two dates—the lesser periods, 300 and 200 years. These are the periods of the dispersion of the Parsees in other places in India: Bānkānīr, Barūj, Bariāv, Anklīsār, Kambāiāt, Nawsārī. It is then from this—*the dispersion on Indian territory from Sanjān*—that we are to count the period of 500 years. In the text of Bahman it is said that 500 years elapsed from the settling *in India.* Seven hundred years earlier the Parsees were settled in Sanjān: 500 years earlier they commenced to disperse over other limited territories. By subtracting from 700 years 500, we have 200 years of their sojourn in Sanjān, and in Sanjān *only.* It is evident that for this period of time the Parsees were not dispersed beyond the limits of one place—Sanjān. At this point in his exposition the author expressly says that approximately[1] after 300 years a part of the Parsees was already not in Sanjān[2]: the beginning of this dispersion was 200 years after their settling in Sanjān, and this date, the last "round date", is there mentioned by the author. He relates that they had 200 years of happy life—I interpret, in Sanjān, their single place of habitation. This deduction is the right result of the counting of numbers, and for this reason I will not dwell on the view of earlier investigators, a view which is based on the supposition that the dispersion commenced at a date approximately 300 years after the settling in Sanjān. In this place Bahman mentions two dastūrs, Khūshmast and his son Khujasta, probably chiefs of the Parsees who remained in Sanjān: the names of these persons, conserved in this work, have a significance for their co-religionists perhaps not less than the significance of their successor, named also in the Narrative—Chāngā Āsā, the existence of whom in the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries is confirmed by the colophons. Since we refer the time of the settling of the Parsees in Sanjān to the end of the eighth century (A.D. 785) we must count the dispersion in other places, Bānkānīr, Barūj, and elsewhere, as beginning at the end of the tenth century and continued to the end of the eleventh century approximately. The persons just mentioned flourished in the eleventh century. It is interesting to note that this time was the time of the Ghaznavid incursions into India, the conquests of Mahmud of Ghazni and his sack of Somnath. To the beginning of this time belong the Pahlavi inscriptions of the Kānheri cave.

---

[1] کم و بیش

[2] I understand this passage to mean: approximately after 300 years the dispersion from Sanjān was finished.

By this understanding of the exposition of the dates by Bahman we see that his chronology of the "round dates" (like his chronology of the years of the emigration to India) is not only not incomprehensible but on the contrary harmonious and clear. His work is named the "Narrative about Sanjān",[1] because the centre of his interest is the old history of the Parsees in this place; and their subsequent history in other places in India was not the theme of this, in his kind, unique poet-historiographer of the Parsees.

269. C. INOSTRANTSEV.

---

[1] Probably for this reason his work is not named "Narrative about the Zoroastrians in India" (قصّهٔ زرتشتیان هندوستان), as Shāpūrjī Mānukjī in the eighteenth century named his work. (In his account of the earlier period he follows Bahman and connects the round date 700 with the Musalman conquest. See *Journal of the Cama Oriental Institute*, No. 17, 1930, pp. 22 and 59.) The disposition of the dates 300 to 200 agrees with that given by Bahman (cf. pp. 20, 22, 57, and 59). It is necessary to note the following: Hodivala in his translation, p. 115, note 52, supposes that the fire Īrānshāh was transported to Nawsārī two to three months after the Jashni-Sada; but in the text we find only that after this period of time Chāngā Āsā formed the intention and laid the proposal before the community—not that the fire was transported after this period of time (Hodivala, pp. 115–16).

THE ILLUSTRATION TO THE DOCTRINE OF THE "LEAP"

(Shahrastāni, ***Kitāb al Milal wal Niḥal,*** ed. Cureton, p. 39).

Translation

He gave as an illustration of this a rope (A), fifty cubits long, fastened to a beam half-way down a well. At the end of A is a pail. Another rope (B), also fifty cubits long, has at one end a ring. B pulls A. So when the pail reaches the top of the well, it has gone a distance of one hundred cubits by means of a rope fifty cubits long.

Explanation

The well is one hundred cubits deep. So rope A will stretch from the middle either to the top or the bottom. The ring on B slides along A. When the pail is at the bottom, B stretches from the top to the beam and the ring is at the top of A. When the pail is at the top, the ring on B has slid the whole length of A, and the whole of B is at the top.

230. A. S. Tritton.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India. By Edward Thompson and G. T. Garratt. 9 × 6½, pp. xii + 690, maps 13. London, 1934. 21*s*.

This book sets out to re-state the British connection with India from the earliest times till 1933 when the White Paper was issued. To make it attractive quotations are freely used, a method which often sacrifices the essential and the picturesque. It has also the disadvantage of relying on authorities distinguished more for literary grace than for the value of their opinions. Trevelyan was not twenty-five when he began to write the Competition Wallah and in his preface admits his complete ignorance of India when he landed there. Better authorities might have been quoted for his description of Indian society sixty years before his arrival, for the quality of pre-Mutiny finance, or for the working of land acts in Bengal. After quoting Miss Eden several times the authors appear to have qualms and turn to more serious writers.

Where the facts of a case are clear the writing is of a high quality, well maintained, such as the description of the Afghan disasters (342 sqq.), or of the early Punjab officials (376). Mingled with passages like these, however, are lapses in grammar and in taste such as a comparison of Napier's execution of criminals in Sind with the Crucifixion (360). In general tone the book is gloomy, whether the subject is that of misdeeds in the past or a forecast of the future. The authors claim to avoid national or racial bias and chide such faults in official and other recent publications. Their method is, however, to relate in detail from well-known sources the faults committed by government or individuals, while they have not studied what has actually been achieved or pass it over with colourless eulogy. In the absence of balanced judgments the evil survives and the good is interred.

The general reader after sixty-odd pages, chiefly abusing Hastings and omitting all reference to his own two publications by way of defence, will be surprised by and probably forget the generous appreciation of him on p. 166, unless he is impressed by the erroneous remark twenty pages later that, like Clive, he was hampered by his previous history. Other examples are numerous, but it is sufficient to refer to the three pages quoting Napier's wildest talk (394–6) while General John Jacob's work is scarcely mentioned (501–3) and the page of favourable but banal comments on James Thomason (who deserved but never received a knighthood) is bare of any account of what he did (417).

Imperfect comprehension of the subject is perhaps responsible for strictures on the legal system of India (156 and *passim*). It is suggested that English law was applied and maintained with all its complexities and unsuitability. But although the position of the Supreme Court and the law it was to apply were left vague by the Regulating Act, the position was largely cleared up by the Statute of 1781 which is not mentioned and which did much to limit and define. The statement (195) that the general structure of criminal courts remained unaltered from 1790 to 1831 is most misleading. In Bengal half a dozen regulations were passed to improve them. F. J. Shore, who though an official was as keen a critic of government as the authors could desire, wrote in 1833 of "the infinite superiority of the Regulations of the British-Indian government over the mass of tortuous, inconsistent, undefined, and incomprehensible matter, dignified by the name of English law". Maine and Stephen, both unprejudiced, held similar views, and the French critic Chailley, in 1910, laid stress on (1) "the scrupulous vigilance of the British and their desire to obtain the best law possible; and (2) the elastic character of their legislative instruments".

Modern research has been largely neglected. Older writers have been copied in applying to Mughul and Maratha systems of administration the term "Feudal" (56, 61, 179–80, 424), which has in Europe a definite meaning and, as Moreland has shown, differs in essence from anything found in India from the thirteenth century. Failure to consult the same authority and other sources has produced a travesty of the revenue system of Akbar (119 and 427). Even the British system is not understood. For example, on pp. 419–20, it is said that (under Dalhousie) " the *ryotwari* system of direct assessment succeeded the *zemindari* method of farming the land revenue ", while later (485) the Punjab is described (like the Deccan) as a *ryotwari* province, and again (569) the authors appear to think that the Punjab Land Alienation Act of 1900 was aimed at protecting tenants. Lord Curzon's resolution on land revenue was a magnificent piece of exposition, but it is wrong to describe it as introducing new principles (568–9).

The description of stagnation in district life from 1880 to 1900 (533–4) is difficult to understand. It was a period during which post office and railway traffic trebled, though fares were reduced. Irrigation was largely extended. The law for agricultural loans was improved, and acts were passed to deal with encumbered estates in Sind and to amend the tenancy laws of Oudh, Bengal, the Central Provinces, and the N.W.P. Local self-government was greatly encouraged and settlement procedure was simplified and cheapened. Education also showed a great advance.

The two chapters on the Mutiny illustrate the merits and defects of the book. Parts of the narrative of military operations are extremely well written, though marred by blunders over facts. Oudh had not been disarmed in June, 1857 (436). The garrison at Lucknow included the 32nd Foot and a company of Bengal European gunners (445). Ahmad Ullah was a *pīr* not " the capable adviser " of the ex-king (441). While no serious historian of the period has attempted to conceal the fact that reprisals by the British relieving forces were severe and sometimes brutal, this book leaves the impression that there were no murders of Europeans except in the Cawnpore massacres, and it suggests that these were not the work of rebels and were somehow due to revenge for the action of the British troops. The assertion (456) that Canning's proclamation confiscating proprietary rights prolonged resistance, is contradicted by the despatch from Stanley on behalf of the British government, which accepted the view that it had not had such an effect. The final summing up on p. 458 will amaze most people, and in fact, the judgments scattered throughout the book too frequently show a lack of balance and harmony. Thus the prevention of female infanticide is treated as if it were a smaller social and humanitarian reform than the forbidding of suttee. While Rani Jindan's action in compelling five women to commit suttee was "savagery" (370); another voluntary case is "a high-hearted act of valour" (374), and Thibaw's murder of eighty members of his family is only "a drastic method of removing possible claimants to the throne", for which there was ample precedent.

It is disappointing that a work of this elaboration should be disfigured by careless mistakes on lesser matters. A map (209) showing India in 1799 marks as British territory the areas ceded in 1801 and conquered in 1803. Another (220) shows the first large fortress taken by Lake 180 miles south-west of its true position, at a place not called Aligarh till twenty years after the campaign, and also indicates the battle near Delhi on the wrong side of the Jumna. The large map of India colours as Native States some Shan principalities in North-West Burma which are in British India. Half a dozen English names are misspelt, and several Indian names are mangled. At least five dates are misprinted or incorrect. The Begam visited by Shore at Benares (184) was the widow of Prince Jahandar Shah, not of Alamgir II. Cherry was Agent to the Governor-General at Benares, not Resident at Lucknow (185). Dig never belonged to Holkar (225). The *Emden* did not shell Madras, though it destroyed the gas-works (294). William Arnold was only twelve in 1840 when he is said to have discussed the use of Urdu (315). The Thugs never formed a caste (323). Sir John Hewett was Member for, not Director of, the Commerce and Industry Department (535). Mr. B. C. Allen happily escaped murder and was wounded at Goalundo, not at Dacca (579). If the N.W.P. had been rightly described as North-Western instead of North-West Provinces, there would be less chance of confusion with the N.W.F.P. (436 note). Mr. O'Malley's book deals with the I.C.S., not with the Police (669).

A. 238. R. BURN.

THE POETICAL PARTS IN LAO-TSÏ. By BERNHARD KARLGREN. Göteborgs Högskolas Arsskrift XXXVIII, 1932–3. 9½ × 6¾, pp. 46. Göteborg: Elanders Boktrycheri Aktiebolag, 1932.

SHIH KING RESEARCHES. By BERNHARD KARLGREN. 10½ × 7½, pp. 70. Stockholm: Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, 1932.

Students of Chinese are becoming increasingly indebted to the phonological researches of Professor Karlgren. Mr. Waley recognizes this fact in the Introduction to his book on the *Tao tê ching* (*The Way and its Power*). "Like all sinologues," he says, "I owe a great debt to Bernhard Karlgren. The study of meanings is, in China at any rate, closely associated with the study of sounds. Twenty years ago Chinese studies had reached a point at which, but for the laborious phonological researches undertaken by Karlgren, further progress, in almost every direction, was barred."

In the present articles Professor Karlgren subjects to a detailed analysis the rhymed parts of the *Tao tê ching* and a large number of the rhyme categories of the *Shih ching* (*Book of Odes*). His object is the reconstruction of the archaic (i.e. Chou era) readings of the rhyming characters, which are very numerous. The *Shih ching*, Professor Karlgren tells us, "cannot be said to be entirely disclosed to our understanding unless the archaic pronunciation of the characters is revealed, and the rimes of the poems are established in their real phonetic values."

But the *Shih ching* rhyme system was not, in Professor Karlgren's view, the only system in vogue in ancient China. He finds that in many ways the rhymes in the *Tao tê ching* are entirely outside the well-defined rules which are apparent in the *Shih ching*. To support the view that the Lao Tzŭ rhymes nevertheless represent a known system and were not peculiar to Lao Tzŭ, the author has drawn upon the rhyme material found in a number of other works of Chou, Ch'in, and Han times. In a short notice it is impossible to review his methods and reasoning. It must suffice to say that his conclusions, interesting and important, throw new light on the question of the nature of the *Shih ching* and on the history of the text of the *Tao tê ching*.

It would add considerably to the ease with which students embark upon a study of Professor Karlgren's work if the titles of books and the names of authors referred to were included (in footnotes or as an appendix, if not in the text) in the Chinese character as well as in the Romanized transcription.

834, 836. E. EDWARDS.

RÉPERTOIRE CHRONOLOGIQUE D'ÉPIGRAPHIE ARABE. Tome troisième. Publication de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale. Publié sous la direction de ÉT. COMBE, J. SAUVAGET et G. WIET. 11 × 9, pp. 223. Le Caire, Imprimerie de l'Institut Français, 1932.

This work contains the reproduction with translation of Arabic inscriptions arranged in chronological order from the year A.H. 285 to 320. They are contributed by numerous savants, among whom our countrymen, K. A. C. Cresswell and Rh. Guest, figure. The greater number come from Egypt, but there are also not a few from Syria and Mesopotamia. They include epitaphs, inscriptions on buildings, and on fabrics of different sorts (called *mobilières*). It is difficult to think of any interest which most of them can have other than palæographical, which, however, is not gratified, since the volume contains no plates. Possibly some scrap of history may here and there be gleaned.

988. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

SULTANS DE TOUGGOURT. Par Mme MAGALI-BOISNARD. 7½ × 5½, pp. xv + 132. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1933. Frs. 20.

If the history of Asiatic states is apt to be painful reading owing to the crimes of which it largely consists, that of the African states is still more harrowing. The story of the Sultanate of Touggourt is therefore, as might be expected, a record of treacherous murders and massacres; some of the most astute and successful criminals are women, but in the succession of tragedies there is little trace of Aristotle's canon that the characters should be good. The story told by Mme Magali-Boisnard takes the form of a prophecy by a lady called Bahaja la Joyeuse, foundress of New Touggourt. It deals with the fortunes of the Jellabi dynasty, and covers a period beginning at A.D. 1414 and terminating with the French occupation in 1854. The style is reminiscent of Carlyle's *French Revolution*, sometimes described as history by flashes of lightning. The gifted authoress has not made it clear to what extent her work is based on the authorities enumerated in the bibliography or depends on oral traditions collected by herself. One gathers that it is intended to be a narrative of actual events, rendered attractive by the charming style and exquisite language in which they are set forth. It is therefore to be regarded as a valuable contribution to North African history.

A. 36. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

La Espiritualidad de al-Gazel y su sentido Cristiano. Por Miguel Asin Palacios. Publicaciones de las Escuelas de estudios Arabes de Madrid y Granada. Serie A, Num. 2. Tomo I. 8 × 6. Madrid, 1934.

Professor Asin Palacios possesses in a marked degree the faculty of making his subjects interesting, and this talent has stood him in good stead in his reproduction of Ghazali's voluminous and somewhat ponderous *Revival of the Religious Sciences*, a work which holds in Islamic theology a place comparable to that of the *Summa* of Thomas Aquinas in Catholicism. The analysis, in parts approaching a translation, has been rendered lucid and even attractive chiefly by the omission of the author's citations of sayings ascribed to the Prophet and Fathers of the Islamic church, the tracing of which gave so much trouble to the compiler of the vast commentary called *Itḥāf al-Sādah*. As the title of the work implies, Professor Asin Palacios aims at tracing the influence of Christian ideas in this and other works of Ghazali, it would seem with considerable success, though at times the Christian authorities whom he cites are later than the Islamic theologian. It may, however, be doubted whether Ghazali would have been pleased with the phrase (p. 155) *Inspirandose en la tradicion de los Santos Padres y escritores ascéticos de la Iglesía oriental y occidental* applied to his procedure. The ideas are more likely to have reached him in some other way.

On p. 76 the author seems to have been misled by a misprint in the Cairene edition of *Faiṣal al-Tafriqah* (Cairo, 1319, p. 75), where a false prophet called المقفع is identified with Ibn al-Muqaffa', the famous translator of Kalilah wa-Dimnah; in the lengthy biography of this personage given by Ibn Khallikan nothing is said about his having claimed prophetic powers. Clearly we should read المقنع, "the Veiled prophet of Khurasan", who pretended to be animated by the divinity which had passed to him by transmigration (Ibn Khallikan, transl. de Slane, ii, 205).

For the rest one can only admire the patience and learning which the author has brought to bear on his task, the skill with which he has enucleated and systematized the Muslim theologian's ideas, and the success with which he has demonstrated the infiltration of Christian doctrines and institutions. Students will also be grateful for the detailed biography of Ghazali and the introductory chapters on his dogmatics and ethics, which constitute a valuable contribution to the history of Islamic speculation.

N.R. 31. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

TRIṢAṢṬIŚALĀKĀPURUṢACARITRA. Vol. I, ĀDĪŚVARACARITRA. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. 51. Translated into English by HELEN M. JOHNSON, Ph.D. 10 × 6½, pp. xx + 530, pls. 5. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1931. Rs. 15.

ṆĀYAKUMĀRACARIU OF PUṢPADANTA. An Apabhraṃśa work of the tenth century. The Devendrakirti Jain Series, Vol. I. Critically edited by HIRALAL JAIN, M.A., LL.B. 10 × 7, pp. lxiv + 210, ills. 2. Karanja, Berar: Balatkara Gana Jain Publication Society, 1933. Rs. 6.

The first of these volumes consists of the first book of Hemacandra's enormous work. This part, containing the lives of Ṛṣabha and of Bharata, the first cakravartin, is said to be almost a handbook of Jainism. As Miss Johnson's work of translation has been done in India, she has been able to collect and utilize much information on the doctrines of Jainism indispensable for a proper translation. In this eminently scholarly work her corrections of the text based upon seven MSS., extend to sixteen pages, and really constitute a new edition. There are also over a hundred pages of appendices.

Two years ago Dr. P. L. Vaidya brought out an edition of the *Jasaharacarin* of Puṣpadanta, and Mr. Hiralal Jain has now made another valuable addition to our knowledge of Western Apabhraṃśa literature in his edition of another work by Puṣpadanta. He gives a very full introduction discussing the literary relations of the poem and the social aspects, and his notes and chapters on the grammar, the metre, and the glossaries make it the most extensive and valuable work yet edited for the study of this type of literature.

729, 886. E. J. THOMAS.

SATKĀRYA in der Darstellung seiner buddhistischen Gegner. By WALTHER LIEBENTHAL. Beiträge zur indischen Sprachwissenschaft und Religionsgeschichte, Neuntes Heft. 9½ × 6½, pp. xvi + 152. Stuttgart–Berlin: W. Kohlhammer, 1934. RM. 9.60.

The fullest account in Buddhist literature of the various Indian philosophical systems is to be found in the *Tattvasaṁgraha*, a work far harder to comprehend than its simple style might suggest, for the printed text has many undetected corruptions, and the arguments are subtle and complicated and at times sophistical. The book under review contains a translation of the first section, dealing with the conception of *prakṛti* in the classical Sāṁkhya, and, though not always satisfactory in minor details, attains conspicuous success in elucidating the trend of thought, which throws more light on the Buddhist attitude to causality than on the strong and weak points of the Sāṁkhya position. The author has corrected, usually successfully, a number of small mistakes in the original with the help of the Tibetan translation, but has not provided a full comparison of the latter with the text; wisely, I should say, as it appears clear that he has neither the knowledge nor the caution necessary for such work. The former lack is shown by the blunders in notes 65 and 125 and the latter by note 225, in which it is suggested that the Tibetan's *sgrub-paḥi-phyir* for the text's °*bhāvanāt* indicates an original °*sādhanāt*, whereas it merely shows that *bhāvana* here means “ effecting ”, “ bringing about ”. I mention this minor defect, not to cavil, but because I find nowadays in the use of Tibetan translations for the correction or restoration of Sanskrit texts so much poor worksmanship as to reflect considerable discredit on Buddhist studies; great care and the most punctilious scholarship are required for producing certain results.

In the introductory part the author discusses with much learning the development of the *satkārya* doctrine and succeeds in my opinion in proving the important point that it was unknown to Nāgārjuna and was possibly first propounded by Iśvarakṛṣṇa. His other results I would regard with much reserve, as being hardly consistent with what is to be inferred about the real nature of early Sāṁkhya from the descriptions in the *Mahābhārata* and elsewhere.

A. 162. E. H. JOHNSTON.

EL CANCIONERO DE ABEN GUZMAN (IBN QUZMĀN). By A. R. NYKL. 9 × 6, pp. lii + 14 + 465. Madrid: Estanislao Maestre, 1933. Ps. 30.

It would be hard to find a proposition that has endured more vicissitudes than the theory that the popular ballads of medieval Spain exercised a dominating influence on Provençal poets. Professor Nykl has set himself the task of providing a clear statement of the evidence by giving a transliteration of Ibn Quzmān's *Diwan*. Romance scholars can now see for themselves the form and structure of the Arabic verse. Nykl's work is therefore a valuable supplement to Ribera's *Cancionero*, though it must not be supposed that it cannot stand on its own merits. In his edition of the text in Roman characters the editor has had to supply a good many vowels, by analogy, by reference to Pedro of Alcala, and by conjecture. The result may be illustrated from No. lxii:—

Al-ǧanna lau ‘atānī hiya ’r-rāḥ
Wa ‘išqa ’l-milāḥ.

Nazalna li-'l-mazāḥ*i* wa al ḫiḏlān,
Tāra ma‘ an-nisā wā tāra (ma‘a) ṣ-ṣibyān;
Wa dārat aš-šureybah wa kān ma kān!
Ḫallūni min an-naṣīḥ, yā nuṣṣāḥ,
Fasādī ṣalāḥ!

Many of the *zajals* are entertaining—not all are *virginibus puerisque*, as the example just given might suggest. Professor Nykl appends a translation of most of the poems and writes a valuable introduction.

The book is likely to remain indispensable to those who desire to study the relation of Spanish Arabic poetry to the songs of the troubadours.

921. A. GUILLAUME.

LES FORMATIONS NOMINALES ET VERBALES EN P DU SANSKRIT. Par BATAKRISHNA GHOSH. 10 × 6½, pp. 114. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1933. Frs. 25.

Dr. Ghosh, on the suggestion of Professor Wüst, undertook the study of the words with suffixal *-p* in Sanskrit, from which it was impossible to separate the problem of the verbal formations in *-paya-*, *-āpaya-*. The existence of a suffix *-pa* in Sanskrit cannot be doubted, as the author has shown by the examination of *puṣpa-*, *dhūpa-*, *stūpa-*, with the less certain *alpa-* (here connected with *aṇu-*), *yūpa-*, *talpa-*, *rūpa-*, *śaṣpa-*, *śilpa-*. Quite uncertain words are also noted, but they have naturally no value in default of certain etymologies. Outside of Sanskrit, traces of suffixal *-p* in nominal forms are very uncertain. In regard to the verbal forms *-paya*, the author has made it probable, by a re-examination of the sources, that the *-p-* is an enlargement of the verbal root, which made the meaning more definite, but did not itself comport a causative sense. It was hence similar in function to the suffix *-aya-*. Two Iranian references may be noticed: page 27 Av. *urūpaya-* is still disputed, and the connection with Sanskrit *rupyati*, rather than *rūpa-*, must be borne in mind;

page 107, N. Pers. *bi* is the *bē*, Av. *bōiṯ*, with *b*-. The study has defined the problem clearly and advanced the interpretation of the words discussed.

A. 86. H. W. BAILEY.

CONTES, LÉGENDES ET ÉPOPÉES POPULAIRES D'ARMÉNIE. ii. Légendes. Traduits ou adaptés de l'arménien. Par FRÉDÉRIC MACLER. Les Joyaux de l'Orient, Tome XIV. 7½ × 5¾, pp. 233. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste: Geuthner, 1933.

Professor Macler has selected for translation into French seven interesting and striking tales of Armenian folklore. Six were published in Moscow, 1901, by S. Hakouni, the seventh, the tale of Paravachountch (Parauašounč̣) was published by Njdehian (Nždehean) in Tiflis, 1902. They were composed in various Armenian dialects. Like popular tales in general there are anachronisms (a king who worships the Cross lives in the time of Sinak'erim), marvels, and naïve daily life. The tales give some glimpse of the life and customs of the Kurds and Armenians, the whole being of interest. The love story of Khalantar is noteworthy for its form, for here songs are interspersed amid the prose.

A. 119. H. W. BAILEY.

STUDIES IN CŌLA HISTORY AND ADMINISTRATION. Madras University Historical Series, No. 7. By K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI. 9½ × 6½, pp. vii + 210, pls. 4. Madras: University of Madras, 1932. Sh. 6.

This volume contains seven essays by the Professor of Indian History in the University of Madras, dealing with various problems of South Indian history. The first is a critical estimate of the historical value of the colophons in the Tamil anthology *Puṛanān̤ūṛu* and the second, based to some extent on the first, is a study of the sources for our knowledge of the early Chola king Karikāla, for whose early date a clear case is made. The next three essays deal with rural administration and village life in the ninth century and throw much new light on the working of the village *sabhā*. The Uttaramērūr descriptions are discussed in great detail and a revised text and translation given. The last essay is a sketch of the career of Naralokavīra, the general and feudatory of Kulottuṅga and Vikrama Chola. Professor Nilakanta Sastri has once again given us a valuable contribution to the history of South India.

756. J. ALLAN.

ORISSA UNDER THE BHAUMA KINGS. By PANDIT BINAYAK MISRA. 9½ × 6¼, pp. ii + 98. Calcutta: Vishwamitra Press, 1934. Rs. 3.

This book gives the chronology of the Bhauma dynasty, which ruled in Orissa from A.D. 660 to 794, and whose kingdom was known as Toṣalī or Toṣalā. The existence of this kingdom was not known twenty years ago, and has been brought to light by the inscriptions on Copper Plate Grants which have been discovered since then, and which have been published by the author at different times in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*. The book contains Plates of the Grants; and their Sanskrit texts and translations are republished and discussed.

Incidentally, the orthography of certain Sanskrit words in the Grants is of interest, as showing that the Oriya pronunciation of the vowel *ṛi* as *ṛu* is of more recent origin, and is probably due to Dravidian influence of later time, and other phonetic differences.

The book gives the author's previous researches on this subject in a convenient collected form.

A. 186. E. H. C. WALSH.

TRIṀŚIKĀVIJÑAPTI DES VASUBANDHU MIT BHĀṢYA DES ĀCĀRYA STHIRAMATI: übersetzt von HERMANN JACOBI. Beiträge zum indischen Sprachwissenschaft u. Religionsgeschichte, Heft 7. 9½ × 6½, pp. vi + 64. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1932.

To assess with justice and precision the value of this translation is unexpectedly difficult, given the eminence of the translator as a scholar and his unequalled reputation for the perfection of form by which his work was always distinguished. Vasubandhu's *Triṁśikā* is one of our most important sources for the Vijñānavāda and among the many great discoveries for which Orientalists have to thank Professor Lévi was that of the Sanskrit text with the commentary of Sthiramati. The latter is far from easy to understand, because it assumes in the reader a knowledge of the system to which few would lay claim in these times, and its correct interpretation depends on comparison with parallel texts. To the pure Sanskritist few such are available, but at least those of us, who cannot make use of the Chinese and Tibetan literature, are fortunate enough to have received in recent years two great translations, which illumine many parts of the field. In the *Abhidharmakośa* are to be found explanations of the terms and ideas which the Vijñānavādins took over from the Sarvāstivādins, while in the *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* we have Hiuan Tsang's commentary on this very work of Vasubandhu's, which, as a digest of the many previous commentaries, paraphrases much of Sthiramati's *bhāṣya*; where it omits to deal with his explanations it usually enables us to see what he has in view, and thus facilitates understanding. We have also an excellent summary of Yogācāra teaching published by Masuda in 1926, and these three should all have been drawn on for this translation, though a version made now would have to reckon with several important works that have appeared since.

Instead, however, of using the literature at hand that was most to the point, Professor Jacobi relied on two works by Professor Stcherbatsky, which, admirable as they are, do not give the help required. The consequence, natural but unfortunate, is that a number of passages, dealing mostly with dogmatic points, have been misunderstood, and that inevitably therefore a translation, which would have been considered remarkable in 1926, is no longer adequate and fails to explain the details, without a grasp of which Sthiramati's views are hardly intelligible. Undoubtedly in such conditions any other translator would have gone wrong far more frequently, yet it is much to be regretted that Dr. Ruben, who is apparently responsible for the publication and knew of the existence of the *Siddhi*, should not have examined the latter carefully; that he had not even looked at it appears from the misdescription of it in his preface. His omission redounds to our loss; for the philosophy of the *Triṁśikā* was drowned by Hiuan Tsang in a flood of scholastic argumentation, and no one was so well fitted as Professor Jacobi to set it in its proper relation to the thought of the time.

If we do not, however, find here all that we might have hoped for, anything that so great a scholar wrote must be of value to Sanskritists. Technically it is, for instance, of much interest as demonstrating the feasibility of translating a philosophical treatise from the Sanskrit both intelligibly and literally, and it challenges comparison with Professor Stcherbatsky's latest work, in which he has brought the alternative method of paraphrase to a high state of perfection. The difficulty of a literal version lies in finding adequate equivalents for the various terms and here the problem has usually been solved with success, except that objection might be taken to the indiscriminate use of "Vorspiegelung" not only for the various compounds of *°bhāsa*, each of which, when properly employed, connotes something different and should be rendered differently, but also at times for *vikalpa* and *vijñapti*. Personally I have found that, if an eye is kept on the corresponding passages of the *Siddhi*, this translation is of very real assistance to comprehension of the original.

879. E. H. JOHNSTON.

SAHITYA-RATNAKARA. Edited by T. R. CHINTAMANI. 10×6½, pp. xxii + 126. Madras: Printed at the Diocesan Press, Vepery, 1932.

THE SAMKHYA KARIKA, STUDIED IN THE LIGHT OF THE CHINESE VERSION. By M. TAKAKUSU. Rendered from the French into English by S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI. Bulletin of the Dept. of Indian Philosophy, No. 1. 10 × 6½, pp. iv + 85. Madras: Diocesan Press, Vepery, 1933.

The *Sāhitya-ratnākara* is described by the editor as a historical poem. This aspect is more clearly seen from its alternative title, *Raghunāthabhūpavijaya.* Raghunātha was king of Tanjore in the seventeenth century, and the poem presents several interesting questions—its relation to the actual history of the time, its style as a mahākāvya, the author's relation to earlier poets, especially Kālidāsa, and the light that it throws on the development of *alaṃkāra* in South India. But beyond a notice of the author and an analysis of the narrative all that the editor gives us is the bare text.

Mr. Sastri has translated the work of Dr. Takakusu which appeared in the *Bulletin de l'École française d' Extrême-Orient* in 1904, omitting the introduction and those notes which refer only to the Chinese text. It is a rendering of Dr. Takakusu's French version of a commentary in Chinese by Paramārtha, and should be very useful to Indian scholars who are now studying the question of the Sanskrit original. It is interesting to note that Mr. T. R. Chintamani is retranslating it into Sanskrit. The translation of the French is rightly made very literal, and is generally sound, but " innately endowed with qualities " is not a fair reproduction of " doué des qualités innées ".

999, A. 1. E. J. THOMAS.

INTRODUCTION À L'HISTOIRE DE LA MONNAIE ET HISTOIRE MONÉTAIRE DE LA PERSE DES ORIGINES À LA FIN DE LA PÉRIODE PARTHE. By GHOLAM-REZA KIAN. 10 × 6½, pp. 251, figs. 10. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1934. Frs. 60.

The first part of this work deals with the origins of money from the early barter stage down through the later period of metallic currency to the appearance of coinage properly speaking. Some account is also given of the Babylonian contribution to the history of weights and measures. The second part particularizes the coinage of ancient Persia as far as the end of the Parthian dynasty. There is nothing original in the author's fairly readable account of the subject. He has made use of the standard authorities. But as a Doctor of the University of Paris one would expect a closer attention to one of the fundamentals of research work, accuracy in the matter of references. The bibliography is tragic. Page 246, for example, is a mass of errors. One rather suspects the author's scholastic equipment when Nützel's Berlin catalogue of the oriental coins in the Königliche Museen is referred to as the work of Ester (*sic*) Band and Zweiter Band as well as of Koniglich (*sic*). And it is distressing to find Gholam-Reza Kian making reference (p. 238) to Firdausī's Ghah-Nameh (*sic*).

A. 284. J. WALKER.

LES SIKHS, ORIGINE ET DÉVELOPPEMENT DE LA COMMUNAUTÉ JUSQU'À NOS JOURS (1469–1930). Par LAJWANTI RAMA KRISHNA. 10 × 6½, pp. 352 + xlii, map 1. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1933.

Without professing to be based on original documents, this work presents in a very readable form the history of the Sikhs as available in published works both in Oriental languages and in English. The story of the origin and development of the religion is especially well told; the author has successfully avoided the extreme attitudes represented by Trumpp and by Macauliffe respectively; and she has shown originality in her vivid defence of the much-calumniated Banda Bairiagi. There are, unfortunately, a number of misprints in the book and one or two errors of fact, and the writer in her later pages has left the paths of history for those of politics; but the work, as a whole, gives a sympathetic picture of a fine people, in whom the attributes of saintliness and stubbornness have been so strangely intermixed.

A. 298. E. D. MACLAGAN.

INTRODUCTION À AVICENNE. Son épître des Définitions. Traduction avec notes. Par A.-M. GOICHON. Préface de MIGUEL ASÍN PALACIOS. 8 × 5, pp. xxxvii + 211. Paris: Desclés, de Brouwer et Cie, 1933.

Here is a book that all students of Arabian philosophy will welcome with enthusiasm. As Professor Asin points out in an admirable preface to Mlle Goichon's work, there is no satisfactory dictionary of the terms used in Arabian philosophy. Freytag and Dozy did not attempt to explain them for good and adequate reasons, and scholars have had to fall back on Khwārizmī's *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*, Jurjānī's *Ta'rīfāt*, and Sprenger's *Dictionary of the Technical Terms Used in the Sciences of the Musulmans*. All these fail at the critical point: they do not tell one what writer uses the word in question or even in most cases the school to which he belonged.

Mlle. Goichon has made a critical study of Avicenna's *Ḥudūd*, a work in which he defined the unknown more often than not by the more unknown, for the definition condenses the theory which the word is coined to express. Mlle Goichon's analysis of the thought and language of Avicenna is acute and satisfying. Henceforth students of Arabian philosophy can begin with a year's start of their predecessors. She interprets Avicenna by his own writings, citing the *Najāt*, *Manṭiq*, *Ishārāt*, and others (but rarely the *Shifā'*, perhaps the most obscure of Avicenna's works).

I am whole-heartedly in agreement with Professor Asin that this commentary is a model of critical and historical investigation which will help to put Avicenna in the place that is rightly his in the history of philosophy.

A. 76. ALFRED GUILLAUME.

PERSIAN MEDICINE. By C. ELGOOD, late Physician to the British Legation in Persia. Clio Medica. 6½ × 4½, pp. x + 105, ills. 11. New York: Paul B. Hoeber, 1934. $1·50.

This volume is one of a series of pocket-primers on the History of Medicine.

" In our treatment of disease," writes Dr. Elgood, " we are now standing beside Persian clinicians of old, who preserved to the world the great Hippocratic doctrines whose fundamental truths the modern scientific world is again acknowledging. To Persian pharmacologists must be ascribed the introduction of croton oil, nux vomica, rhubarb, and senna. In our refusal to accept the mechanistic view of physiology and disease we stand upon the same ground as Rhazes. Our language, more accurate than our beliefs, has preserved the phrases employed by our ancestors, trained at the feet of Persians. In our modern treatment of disease many medieval Persian methods are being revived as new discoveries . . ." " Yet," he adds, " Persians in matters scientific have been torch-bearers rather than torch-lighters."

Dr. Elgood quotes a passage from the Shah Namah of Firdausi, whose millenary was celebrated in Persia this year, describing a case of obstructed labour in which delivery was successfully effected by Cæsarian section under an anæsthetic. He shows that experiments were made in medieval times on animals, with a view to testing the efficacy of antidotes to snake-bite, mentions that syphilis was the subject of treatises in the sixteenth century, and quotes Aristotle's suggestion that Alexander's death was due to a " poison-damsel ", though the meaning of the phrase is obscure.

A quotation from the Avesta has a modern ring about it :—

"If one heals with the knife, another with herbs, and a third with the holy word, it is this last one who will best drive away sickness from the body of the faithful."

The author suggests (page 21) that the use of cow's urine as a detergent for wool has a magical origin. This seems unlikely : the urine of other animals is often used, and the object is wholly practical : wool not treated with some such mordant will not take the dye. He quotes a traditional saying of the prophet Muhamad : "The best food is bread, and the second best meat. Nothing can replace milk both as a food and as a drink." This is still true in Arabia and Persia, where unleavened wholemeal bread is used ; Mrs. Mellanby has shown that it is no longer applicable to the products of the modern flour mill. The modern miller describes as offal and sells at a high price the vital constituents of the wheat which have been removed from the flour from which the bread for most of us is made.

It is suggested (page 76) that cholera is mentioned and was dreaded by ancient writers. The reviewer knows of no reference to it in the early literature of any country previous to the nineteenth century, except for a single and dubious reference to cholera morbus in Fryer (1698). The disease first became epidemic in Bengal in 1817 (see *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed., sub voce Cholera) ; it has never been endemic in Persia.

The book concludes with an interesting and optimistic reference to the beneficent activities both of the missionary and governmental hospitals in Persia under its present ruler, and the development under French influence of the School of Medicine at Tehran founded by the true creator of modern Persia—Nasr ud Din Shah. The transition from ancient to modern thought, however, has not been abrupt. Foreign professors headed by a Dutchman, Dr. Schlimmer, adapted the scientific terms of Avicenna to the needs of modern medical phraseology, though Persian participation from the outset, in all International Sanitary Conventions, did much to mitigate the geographical effects of isolation.

The bibliography is adequate but does not discriminate between primary and secondary sources, and omits the great *Encyclopædia of Islam*, which includes contributions of unique value.

A. 290. ARNOLD WILSON.

INDIAN PSYCHOLOGY; PERCEPTION. By JADUNATH SINHA. 9 × 6, pp. xiv + 384. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1934. 15*s*.

We owe a substantial debt to Sir Brajendranath Seal for suggesting, and to Professor Jadunath Sinha for carrying out, a detailed survey of Indian views on psychology, the first volume of which deals with perception. The author does not attempt a historical survey of the emergence of psychological problems, but aims at a systematic exposition and interpretation of the most fundamental questions affecting perception in their logical development. He assumes a general knowledge of the history of Indian philosophy, and recognizes that in Indian thought psychology is essentially based on metaphysics. As a convenient and accurate record of the views of the well-known schools on a large number of topics, including such important matters as perception of space and movement, time, the universal, cognition, and the self, the book will be very useful and save much labour to students. Comparison with Western psychology is, as the author asserts, inevitable, and in the main his use of this help to exposition is unexceptionable. There are few errors, though occasionally a statement made in one place is elsewhere necessarily qualified, as when the assertion that Kaṇāda is a conceptualist (p. 164) is duly modified by recognition that he admits that universality (*sāmānya*) has a real existence in the form of common qualities in individual objects (p. 181). The transcription is rather too often at fault, and so full a book should have had a more elaborate index.

A. 123. A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGION IN VEDIC LITERATURE. By P. S. DESHMUKH. 9 × 6, pp. xvi + 378. London: Oxford University Press, 1933. 22*s*. 6*d*.

Though this work, originally written as a Ph.D. thesis at Oxford, has been long delayed in appearance through the pressure of official and other duties on the author, who has been Minister of Education in the Central Provinces since 1930, its main theses are not such as to be substantially affected by the passage of time. Dr. Deshmukh contends effectively from the evidence of Vedic literature against such views as that the Vedic worship of nature was based on animism (pp. 118 ff.) or that Vedic prayer and sacrifice were developed from magic (pp. 130 ff.). Nor is it likely that in the present state of our knowledge of the Hittites or of the civilization revealed in the Indus valley, the author would have desired to alter much either in his investigation of the Indo-Europeans or the Indo-Iranians; we are far from the time when assured conclusions on these topics are attainable, and the author gives much interesting matter clearly expressed. As was to be expected from a pupil of Professor Macdonell, his exposition of Vedic religion in part iii is sound and interesting, if it does not claim originality. A slighter sketch of Brahmanism concludes the work, which should prove very valuable as an introduction to a study of the problems of Vedic religion. As seems inevitable in books printed in India, there are many errors in transcription.

A. 185. A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

PHILOSOPHY OF HINDU SĀDHANĀ. By NALINI KANTA BRAHMA. 8¾ × 5¾, pp. xvi + 333. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., no date [1932]. 12*s*. 6*d*.

There was ample room for a book on the principles underlying the various methods which have been taught by Indian philosophical writers for the attainment of *mokṣa*, and the gap is adequately filled by Dr. Brahma, so far as relates to

Hindu thought from the period of Śaṁkara onwards. He writes from the standpoint of a convinced, but not uncritical, believer in the *advaita* school of Vedānta, and his analysis of the general attitude adopted by Hindu philosophy to the problem in issue and of the solutions propounded by the Vedāntins and by the *bhakti* schools deserves the serious attention of scholars. The weakness of the book is to be found in the author's inability to grasp the historical evolution of ideas in India from the primitive conceptions of the early literature to the complex systems of the last thousand years; it may even be that he does not believe in the existence of any such development. It was unfortunate, then, that the scheme of his work should have been held to absolve him from serious study of Buddhist literature, the accessible portions of which cover the vital centuries of growth in a fashion sufficiently detailed to throw much light on the genesis of Hindu ideas, more especially so in the case of Gauḍapāda and Śaṁkara. Dr. Brahma's book, it may be hoped, will lead some other scholar to tackle this difficult but enthralling problem in the history of philosophy on the lines followed here for the later period.

A. 219. E. H. JOHNSTON.

LA TECHNIQUE DES FOUILLES ARCHÉOLOGIQUES: Les Principes Généraux. Par Comte du MESNIL DU BUISSON. 10 × 6½, pp. 256, pls. viii. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1934. Frs. 60.

This is a book of some 250 pages giving very numerous details of the practical work necessary on an excavation by one who has carried on diggings himself in Syria. Each excavator has his own methods, but the general principles are the same and each year sees improvements, and for the most part the advice of the Comte du Mesnil du Buisson will be found of use, but in some details archæologists will certainly differ from him. When he says (p. 57), for instance, that fresh vegetables are not very abundant in the East, those who have excavated near towns on a river will not agree. It is doubtful if it is advisable to force the use (p. 59) of European tools on villagers, who will work better with the hoes and pickaxes which they and their forefathers have long understood. Also I myself, for one, should not like to put myself into the hands of the local mayor so far as to let him choose my overseers (p. 62), and it seems a little unnecessary to assemble the diggers by a trumpet or klaxon (p. 63). It was, at first sight, horrifying to see a picture of a crane with massive jaws at work, but this is suggested only for earth in which it is certain there are no antiquities.

But the old hand will pick up or be reminded of many wrinkles from the book, and if it is read judiciously by the junior members of a dig they will see where lie the problems which face every digger.

A. 258. R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON.

DENKMĀLER PALĀSTINAS. Eine Einführung in die Archäologie des Heiligen Landes. I. Von den Anfängen bis zum Ende der israelitischen Königszeit. Von CARL WATZINGER. 9½ × 6½, pp. viii + 117, pls. 40, figs. 10. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1933.

One of the most serious problems which confront modern scientific students lies in the difficulty they meet in transmitting their conclusions to the general public. Every branch to-day is highly specialized, and there are comparatively few scholars who can claim real competence in more than one. Still less is it possible for the ordinary reader to appreciate the details of any particular department of scientific research. At the same time the task of laying the actual facts before the lay mind is beset with pitfalls. On the one hand a learned writer may introduce a mass of technicalities and details, which are quite simple to him, but confusing to the ordinary reader; on the other hand, he may give so few illustrations that his statements are neither intelligible nor convincing.

In a subject like archæology—one of the youngest sciences—where experts often differ widely, he may present different views without giving a clear lead as to the more probable, or he may state dogmatically, as assured results, opinions on which certainty is yet far distant.

In Professor Watzinger's book we have a piece of popularization which can serve as a model for all such work. Written simply and clearly, occasionally suggesting that the author has the eye of an artist and the soul of a poet, it supplies us with just enough detail to assure us that the conclusions stated are adequately grounded, and, at the same time, avoids the opposite danger. It is true that discoveries in Palestine are succeeding one another so rapidly that any book is, to a certain extent, out of date before its proofs can be corrected. Watzinger has been unable to use the interesting and important discoveries at Tell Duweir, but this is inevitable and cannot be regarded as a blemish. As an additional virtue it may be noted that the author makes no attempt to pass beyond the limits of his *Fach*. Archæologists are often prone to forget that they may not be as expert in philology and other branches of study as they are in their own special subject.

This volume is to be succeeded by another, which will carry the record down to the end of the ancient period, and will contain the index to the whole (the latter is a very welcome announcement). After his introduction Professor Watzinger has only four chapters—primitive times, the Canaanite age, the period of migration and warfare, and that of the Hebrew monarchies. Of these the second is the longest, roughly covering the Bronze Age (the term *bronze* is still employed, though in Palestine the actual metal was usually copper), and the third is the shortest.

All the important elements in archæological discovery are discussed—pottery, civil, domestic, and religious architecture, funerary customs, etc.—and the sequence is brought clearly before us. At almost every point we are reminded that, while Palestine produced no original type of art, the country, mainly under Phœnician influence, exhibits a most interesting combination of styles, derived from many sources. Here Professor Watzinger's wide knowledge of general archæology has stood him in good stead, and he is often able to adduce parallels from widely separated areas of culture. He brings out (perhaps unintentionally) the fact that the influence of Egypt was very slight compared with that exerted by Mesopotamia, the Aegean, and the North—possibly he might have allowed for a rather larger Egyptian element in Phœnician culture. Certainly the actual Egyptian remains are all to be explained as relics of military garrisons and government offices; there is little that suggests any real impression on the minds and habits of the people.

Occasionally we meet with suggestions which will be new to many readers; one instance must suffice. The description of Solomon's Temple leaves us with several difficult problems, among them the question of the height of the roof over the Holy of Holies. The inside height of the main building was 30 cubits; that of the *debir* only 20. Was the roof over this end lower than elsewhere, or was there a vacant space of about 10 cubits here between ceiling and roof? Watzinger suggests that the *floor* of the *debir* was 5 cubits above the general level, and that it was approached by a flight of steps from the Holy Place. This still leaves a vacancy of 5 cubits above, but for this parallels are adduced. It is characteristic of the book that no suggestion is made as to the means whereby the upper side-chambers were reached, and that there is no speculation on the original significance and purpose of the pillars Jachin and Boaz.

The book, however, is not intended to be an original contribution to Biblical archæology. Its purpose, once more, is to help the lay reader to appreciate the results of excavation, and from that point of view Professor Watzinger has achieved an unqualified success.

A. 236. T. H. Robinson.

Ohel Dawid. Descriptive Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan MSS. in the Sassoon Library. By David S. Sassoon. 11 × 7½. Vol. I, pp. lxiii + 566 (1–566), facs. 73. Vol. II, pp. 546 (567–1112) + 276. London: Oxford University Press. 25 guineas.

In two sumptuous volumes Mr. D. S. Sassoon describes the MSS. in his possession. It is one of the finest private collections. The owner has been assiduously collecting for years, nor did he hesitate to travel to various parts of Asia and Africa in order to obtain the treasures he has now accumulated in his house. Every branch of Jewish literature is here admirably represented.

To begin with he has one of the finest collections of Bible MSS., among them the unique copy of the Shem Tob Bible. Then the illuminated Farḥi Bible, and above all a Bible which vies in antiquity with the oldest MSS. in the British Museum, and also a scroll of the Pentateuch of which no duplicate is known. Very rich is the collection in MSS. of the Agada and Halaka. Not a few problems of literary import have been solved by the discovery of some very ancient MSS., such as in the case of the work ascribed to Rabbi Ahai, of which Mr. Sassoon has discovered probably the oldest Yemenite MS., this Aramaic version proves that the work had a Babylonian source.

Besides some very important ancient fragments of the Talmud the author has gathered into his collection some of the most important MSS. of medieval commentators and legislators. It is in this section that Mr. Sassoon has not only gone into minute details, but has taken the trouble of comparing his MSS. with some of the existing printed editions, an extraordinarily painstaking piece of work and of the greatest importance for a future critical edition.

The poetic section, consisting of liturgical as well as other works, contains no less than 10,000 poems. His knowledge of Arabic aided him to recover the original of Moses Aben Ezra's work and a number of medical writings. No less than twenty-two different rites are represented by MSS., some very ancient, some of a later date. Finally there is an excellent collection of Samaritan MSS., ancient Bible fragments, and some very old MSS. in Arabic as well as Samaritan. Copious indices assist the student, among them the headings of the 10,000 poems, names of writers, names of authors, names of copyists, names of owners, geographical names, and what is quite a special feature of this catalogue, the names of all the persons mentioned among the writings of this huge collection. Its value cannot be over-estimated, as it contains no less than 1,153 volumes. The author has added 73 facsimiles reproducing some of the finest specimens of Hebrew caligraphy and some pages from the most important MSS. The catalogue will prove an inexhaustible mine of information for the student of Hebrew literature. It is, moreover, beautifully printed by the Oxford University Press and a pleasure to the eye.

N.R. 18. M. GASTER.

OUTLINES OF BUDDHISM (A Historical Sketch). By Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS. 7½ × 5, pp. 117. London: Methuen & Co., 1934. 5*s*.

In this handy little volume Mrs. Rhys Davids has undertaken a very difficult task: to present to the general reader the result of many years' textual criticism, aiming at historical reconstruction on a very fragmentary and shattered original historical tradition. She deserves credit for bringing out some points which should be heeded by every worker in this field who tries to write a history of Buddhism.

The book stands on its own basis, and in that lies its merit. As the author says (p. 111): "This little book will not serve as a summary of what books about Buddhism by other writers contain." Her main criterion in arranging the historical sequence of events on the ground of their expression in language is the posteriority of formular phrases which up to now have by most writers been accorded a priority position.

She criticizes these formulas (p. 113) as " decadent elaborations built over and burying the original teaching by a church grown wholly monastic ".

She justifies her little book with a truly inspired conclusion which marks her fundamental attitude towards Buddhism, ideal and historical: " The real Helper, the man whose inspiration comes from inspired messengers, brings to man a new More than he has as yet seen or willed, a new Better in which to become, a new glory in the Beyond " (p. 114).

Briefly summarized the *Outlines* deal with the need of Buddhism in India, the achievement of Buddhism, the life of the Founder, the main ideas, the first teachers, and the missionary activity of Buddhism, Emphasis is everywhere laid on the origins and the central ideas. The author tries to show that and in what way there was a true historical need for the rise of Buddhism, in other words, the insufficiency of Brahmanic faith. She points out that the Way to the Goal is neglected in the Upanishads, the question requiring an answer being: " How is the Potential (the Ideal) to be made actual ? "

The reconstruction of any ancient document is done by interpretation of its material. The more refined (recondite, abstract) the latter is, the more difficult and unsafe the interpretation becomes. In the case of literary documents this material is language, and when it is a philosophic language, nearly the whole of the reconstructing process consists in semantic discussion which tries the impossible, viz. to square (sensory) etymology with the actual (imagery) content of the foreign word, and further with the meaning of our plain English word. Attempts of this kind become too argumentative and finicky for ordinary folk because of technicalities. This is not the writer's fault. In this " occult " process it is unavoidable to stickle over terms, and thus the task of reconstruction is hopeless and nearly always thankless.

Many of the writer's contentions will find the approval of the experts; so, e.g., what she says about Buddhism as a missionary religion. In the last chapter she discusses at some length the question of the Councils, with a short description of the relation between Mahāyana and Hīnayāna.

The book makes stimulating and inspiring reading.

A. 169. W. STEDE.

THE HINDU CONCEPTION OF THE DEITY AS CULMINATING IN RAMANUJA. By BHARATAN KUMARAPPA. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, pp. xv + 356. London: Luzac & Co., 1934. 12*s*. 6*d*.

This careful study of Hindu religious writings, by Dr. Kumarappa, formerly Professor of Philosophy in Madras, includes a foreword by Dr. Barnett, of the London School of Oriental Studies, who points out that while certain schools of Hindu religious thought have taught an uncompromising monism, others teach that the Absolute One, as Supreme Being, includes within itself divine qualities and creates a world of manifold experience which in essence is real. In these pages the doctrine of Rāmānuja, who held such views, is discussed.

The author deals first with the earlier conceptions of the Deity as found in the Upaniṣads, where Brahman is regarded as a conscious principle, but not devoid of qualities, as the soul of the universe, to be found also in the embodied individual. Passing on to the Bhagavadgītā, he finds the view that the world is a conditional aspect of the Divine Being, which brings all souls into existence, pervades them, governs them, and withdraws them into itself. In the Purāṇic writings Deity is conceived of as both transcendent and immanent, and later still the ideas of salvation and devotion become prominent.

All these ideas were inherited by Rāmānuja, who lived and taught in the eleventh century, and of his views on the nature of Deity and the relation of Deity to the universe and the finite self, Dr. Kumarappa gives a detailed account, coming to the conclusion that Brahman, in Rāmānuja's view, is not mere Thought but highest Self, characterized by every perfection, and above all, by love. The world and all it contains are real and completely dependent on Brahman, being indeed His attributes or modes in that, though distinct, they can have no existence apart from that Ultimate Cause. Matter exists only for the sake of souls, in order that pleasure and pain may be assigned to them, in accordance with their deeds, so that, out of the Divine Grace, they may at last be perfected in their devotion to the Absolute One, and being released from the bondage of *karman*, may enter into eternal fellowship with Him.

It is the conception of the mystics, the world over, of Being as One, the human soul partaking in its nature of the Divine, but suffering from imperfection due to its own actions, being led by the way of purgation to the unitive life in God, and we feel that the conclusion, as stated by the author, is not altogether uninfluenced by the Christian conception of Deity.

Dr. Kumarappa's work is to be welcomed as giving a thoroughly philosophic account of a school of Hindu thought not sufficiently known in the West. He includes a bibliography consisting, to a considerable extent, of European works and translations, and an index which errs in the direction of being too detailed for easy reference (e.g. two and a half pages are given to subheadings under the title of Brahman), but otherwise the book is well produced, and forms a valuable contribution to the history of religious thought.

A. 254. MARGARET SMITH.

MANICHÄISCHE DOGMATIK AUS CHINESISCHEN UND IRANISCHEN TEXTEN. By Dr. ERNST WALDSCHMIDT and Dr. WOLFGANG LENTZ. (Extract from the Sitzungberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 1933, XIII.) 7½ × 10½, pp. 130, pls. 2. Berlin: Verlag der Akademie: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1933. RM. 10.

This important paper is built round one comparatively short Chinese text, a Manichæan hymn contained in the Chinese Manichæan hymn-book in the British Museum (B.M. MS. S. 2659)—from which the authors published considerable extracts in their paper "Die Stellung Jesu in Manichäismus"—and a few brief Iranian texts (in Soghdian and both dialects of Pehlevi) of identical or parallel contents. By far the greater part of the paper consists of commentary on these texts. It does not therefore profess to be more than a "source-book"; further works are promised on the general nature of Manichæism, as it must be reformulated in the light of this new material, and on the new philological material contained in the Iranian texts.

There can be no doubt of the importance of the texts published. Obscure though the subject of Manichæism still is, they cast a good deal of new light on it; but our sympathy must go out to all students of the subject, since it now appears that any student who wishes to read all the authorities on Manichæism in the original must acquaint himself not only with the Classical languages and Syriac, Mani's mother tongue, but also with Coptic, Chinese, and three Iranian dialects, quite apart from the European languages in which modern authorities have written.

Admirable though this work is, there is one feature of it which is likely to meet with a good deal of criticism, the practice of using the Hebrew alphabet to transliterate the Iranian texts. This is a complication which we might well have been spared; the leading works on Soghdian and Pehlevi (other than those of Dr. Lentz) all employ Latin characters for the transliteration of these texts and this practice is manifestly more convenient, both for the compositor and for the reader, and reduces the cost of printing which must inevitably be heavy.

969. G. L. M. Clauson.

Türkische Turfantexte in verbindung mit Dr. A. von Gabain und Dr. G. R. Rachmati herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. W. Bang. VI. Das Buddhistische Sūtra Säkiz Yükmäk. (Extract from the Sitzungberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 1934, X.) 10½ × 7½, pp. 102, pls. 1. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1934. RM. 7.50.

Turcologists are now familiar with the admirable series of papers published under the title of *Türkische Turfantexte*; the present is the largest and most important paper which has yet appeared. In the present instance, unlike the texts previously published, the text rests not on a single manuscript but on an almost embarrassingly large number, none of them quite complete, of which the British Museum roll (B.M. 8212 (104)) is the largest and most nearly complete. In addition to the Turkish text itself, which is accompanied by a translation and admirable notes, the authors have included the text of the original Chinese *sūtra* from which almost certainly the Turkish translation was made. The parallel Mongol and Tibetan texts are not included, but there are frequent quotations from them in the notes.

The mass of manuscript material indicates that this, so to speak, "apocryphal" *sūtra* (for the editors give almost overwhelming reasons for supposing that the putative Sanskrit original never existed and that the original composition was in Chinese) was one of the most popular Buddhist works in Chinese Turkestan in its most flourishing period. It is in fact a sort of compendium of popular Buddhism, and contains a useful *dhāraṇi* or magic charm guaranteed to prove efficacious in all ordinary emergencies. To students of Buddhism, therefore, both Chinese and Central Asian, the work will be of considerable interest, but it will be, perhaps, even more interesting to students of the Turkish language, who will find here a wealth of vocabulary, both original authentic Turkish and loan-words from Indian, Soghdian, and Chinese dialects. One of the most valuable features of the notes is the skill with which the editors have tracked down to a Chinese original words which might otherwise have passed for pure Turkish. It does not require much intelligence or knowledge to see that a word like *waχšeγ* is Iranian, but a good deal of discernment is required to trace back an innocent looking word like *tosun* to the original Chinese 唐 人 *t'ang jên*.

On this subject, however, a word of warning is necessary. One of the most admirable features of the *Türkische Turfantexte* has been the complete indices of all words in the texts published. In the present work the index is far from complete. The omissions include not only common words like *qut* and *qul*, but also comparatively rare words like *qor* (l. 63), to which a note is devoted, and even words of such philological interest as *qanyu* (l. 70) for *qayu*, which preserves the obsolescent Old Turkish sound *ñ*, for which the Kök Türki alphabet provided a special letter, although it was then already beginning to give way to the simple *y*-sound.

There are one or two other quite minor points on which criticism may perhaps be offered. In the first place the Turkish equivalent of Brahma. The editors retain F. W. K. Müller's form *äzrüa*. There can surely be no doubt that this should be *Āzärwan* derived from the Soghdian *Zrwn* Zervan.

It is also perhaps unfortunate that the editors should have adopted the letter *d* to represent what was almost certainly the spirant sound δ (*th* in "the") in the original Turkish. That the sound was actually a spirant is proved not only by its original in the Soghdian alphabet, but also by the remarks of Kashgari on this sound and by the fact that this δ was going over to a *y* (which a true *d* would never have done) actually during the period when these manuscripts were being written (cf. the editor's own remarks on *iδi*>*iyă*).

Finally, while everyone will agree with the editor's decision to write universally *balĭq* and not *balĭγ* irrespective of the presence or absence of the two dots over the letter in the original manuscript, it was surely a mistake to use *q* instead of *χ* in such words as *χua* "flower" derived from the Chinese *hua* and *χan* " chief, ruler " in the face of Kashgari's spelling خان. The spelling *qan* for this word is particularly to be deprecated owing to the possibility of confusion with *qan* " blood ".

A. 276. G. L. M. CLAUSON.

EPIGRAPHIA ZEYLANICA, being lithic and other inscriptions of Ceylon. Edited and translated by S. PARAVITANA. Archæological Survey of Ceylon, Vol. III, 1928–1933, pt. 6. 11½ × 9, pp. xvi + 70, pls. 8. London: Humphrey Milford, 1933. 5*s*.

This part of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica* has been produced by the Archæological Survey Department of Ceylon and the Oxford University Press in the same excellent style as its predecessors. It contains five Sinhalese and three Tamil inscriptions, which are of historical and linguistic interest and extend from the ninth century A.D. to the fifteenth. Nor is the interest entirely local, for one inscription records a dedication by a Coḷa princess, the wife of a Pāṇḍya prince, another a Ceylonese naval expedition against the coast of Burma, and a third a series of gifts sent to a Ceylon temple by the Chinese Emperor Yung Lo. As pendants to the last, which is in Tamil, the translation of a corresponding Chinese version is given in Appendix A and a very fragmentary Persian one with translation in Appendix B.

Appendix C, by Mr. H. W. Codrington, raises the question of the origin of the word *tikal* (commonly spelt *tical*). Sir Richard Temple rightly, I think, identified it with the Mon word *t'ke* (as he spells it, though Halliday in his dictionary has *teki*). Literally the Mon spelling is *dakew*, but the final consonant is mute, the *d* has now acquired the force of *t*, and in Mon words the stress is on the final syllable. The word occurs in Malay dictionaries as *tikal*, but there is no reason to suppose that it is really a Malay word, for it refers to foreign things. Originally it denoted a unit of weight, which in Burma is the hundredth part of a Burmese *viss* (now standardized at 3·65 lb. avdp., making the *tikal* 255½ grains), but the Mons also apply it to the rupee. In Siam the weight appears to be 225½ grains and Europeans apply the name to one of the old ingot coins (cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Tical). The Pali-Mon vocabulary (1910) equates the weight with the Indian *pala* (otherwise *phala*) and *dharaṇa* ; and the Kalyāṇī inscription of Pegu (Face E, ll. 13–14, *circa* 1480) translates *phala* by *daker*, as appears from a comparison of the two versions, Pali and Mon, of this record, which was written at a time when final *l* and *r* were being confused and interchanged. A. Nunes, in his *Lyvro dos pesos* (1554), apparently uses the form *tical* (i.e. *tikal*), which has survived in the European pronunciation to this day (cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Macao b., and G. Ferrand, *J.A.*, juillet-décembre, 1920, pp. 84–6, 114, 115, 121, 132, 254). But the oldest form of the word that I know of is *diṅkel*, found in two Mon inscriptions (of the Wat Kukut and Wat Mahāwan, at Lophburi, Siam), published in *BEFEO.*, tome xxx, which are not later than the thirteenth century A.D. This form appears to dispose of the alleged connection of the word with the Indian *ṭaṅka* (or *ṭakā*, etc.).

A. 31. C. O. BLAGDEN.

THE UṆĀDISŪTRAS IN VARIOUS RECENSIONS. Edited by T. R. CHINTAMANI, M.A. Part 1, The Uṇādisūtras with the Vṛitti of Śvetavanavāsin. Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. 7. 10 × 7, pp. 37 + xii + 236. Madras: University of Madras, 1933. 6*s*.

The *Uṇādisūtras* form No. 7 of the Madras University Sanskrit Series, and are to be issued in seven parts. So far, parts 1 (with the Vṛtti of Śvetavanavāsin) and 2 (with the Prakriyāsarvasva of Nārāyaṇa) have appeared and must be welcomed as standard critical editions. Their editor, T. R. Chintamani, has succeeded in establishing a reliable text, with several useful indexes and copious references.

The *Uṇādisūtras* constitute one of the supplements to the study of Sanskrit Grammar in all its systems. The commentary of Śvetavanavāsin is one of the most popular sets of the *U.*, viz. the one that has been commented upon by Ujjvaladatta and Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, and belongs to the system of Pāṇini. The Commentary of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa forms the nineteenth section in his Prakriyāsarvasva, which is a commentary on Pāṇini's Sūtras. It is here printed for the first time.

Anyone interested in Pāṇini will derive benefit from the study of these " various recensions ". We congratulate the editor upon his praiseworthy undertaking.

A. 63. W. STEDE.

ELOGIO DEL ISLAM ESPAÑOL BY AL-ŠAQUNDI. Traducción española por EMILOI GARCÍA GÓMEZ. 5¼ × 8, pp. 123. Madrid, 1934.

This fascinating little work sprang from the Spanish Arabs' dislike of the Moors. Al-Shaqundi and a Moor of Tangier were disputing about the merits of their race and country in the presence of the Governor of Ceuta, who, to get rid of them, told them to compose a work in praise of their own country. Maqqarī, ii, 126, preserves the story of the cause of the composition of the book and the text itself. Professor Gómez promises us an edition of the text which he has collated with a modern MS. of the *Risāla*. In view of the cost and rarity of Maqqarī's work such an edition would be welcome.

Short as it is, even when read with Professor Gómez's scholarly introduction, this little book contains much that is of interest. Its praise of scholars, poets, theologians, statesmen, and soldiers is sung by one who loved the beauty of his country with unfeigned intensity. The translator, too, has breathed and succeeded in communicating to us the air of " los montes de las rosas ".

N.R. 29. A. GUILLAUME.

CONCORDANCE ET INDICES DE LA TRADITION MUSULMANE. Les six livres, Le Musnad d'Al-Dārimī, le Muwaṭṭa' de Mālik, le Musnad de Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal. By A. J. WENSINCK. Livraison I (أبد — الله). 15¾ × 9¾, pp. 80. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1933. Fls. 10.

Professor Wensinck has put the whole world of Arabian scholarship, both East and West, in his debt. The vast literature of *ḥadīth* is at last to be reduced to order. At last we shall be able to turn up and verify the references to the Prophet's sayings without a tedious search in probable chapters of probable collectors of tradition. One shudders at the thought of the enormous labour and meticulous care that a work of this magnitude must have caused its editor. The present large folio *livraison* of 80 pages is to be followed by another 29 of the same size. It will therefore be freely allowed that this work is worthy to rank with Dozy's *Supplément* as a book of reference indispensable to the serious student of Islam.

It is startling to read in the prospectus that the preparation of the *Concordance* was begun as long ago as 1916. In an international enterprise such as this the date is suggestive; and it is a happy omen to see the names of many who were then enemies now united as collaborators. The work is said to be likely to occupy another ten years. May the co-operation so valuable to all endure as long as this its ἀπαρχή will certainly last.

I cannot claim to have read the *Concordance* through. Besides the corrections recorded on the last page, I notice تّخذ for اتّخذ on ۲۸ *med.*

The only adverse criticism that I have to offer of this altogether admirable work is that the paper is unworthy of the printing, the dignity, and the size of the book. The paper would not resist the ordinary usage of a book read once and consulted occasionally. The book when bound will cost about £50: therefore its principal purchasers will be libraries. I venture to prophesy that any copy which lies in a library that is frequented by Arabists will be useless in six months.

A. 135. ALFRED GUILLAUME.

Répertoire Chronologique d'Épigraphie Arabe. Tome quatrième. Publié sous la direction de Ét. Combe, J. Sauvaget, et G. Wiet. 11 × 9, pp. viii + 276. Publications de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale. Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut, 1933.

Professor Wiet and his two colleagues are to be congratulated on the steady progress they are making with this most useful work, earlier volumes of which have been reviewed in the Journal. The inscriptions in the present volume date from A.H. 320 to 354. Egypt is naturally the most abundant source of these records and a large proportion of them occur on textiles and on tombstones, but some are included from widely separated parts of the Muhammadan world, Sicily, South Arabia, Ceylon, and India being among the countries represented; a good number refer to the foundation or restoration of buildings, and several to other matters. Among the architectural inscriptions a considerable series from Spain is prominent, most of them communicated by M. Lévi-Provençal or published with his collaboration. Here the name of the great 'Abd er Raḥmân frequently appears. Kâfûr is commemorated in a single inscription at Jerusalem, and 'Aḏud ed Daula in two very remarkable inscriptions at Persepolis.

A. 148. R. Guest.

Catalogue of the Arabic Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester. By D. S. Margoliouth. pp. xix + 241, pls. 40. Manchester: The Manchester University Press, 1933.

For the most part these papyri, which number several hundred, are connected with Ashmunain in Upper Egypt and belong to the ninth century. They consist largely of private letters, but include also official documents, accounts, business scripts, and various miscellaneous items. Few of them are quite complete and perfect, many are extremely fragmentary, usually they are extremely difficult to read.

Professor Margoliouth provides every aid that could be desired for their study; transcriptions of the texts in pointed Arabic or accounts of their purport, explanations, and remarks, several indices and a preface dealing with the collection generally. The papyri afford numbers of small details of more or less value for understanding the state of affairs in Egypt at the period to which they relate, but it does not seem that what can be learnt from them in this way adds anything very considerable to what has been established already by means of other papyri or otherwise. Professor Margoliouth's own conclusion is that the material furnished by the series is of very modest interest and importance. It can be said that he has spared no pains in bringing out everything useful that is found in it, and one of the results of his work will be to give a great help towards dealing with other Arabic papyri when they come to be studied. When the facsimile specimens of which the plates consist are compared with his transcriptions, the skill which he has displayed in his decipherment will be realized.

A. 98. R. GUEST.

FESTSCHRIFT MORIZ WINTERNITZ. 1863—23 Dezember—1933. Edited by OTTO STEIN and WILHELM GAMPERT. 10 × 7, pp. xiv + 357, photo 1. Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1933.

It is appropriate that a volume of such varied and valuable content should mark the attainment by Professor Moriz Winternitz of his seventieth birth anniversary, for the scholar in whose honour it has been produced has been noted for the width as well as the depth of his learning. It must suffice here to give some idea of the interest and value of the topics treated by the contributors who represent worthily nearly all the great centres of Indian studies.

A. Debrunner disposes finally of the suggestion to find Indo-European origin[1] for such forms as Vedic *neṣa* and

---

[1] Cf. Hert, *Indogerm. Gramm.*, iv, 252.

parṣa and the Greek *οἶσε*, and makes interesting comments on the origin of aorist imperatives (pp. 6–13). On the other hand, L. Renou, in an important study of the suffix *-ima-*, suggests comparison with the *-mo-* suffix, which makes a passive participle in Armenian, Baltic, and Slavonic, and legitimately compares the *-i-* element with the variation in Sanskrit between *-ta-* and *-ita-* (p. 28), but *ịthimikā* and *orimikā* can hardly be assigned to the *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā* proper. So much has been done on Apabhraṁśa since Pischel's *Materialien zur Kenntniss des Apabhraṁśa* that it is inevitable that the whole work will have to be revised on the lines indicated by L. Alsdorf, who has already furthered the cause of the study of this perplexing language. F. Otto Schrader attacks once more the disputed issue of the value of the Kashmir recension of the *Bhagavadgītā* with special reference to the views of F. Edgerton,[1] in the course of which he discusses the famous crux, ii, 11, and, incidentally (p. 45), favours O. Stein's proposal to interpret the Pramnai of Strabo as a misreading of Sramnai rather than a debased form of the Sanskrit *prāmāṇikāḥ* or *prājñāḥ*. Unhappily no certainty is attainable on the issues involved. How complex such questions are is illustrated by the plausible suggestion of J. Scheftelowitz, who holds that the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* (i, 132), as we have it, has made use of Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (c. 58), but in a text differing distinctly from that of Kern's edition, while the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* itself used an earlier form of the *Bhaviṣya*. We have every reason therefore to welcome the new edition of the *Mahābhārata*, due in no small measure to Winternitz's initiative; an interesting example of its value is afforded by H. Weller's analysis of the text of the Mandapāla episode as presented in Böhtlingk.

A *campū* by a Sanskrit poetess is undoubtedly an interesting find, but Queen Tirumalāmbā's description of Acyutadeva's beauty, of which Lakshman Sarup gives a translation, is rather disappointing in its ingenuity and learned elaboration of detail. H. Meyer-Benfey studies the sources of Tagore's mystic drama, *The King of the Dark Chamber*; his criticism of Zimmer's adduction[1] of the Urvaśī legend (p. 107) is no doubt just, but the most interesting point is the fact that Tagore's genius transforms entirely the theme. J. Körner pays just tribute to an Indologist who is fast becoming a mere name, August Wilhelm Schlegel; he shows how fully Schlegel appreciated the feelings of the people of India, and recognized the danger of any disregard of their devotion to their traditional faith.

---

[1] *JAOS.* lii, 68–75.

That the mysticism of the *Atharvaveda* can be understood only if it is approached in a philosophic spirit is successfully maintained by J. W. Hauer, who deals thus with v. 14 as a fragment of Vrātya speculations. We may admit that Whitney's contempt for Brahmanical speculations deprives his translations of such portions of the *Atharvaveda* of much of their value, though there is now perhaps some risk of seeing more profundity in these lucubrations than actually is present. Mrs. Rhys Davids, in "A vanished Sakyan window", continues her earnest quest for proof of her belief that the Buddha taught a doctrine of man's potentiality which has been overwhelmed in the dreary scholasticism of the doctrine of the Pāli texts. Unhappily her new scrap of evidence seems to be as unsubstantial as those points which she has already adduced, nor can it be admitted that accumulation of such contentions strengthens the case. It may be doubted if we shall ever know what the Buddha did teach, and in any case it is hardly of importance, since on Mrs. Rhys Davids' own view his teaching came soon to be wholly obscured and deprived of its vital principles. How difficult it is to trace religious development in India is shown by S. K. De's article on Pre-Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal (pp. 195–207), in which the theory of Caitanya's Mādhva leanings is effectively criticized; it is satisfactory also to note that the author recognizes that Jayadeva is first of all a poet and not the expounder of a precise philosophy. An examination of the influence of a Parsi sect on the Essenes led the late Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi to the interesting suggestion that their name is to be traced to the Avestan *ashavan* "holy", a view which would explain Philo's connection of the name with *ὅσιοι* (p. 211) and the form *Ἐσσαῖοι*.[1]

---

[1] *ZDMG.* (N.F.), viii (1929), 187–212.

F. Edgerton attempts (pp. 217–220) to establish the distinction between the terms *jñāna* and *vijñāna*, as found, e.g., in the *Bhagavadgītā*, on the basis of the distinction between knowledge and practical application of knowledge, a sense found in the *Vetālapañcaviṁśati*. The crucial issue is whether Śaṅkara thus understood the distinction, and on this point Edgerton carries less conviction. Thus, on *Gītā*, iii, 41, the version of Śaṅkara is *jñānaṁ śāstrata ācāryataś cātmādīnām avabodhaḥ; vijñānaṁ viśeṣatas tadanubhavaḥ*. Does this mean "the application of theoretical knowledge to experience in life"? Surely *anubhava* is singularly inept to convey this sense, and the sense is different; we have the common distinction between knowledge acquired from the Śāstra and the teacher and that knowledge as made part of one's own experience, appropriated and enjoyed. Edgerton himself renders the definition of Śaṅkara as "the experiencing of that (knowledge) in specific instances", which is the true sense of *anubhava*, and is quite distinct from the application of knowledge, a sense which Śaṅkara would easily have expressed appropriately. *viśeṣatas*, which explains the *vi-* of *vijñānam*, means rather "specifically". This view is confirmed by all the other interpretations of Śaṅkara, on vi, 8, *svānubhavakaraṇam*; vii, 2, *svānubhavasaṁyuktam*; and ix, 1, *anubhavayuktam*. Ānandagiri here glosses *sākṣātkāras*, which means experiencing, not application, and on xviii, 42, has *svānubhavāyattatvāpādānam*. The essential point is self-reference, not practical application.

E. Frauwallner incidentally (p. 242) calls attention to the fact that Jayanta Bhatta (*Nyāyamañjarī*, p. 426) knew a Sanskrit version of the *Bṛhatkathā*, which, he argues, cannot have been part of the *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṁgraha* ; his arguments for this latter point are not conclusive, but they are probable. I do not think that the case for Śaṅkarasvāmin's authorship of the *Nyāyapraveśa* beyond contention, as held by G. Tucci (p. 243), for he has been unable to find out anything to throw light on his personality,[1] and he admits that the Śaṅkarasvāmin of the *Tattvasaṁgraha* was an expounder of Vaiśeṣika views. No doubt the name is not conclusive evidence, but *prima facie* it is curious. More important is the possession by the author of a large fragment of the *Kapphiṇābhyudaya* of Śivasvāmin ; the MS. tradition of that poem is deplorable, and the new fragment is very welcome. St. Schayer demands a revision of our ideas of Indian logic so far as inference is concerned (pp. 247–257), and reproaches us and even Th. Stcherbatsky with neglect of modern symbolic (mathematical) logic as a test for what is truly logical in Indian thought. What he says is of interest, but I fear he greatly exaggerates the importance of this new standpoint.

---

[1] Used by Philo, and also by Josephus, who, however, usually has *Ἐσσηνοί*; Pliny has Esseni.

Of the other important matters in the volume it must suffice to refer to the interesting evidence as to the measure of confirmation of the *Mahāvaṁsa* which can be derived from the names of kings found in the Brāhmī inscriptions of Ceylon adduced by W. Geiger (pp. 313–321), the curious diplomatic quarrel between Shah Jahan and Constantinople described fully by J. Rypka, and V. Ehrenberg's suggestion (p. 297) that we are to ascribe to Alexander the habit of speaking of his πόθος just as Napoleon spoke of his "star". The idea is plausible, but does not rise above a mere guess.

The only defect of the volume is the lack of the index which it richly deserves.

A. 122. A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

---

[1] That the *Nyāyapraveśa* represents a state of logic intermediate between Dignāga and Dharmakīrti is, if sound, no proof that it is not Dignāga's. We have no reason to doubt change of view in Dignāga any more than in the case of Aristotle.

WOODBROOKE STUDIES. Christian Documents in Syriac, Arabic, and Garshūni. Edited and translated with a critical apparatus. By A. MINGANA. Vol. VII: Early Christian Mystics. 10½ × 6½, pp. vi + 320. Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, 1934. £1 1*s*.

The Syriac writings included in the seventh volume of the Woodbrooke Studies are taken from the manuscript, Mingana Syriac 601, a manuscript "of which no other copy seems to exist in any European library", and are reproduced in facsimile. Written in the Nestorian script, and preserved in perfect condition, the texts as reproduced in facsimile are particularly beautiful.

The writings are early mystical works written by Christian monks or abbots of monasteries situated in Lower Mesopotamia at the time when Arab tribes from the Ḥijāz, helped by Christian Arab tribes of South Syria and Mesopotamia, overran their country. This Christian-Arab contact leads Dr. Mingana to claim that the Islamic mysticism known as Ṣūfism is wholly based on the teaching and practices of the Christian monks and ascetics who inhabited the numerous monasteries strewn in the way of Arab warriors. He adds that a thorough comparative study of this subject is still a *desideratum*. That is true, and it may be doubted whether when it is made it will fully substantiate his claim.

There are four works in the volume. They are as follows: (1) Medico-Mystical work by Simon of Ṭaibūtheh, a physician, who seems to have died about A.D. 680; (2) Treatise on Solitude and Prayer, by Dādīsho' Ḳaṭrāya, who seems to have died about A.D. 690; (3) Treatises on the Workings of the Grace, etc., by 'Abdīsho' Ḥazzāya, who seems to have died about A.D. 690; (4) Treatise on the Shortest Path that brings us near to God, by Joseph Ḥazzāya, brother of 'Abdīsho' Ḥazzāya; and (5) Treatise on Eremitism, by Abraham bar Dāshandād, who flourished between A.D. 720 and 730.

These five writings differ somewhat in style and interest, but they are all worthy of study, and Dr. Mingana has rendered a great service, particularly to students of mysticism, by translating and editing them. The treatises of ‘Abdīsho‘ Ḥazzāya reach the sublimest heights of mystical ascent. The writer's distinction between the state of serenity and a state which is above that of serenity, “ higher than all likenesses, images, material things, and numbers,” is truly illuminating. It is not surprising to find him less obsessed by the idea of demons than other writers, particularly Dādīsho‘. Dādīsho‘ speaks of “ the demons settling like flies on the eyes and the mouth of the younger brother ”.

The idea of “ demons ” is very much in evidence, and Dr. Mingana notes that they are mentioned frequently in the works of early mystics. An evil spirit or demon stands ever on the left-hand side of a man, and it would go ill with him if a good spirit or angel did not stand on the right-hand side of him. Dr. Mingana does not discuss the source of this idea. The writers of his treatises lived in Mesopotamia, which, as Professor Langdon has emphasized in his book on Semitic Mythology, was the ancient home of demonology, and where the belief in demons no doubt survived for many centuries.

Another matter to which Dr. Mingana calls special attention is the use made of Biblical quotations. “ In reciting verses of the Psalms, and in referring to Evangelical pericopes, they [the Mystics] used to add to them whole sentences in order to make them more applicable to the religious experience of their solitude.” In this matter, we are told, they “ do not seem to have been very scrupulous ”. But there is no need to question their scrupulousness or unscrupulousness in the matter. The habit of paraphrasing was common among Jewish mystical writers, no doubt under the influence of the Targums, and was simply taken over by Christian mystics.

The translations are excellent, and are almost above criticism. The expression *marganyāthā de-dem‘ê* is one of those compound expressions of which Semitic speech is so fond, and one would prefer “ tear-pearls ” to the rather meaningless " pearls of tears " (p. 18). The expression " tear-prayers " again (p. 18) is perhaps a little more intelligible than " prayers of tears ". On p. 20 we read : " You will then become conscious of the truth, and you will ascend to the exercise from which you fell ; and you will see in your second ascent the inns which you passed in your first ascent." Here the translation " inns " sounds curious. Perhaps " stopping-places " would be better.

There are hardly any misprints. " Aceticism " (p. 52) for " asceticism " is expressive but unfortunate, and " niegh-bour " for " neighbour " is not pretty. The Arabic word on p. 27, note 2, needs to pull itself together, and the *s* in the Greek word looks unusual.

A. 132. MAURICE A. CANNEY.

ZUR LITURGIE DER BABYLONISCHEN JUDEN. Geniza-Texte herausgegeben, übersetzt und bearbeitet sowie auf ihre Punktation hin untersucht. By MENAHEM ZULAY. Bonner Orientalistische Studien, Heft 2. 9½ × 6½, pp. x + 90. Stuttgart : W. Kohlhammer, 1933. RM. 7·50.

The chief text in this study consists of Geniza fragments edited from two of the manuscripts which form part of the Taylor-Schechter collection of Geniza Fragments in the University Library, Cambridge. Several of these fragments contain synagogue poems with Palestinian or with Babylonian punctuation, and it has been Professor Kahle's practice, having regard particularly to peculiarities in punctuation, to study these with students in his Oriental Seminar at Bonn. How fruitful this study has been is shown by the fact that Mr. Zulay's work is the third of a series of publications of Geniza material of which Professor Kahle possesses rotographs. It should be noted, however, that his work contains also in an appendix fragments studied in Dr. Brody's " Forschungsinstitut für hebraische Dichtung " at Berlin.

Originating perhaps towards the end of the Talmudic period, and in any case not later than about the sixth century, the poetical compositions known as *piyyuṭim* (plural of *piyyuṭ*) are peculiar to the synagogue and its liturgy. They may be said to have as their aim the embellishment of the synagogue service with a view to erudite edification, for the *payṭān* or poet seeks to embroider the prayers with poems reminiscent of or related to Midrashic or Talmudic literature. To call the *piyyuṭ* a hymn, however, would convey a wrong impression, since in one way it is more like a solo, and in another is more like a sermon. It may be said to be a sort of sermon-solo, only it must be remembered that the poet, having exercised extraordinary ingenuity in adapting the Hebrew language to his special purpose, and having availed himself of an exceptional knowledge of Midrash and Talmud in pursuit of mysterious motives and meanings, the listener is expected to be much more than a passive hearer. Thus, the sermon-solo not only gives the ordinary listener some thoughts to take home with him, but also provides puzzles for deep thinkers and learned scholars. It may be doubted, indeed, whether the ordinary listener ever gets to the root of the matter.

Readers and lovers of pure classical Hebrew will think that the *payṭānim* play ducks and drakes with the language. Poetic licence, they will feel, here seems to run riot. But it is all part of the poet's plot—his device to make us sit up and take notice. While foreign words and forms are shunned, new words are coined out of old ones, and new forms are introduced which flagrantly violate the ordinary rules of grammar. Thus the *piyyuṭ* literature, with its curious words, expressions, and forms, and with its peculiar methods of vocalization, presents a special study in itself. For some students its interest will be the greater because it shows in a remarkable way that process of adaptation which has eventuated in the creation of Modern Hebrew. The *piyyuṭ* itself, it should be added, has survived in some places (e.g. Morocco) down to modern times.

It is well known that in Biblical Hebrew rhyme is employed very rarely. In the *piyyuṭ* rhyme is a characteristic device. It is a common device also to arrange the text in the form of an acrostic and to indicate the name of the composer in the same way. Where each new letter of the acrostic begins is not indicated clearly in the original text, so that it is part of an editor's task to reconstruct the poem.

An impetus was given to the study of *piyyuṭim* by the discovery of a vast quantity of material in the Geniza of Cairo, but there are as yet few workers in the field. Mr. Zulay's work is therefore a valuable contribution, and will serve as a guide to other workers. It will be obvious that his task has been one of great difficulty. Nevertheless, in one way and another he has done all that it is possible for an editor to do to facilitate the reading and interpretation of his text. His translation and notes will be of great service to students. That the text should sometimes baffle him will not surprise anyone who has attempted to read and interpret a *piyyuṭ* manuscript.

863. MAURICE A. CANNEY.

THREE ARABIC TREATISES ON ALCHEMY BY MUḤAMMAD BIN UMAIL (10th century A.D.). Edition of the Texts by M. TURĀB 'ALĪ, M.A. Excursus on the Writings and Date of Ibn Umail with Edition of the Latin Rendering of the Mā' al-Waraqī by H. E. STAPLETON, I.E.S., and M. HIDĀYAT ḤUSAIN, S̲h̲ams al-'Ulamā', Ph.D. Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XII (1933), No. 1. 12 × 9½, pp. 1–213. Calcutta. Rs. 9.

Historians of science have long realized the necessity of a thorough study of medieval Muslim science to a proper comprehension of the development of scientific doctrine and practice. A full and detailed investigation of Arabic chemical treatises is particularly urgent, since it was in Islam that chemistry first took shape as definite science, and since its bodily transmission to Western Europe in the twelfth to fifteenth centuries resulted in the persistence of Muslim chemical conceptions until comparatively recent times. It is, indeed, possible to trace the germs of more than one modern chemical theory in the writings of Jābir ibn Ḥayyān, Al-Rāzī, and other celebrated chemists of early Islam.

We welcome, therefore, this important contribution to the subject made by Principal Stapleton and his collaborators. Mr. Stapleton has already made numerous and valuable investigations on Muslim chemistry, and we can give the present paper no higher praise than to say that it is worthy of its predecessors. The texts of the treatises, viz. Kitāb al-Mā' al-Waraqī wa'l-Arḍ an-Najmīyah, Risālat ash-Shams ila'l-Hilāl, and Al-Qasīdat an-Nūnīyah, have been carefully edited by Mr. Muḥammad Turāb 'Alī, and will provide a broad and solid basis for the study of Arabic alchemy of the tenth century A.D., when their author, Muḥammad ibn Umail, probably flourished.

Messrs. Stapleton and Hidāyat Ḥusain have added sections on Ibn Umail's writings and place in alchemical history, and give also an annotated text of the Latin version of the Mā' al-Waraqī published in Zetzner's *Theatrum Chemicum*, 1622, and ascribed to "Senior Zadith filius Hamuel", i.e. Ash-Shaikh aṣ-Sādiq ibn Umail. Professor Maqbūl Aḥmad is largely responsible for the very useful descriptive index of names of people, countries, places, and books mentioned in the Arabic and Latin texts. It is very much to be hoped that the authors will at no distant date provide us with a critically annotated English translation of the works here given in Arabic. By doing so they will considerably enhance the value of their already great service to the history not merely of chemistry but of Islamic thought.

A.133. E. J. HOLMYARD.

1. **The Book of the Gradual Sayings (Aṅguttaranikāya)** or More Numbered Suttas. Vol. II (The Book of the Fours). Translated by F. L. Woodward. 8¾ × 5¾, pp. xx + 269. Vol. III. Translated by E. M. Hare. 8¾ × 6, pp. xix + 333. With introductions by Mrs. Rhys Davids, D.Litt. Pali Text Society: Translation Series, Nos. 24, 1933, and 25, 1934. London: Oxford University Press. 10*s*. each.
2. **Paramattha - Dīpanī: Iti - Vuttakaṭṭhakathā of Dhammapālâcariya.** Edited by M. M. Bose. Vol. I. Pali Text Society. 9 × 5¾, pp. v + 180. London: Oxford University Press, 1934.

The Pali Text Society's translation of the first four Nikāyas is nearing its close, and the two present volumes follow so closely in the steps of their predecessors that their virtues need little discussion. Mr. Hare's portion will be found perhaps the more convenient for ordinary use by scholars, because of his frequent quotation of the commentary, but both parts have suffered somewhat from the authors' lack of access to good libraries. It seems therefore a pity that, having to deal with a highly dogmatic work, they should not have been provided with a copy of the *Abhidharmakośa*; for Vasubandhu, at any rate as now translated, is easier to follow in his interpretation of technical terms than Buddhaghosa, and both volumes would have gained in precision and clearness of outline from a study of his treatise and the annotations thereon.

The commentary on the *Itivuttaka*, like all that Dhammapāla wrote, is scholarly and interesting; attention may be particularly directed to his discussion of the term Tathāgata, pp. 117 ff. The editing is good, but consultation of the work would be easier if references were given in the body of the commentary or at the top of the pages to the page-numbers of Windisch's edition of the text.

A. 165, 160, 161. E. H. Johnston.

DIE VÖLKER DES ANTIKEN ORIENTS. Geschichte der Führerenden Völker, Vol. III. Edited by **FINKE**, **JUNKER**, and **SCHNÜRER**. Die Ägypter by **HERMAN JUNKER**, Die Babylonier, Assyrer, Perser und Phöniker by **LOUIS DELAPORTE**. Freiburg: Herder and Co., 1933.

This popular series of histories does not permit scope for more than the most meagre outline of the histories of the great nations of antiquity. The volume on Egypt and Western Asia is written by two scholars of eminent ability. Junker's History of Egypt is compressed into 174 pages and Delaporte's history of the Sumerians, Babylonians, Assyrians, Hittites, Persians, and Phœnicians occupies 170 pages. Of these two parts of the volume, I am here concerned with Delaporte's section only. He has the advantage of writing the latest history of prehistoric Mesopotamia wherein he has been able to utilize the recent material from the excavations at Kish, Ur, Tello, Warka, and the unexpected revelations of the prehistoric discoveries in Assyria. He concludes that there was a pre-Sumerian culture in southern Mesopotamia, which (following other scholars [1]) he divides into highland (Iranian) and lowland cultures, and to these two cultures he assigns all the monochrome painted ware. The lowland culture he assigns to the prehistoric brachycephalic population of Subaru or northern Mesopotamia. It is a debatable question as to whether any so-called *Subarian* people and culture ever existed prior to the Sumerian, and to define the population as brachycephalic is also uncertain. In fact, the whole culture of prehistoric Sumerian culture in both north and south may well be Sumerian itself. Delaporte has stated the prevailing views on this subject.

The history of the Sumerians, Babylonians, and Assyrians is then outlined and the author obviously knows his literature and sources thoroughly. So much material cannot be compressed into a small space without making dull reading, but the treatment is eminently scientific.[1]

---

[1] This book has few footnotes and authorities are rarely quoted. The style is dogmatic and no space is provided for any defence of the views taken on debatable subjects.

There is a valuable sketch of the old Persian kingdom, Cyrus to Darius Kodamannos, pp. 296–317, and the volume ends with a chapter on the Phœnicians in which the author has made use of the discoveries at Byblos and Ugarit (Ras-shamra). Both parts of this volume would have been more useful if they had been provided with maps and more exhaustive literature. The indices are also reduced to the minimum.

A. 138. S. LANGDON.

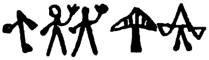
ANCIENT ORIENTAL SEALS IN THE COLLECTION OF MR. EDWARD T. NEWELL. By HANS HENNING VON DER OSTEN. University of Chicago, Oriental Institute Publications, Vol. XXII. 12 × 9½, pp. x + 204, pls. 41, figs. 28. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934. 27*s.*

The author publishes photographs of the impressions of 695 seals assembled by Mr. Newell entirely by purchase. Some of them had been previously published. The volume contains an almost exhaustive bibliography on everything concerning Mesopotamian cylinder and roll seals. Chapter iii is a detailed study of the symbols, designs, animals, trees, clothing, flowers, buildings, boats, chariots, altars, pots, etc. In fact, the author has produced a trustworthy handbook for the subject of West Asiatic glyptography. This is an admirable scientific contribution and indispensable for the archæologist. All known periods from prehistoric Sumerian to the Persian periods are represented in the Newell collection. It is curious that seal No. 23 should have been overlooked by Assyriologists since a drawing had already been given by Ward in his *Seal*

---

[1] I agree with the author in reading *Imdugud* instead of the conventional *Imgig*, p. 196; the name of the Moon-god of Ur was surely never pronounced Enzu, but Zu-en>Sin, p. 215. The rituals of the New Year ceremony, edited by Thureau-Dangin, are assigned to the Hammurabi period, p. 240. The Hurrites or Mitanni people of Subaru are said to be largely Indo-European, p. 243. Their language, closely connected with Elamitic, shows no trace of Indo-Germanic.

Cylinders of Western Asia, 803. This is another example of a round Indus Valley press seal found many years ago in Mesopotamia and purchased by Ward. Ward's copy was not accurate. In view of the great importance of all Indian seals found in Mesopotamia I give here a copy of the inscription from the photograph.



The writing on the Indus Valley seals runs from right to left and in the discussion the signs are numbered from the right.

Sign No. 1 seems to be a variant of No. 194 in my list, *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Valley Civilization*, ed. Sir John Marshall, vol. ii, p. 446.

No. 2 is apparently a variant of 214 in my list and G. R. Hunter, *The Script of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa*, p. 177, Table 69, No. 5.

No. 3 is a *homo* sign and unknown to me.

No. 4 is No. 187 of my list.

No. 5 is new.

The edition of the inscriptions, pp. 161–5, is extremely defective.

Seal 95, from the Agade period, has the inscription *Gimil-í-li Àš-dar-al-su arad-zu*, not *Šu-í-li*, p. 161. See Ungnad, *Materialien*, p. 34. *Àš-dar-al-su* occurs *RA*., 9, 34, Rev. ii, 15.

No. 96, also from the Agade period, has an inscription completely misunderstood on p. 161.

Col. i, lù dingir-ra-na (= *Awēl-ili-šu*) *šangi in-ḳí*.

Col. ii, lù dingir-ra (= *Awēl-ili*) *dupšarrum arad*-[*zu*]. "(Seal) of Awēl-ili-šu, the learned priest, (presented by) Awēl-ili the scribe, his servant."

No. 97 has simply KU-DAG, which is rendered in Sumerian, p. 161, by *tukul urdaḫḫu*. Here the sign *DAG* has been read as though it were the sign *UR-minnabi gilim*, or UR criss-crossed, Weissbach, *Miscel.*, pl. 10, i, 7 = *šitnunu*, but

AJSL. 33, 198, 306, has *KAL-minnabi gilimu* = *šitpuṣu* : *šitnunu*. *urdaḫ̮ḫ̮u* is not the sign on this seal. I do not know the combination *ku-dag*.[1]

No. 100 has a curious form of the sign , Thureau-Dangin, *REC.* 451. Read *dumu-íd ur-ur.*

No. 104 has a N.Pr. *Lugal-Eridu* (NUN-KI)-*zíd* = *šar Eridu kênu.* The last sign is *šú, zíd,* not *ku.* The reading of KU = *kânu* is *du-ru*, CT. 11, 31 A 9, restored by K. 11204, 1, hence Deimel, *Lexicon*, p. 536, 32, where he takes *KU-ba* in this sense, is erroneous. For reading zíd = *kênu,* see N.Pr. ^{sal}*Egír-zíd-dam* (NIN - KU - dam), and mí-zíd-ĝe-ni-dúg (= *kîniš lukanni*), PBS. x, No. 7, 50; cf. mí-zi-mu-ni-in-dúg = *kîniš ukanni*, RA. 11, 144, 14.

No. 105 has the N.Pr. *Na-ti-um*, otherwise unknown to me. Cf. *Na-di*, Ungnad, *Materialien*, 69.

No. 126. The god Nanna(r) is never written $^{d.}$*Šeš*, but always ŠEŠ-KI. The text is totally misunderstood. Read Dingir-šeš-mu-guruš "The god, my brother, is strong", the second line has the N.Pr. *Utu-ni-sag* "The Sun-god is the chief (god)". For ni-sag = *reštû* see CT. 12, 7 A 33; 11, 39, Rm. 341, Obv. 10, and ni-sag = *kabtum, ašaridu*, CT. 12, 7 A 35–6.

No. 131 is particularly important. The scene represents a mortal led by his god into the presence of a seated divinity. This seal cannot be later than the Dungi period as the scene proves (RA. 16, 63, and especially *JRAS.* 1919, 533–7, the "processional scene"). The inscription is "Ig-mu-lum son of Ititi". *Igmulum* is obscure and otherwise unknown. Ungnad, *Materialien*, 58, enters the name *Ik-mul-ìr-ra* under *kamālu*, but admits *g* and *ḳ*. More interesting is the name *Ititi*, obviously Semitic from the name of his son. This is the only example of the name beside its occurrence as the name of an early ruler of Assyria, *Altorientalische Bibliothek*, i,

---

[1] Brünnow, 10608, and Deimel, *Lexicon*, p. 536, 188, are false; read an-šú ba-ni-in-bă̌ra = [*ana šamê*] *ušparir-ma*; see *Sum. Gram.*, 191, 45; Gray, *Shamash*, S. 166, Rev. 7.

p. 2. This again confirms the close connection between the rise of the city state Ashur and the Semites of Accad in the Dungi period.

No. 136. Adalal has the title *lù* KU (*REC*. 468). This is clearly for lù ġun-gà = *agru* " hireling ". Cf. KU (*REC*. 469), *ġu-un* = *agāru*, *JRAS*. 911, 1051, and *in-ku-un* (= *igur*) " he rented ", *Nies*, ii, 83, 6. An *agru* must mean a higher position than a mere hireling; for here he is owner of a fine seal and a witness, *AJSL*. 33, 234, 11 + 21; Genouillac, *Inv*. 944*b*, Rev. 11.

No. 185, last sign is *nagar*.

No. 662, line 2, the sign is PAP on the photograph. The translation is " She that completes all decrees ", *napḫar parṣê*.

The author, who is not an Assyriologist, cannot be held responsible for the serious errors in the transcriptions and translations of the texts on the seals.

A. 217. S. LANGDON.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY TAMILS. By K. N. SIVARAJA PILLAI. 10 × 5½, pp. xxiii + 284. Madras: The University of Madras, 1932. Rs. 5.

The dating of early Tamil literature is a thorny problem. By a new line of approach Mr. Sivaraja Pillai has made an important advance towards its solution. He clears the air at the outset by ruling out of consideration the so-called Epics (*Cilappadikāram* and *Maṇimēkalai*), and the fantastic introduction to the *Agapporuḷ* on which the traditional history of the Tamil Sangam has been based. Leaving aside also the " ethical " group of didactic poems, he examines the chronology of the two " naturalistic " anthologies, the *Eṭṭuttokai* and *Pattuppāṭṭu*, which are unquestionably the earliest of the Sangam works. Out of these he selects four (*Pur̲anānūr̲u*, *Aganānūr̲u*, *Nar̲r̲iṇai*, and *Kur̲untokai*), and, by a careful correlation of the poets, kings, and chiefs associated with these (with occasional help from the *Patiṟṟupattu* and *Pattuppāṭṭu*), he reconstructs the history of the Chēra, Chōḷa, and Pāṇḍiya Kingdoms for a period extending over ten generations, from 50 B.C., he suggests, to A.D. 200.

The Tamils take a just pride in their national classics, but, outside a limited circle of specialists, there are few that can read them. Mr. Sivaraja Pillai's conclusions have an important bearing on Mauryan, Andhra, and Sinhalese history, to say nothing of contacts with Imperial Rome. He states his case with exemplary clarity, but the Tamil contribution to the civilization of India is not likely to be fully appreciated until the whole of the Sangam literature has been critically edited in a language more widely known than Tamil, and, incidentally, the terrifying length of the royal names alleviated.

826. F. J. RICHARDS.

SELECTIONS FROM THE PESHWA'S DAFTAR. Edited by G. S. SARDESAI. 9½ × 6. Bombay: Government Central Press. Nos. 34–40.

No. 34: BASSEIN CAMPAIGN (supplementary). pp. v + 169. 1933. Rs. 2 as. 8 or 4*s*. 6*d*.

No. 35: CAPTURE OF SALSETTE BY THE ENGLISH. pp. viii + 179. 1934. Rs. 2 as. 11 or 4*s*. 9*d*.

No. 36: THE FIRST MARATHA WAR. pp. xiv + 362. 1934. Rs. 5 as. 5 or 8*s*. 9*d*.

MISCELLANEOUS (PERSIAN) PAPERS. Edited by Dr. M. NAZIM. pp. i + 66. 1933. Annas 12 or 1*s*. 3*d*.

The thirty-fourth number of this series adds little to the information in the sixteenth volume. It shows the premeditation of the Maratha attack on the Portuguese, and the reliance of both sides upon the English in Bombay for supplies. Numbers 35 and 36 refer to the same subject, and it may be noted that little attempt seems to be made to arrange the letters according to subjects or even in chronological order. The volumes ought to be of great interest to students of Anglo-Indian history, but on the whole the contents are disappointing. The editor naturally takes the view that the English capture of Salsette in 1774 was unprovoked and unjustified. But, apart from the necessity of that area for the safe existence of Bombay, there was a probability, as these letters show, of the Portuguese seeking to recapture it, while the English had been promised its possession by Raghoba who seemed at the time to have a fair title to succeed to the position of Peshwa. The Marathas, whose affairs were then in great confusion, did not fight well in this campaign, though Commodore Watson of the Bombay Marine, who is described as a General, was killed. The editor claims that the Marathas succeeded in damaging English trade by a blockade at Surat, but, though this was ordered, there is little to show that it was successful. The thirty-sixth number contains surprisingly poor accounts of the severe fighting in Guzerat and in the Deccan, and the convention of Vadgaon seems to be scarcely noticed. The straits to which the British were reduced by the Mysore War and the presence of the French fleet would not be gathered from these letters; but the Marathas had their own difficulties, with the continued pretensions of Raghoba and the internal conflict between the Peshwa and the Maratha chiefs.

We are glad to see that a beginning has been made of the examination of the Persian documents in the Daftar. There are no fewer than 2,600 newsletters besides other papers, and the present selection, under the competent editorship of Dr. M. Nazim, is rather an indication of what may be expected than of great value in itself. The dates ascribed to the letters are in many cases conjectural, and it may be observed that the date (1785) allotted to letter No. 1964, which refers to Sir Robert Barker's army, must be wrong, as that officer had by that time left India. Probably it refers to the Rohilla campaign of 1775.

A. 130, 151, 179, 152.

No. 37: KARNATAK EXPEDITIONS OF MADHAVRAO I. pp. ix + 202. 1934. Rs. 3 or 5*s*. 3*d*.
No. 38: MADHAVRAO BALLAL AND THE NIZAM. pp. viii + 160. 1934. Rs. 2 as. 8 or 4*s*. 6*d*.
No. 39: ADMINISTRATIVE PAPERS OF MADHAVRAO I. pp. viii + 178. 1934. Rs. 2 as. 11 or 4*s*. 9*d*.
No. 40: MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS OF PESHWA BALAJI RAO. pp. vii + 146. 1934. Rs. 2 as. 4 or 4*s*. 3*d*.

The first three of these numbers give a considerable amount of information regarding the efforts of the young Peshwa Madhavrao to hold the Maratha Empire together after the disastrous defeat at the hands of the Abdali at Panipat in 1761. In the north the Maratha supremacy was quickly re-established, nor was there much difficulty in dealing with the Nizam who was vulnerable at many points. In the south the Peshwa had a harder task in coping with the talents of Hyder Ali of Mysore, and he was handicapped by the want of capable and trustworthy generals. In fact the disunion and disloyalty among the Marathas was noticeable throughout this period, and it may be observed that the Brahman Jagirdars of the south were far less loyal and obedient to the Peshwa of their own caste than the purely Maratha feudatories of the north, Sindhia, Holkar, and the Nagpur Bhonsle. It is interesting to observe the gallant stand made against Haidar by Murar Rao Ghorpade, the Morari Rao of Orme. No. 39 indicates the administrative ability of the young Peshwa in civil matters, and the close control he exercised even over his great ministers Haripant Phadke and Nana Fadnavis. On the whole, the high encomium passed by Grant Duff on the Peshwa Madhavrao is fully justified by these extracts, and his early death marks the real beginning of the decline of the Maratha Empire. The contents of No. 40 refer to the reign of his father, Balaji Rao, and, while dealing with miscellaneous matters, contain some matters of interest; for example, the steady protection afforded by the English to the Sidis of Janjira.

A. 232, 233, 234, 260. P. R. CADELL.

FALL OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE. By SIR JADUNATH SARKAR. Vol. I, 1739–1754; Vol. II, 1754–1771; 7¼ × 5, pp. xv + 544 and xvi + 556. Calcutta: M. C. Sarkar & Sons, 1932 and 1934. 8*s*. 6*d*. per vol.

The failure of the Mug͟hal government, with all its splendour and all its merits, to create a stable, united empire in India was clearly demonstrated in the time of its last powerful emperor, Aurangzeb, particularly in the latter half of his reign. The decay that then set in degenerated into rapid disintegration during the reigns of his impotent successors; the outlying provinces broke away from the palsied imperial authority, and then the central government tottered under *fainéant* emperors, who were little more than puppets in the hands of intriguing or indolent *wazīrs*, while the country was overrun by Marāṭhās, Ruhelas, and Jāṭs. The climax was reached in 1739, when Nādir Shāh invaded the Panjāb, and sacked Delhi and other towns. The author, who has already given us an invaluable history of the reign of Aurangzeb in five volumes and brought Irvine's *Later Mug͟hals* down to 1739, is now carrying on the story from that year till the conquest of Delhi by the British in 1803. Of the two volumes before us, the first deals with the 15 years ending with the deposition of Aḥmad Shāh in 1754, and the second carries the narrative down to 1771, when the exiled Shāh 'Ālam II was at last able to re-enter the Mug͟hal capital.

In a series of chapters arranged on a two-fold basis, viz., according to (1) the provinces and areas concerned, and (2) the leading actors on the stage for the time being, the author describes vividly the unending strife, devastation, rapine, and slaughter from which the greater part of Northern India suffered during the period. We see the Marāṭhās extending their depredations right across the continent from sea to sea and up to, and beyond, the walls of Delhi in the north, until their power was irretrievably crushed at Pānipat by another invader from without—Aḥmad Shāh 'Abdālī; we see the last of the outlying provinces snapping their bonds of allegiance ; we watch the rapid rise to power under forceful leaders of Ruhela and other Afg͟hān tribes and of the Jāṭs of Bharatpur, and the growing military strength of the Sikh organization in the Panjāb. It is a tale, almost bewildering in its complexity, of intrigue, strife, and horror that should serve as a warning of the results of the absence of strong central control.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar has the advantage of being familiar not only with Persian but also with the vernaculars in which the available records are written ; and he has used his gifts to the best advantage. The work bears evidence, throughout, of close and judicial scrutiny of the original sources, many of which he has tapped for the first time. Wide research, careful treatment, and impartiality of judgment combine to make a reliable record of great value to all students of Indian history.

885, A. 352. C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

OBITUARY NOTICES

Herbert Allen Giles

8 December, 1845—13 February, 1935.

"Now Dr. Giles is the fanatical type and therefore he has made more progress than you in Chinese," wrote a candid Chinese critic to a distinguished British friend—" But his fanaticism, always furiously taking sides no matter right or wrong, makes him a person "—but there is no need to finish the sentence. We have the two memorable facts, " he made more progress in Chinese," and he was " always furiously taking sides ". He was, indeed, a ruthless controversialist. But those who knew him personally will rather remember his easy brilliant talk, the sense of leisure with hard work which pervaded his punctual, ordered home, and the great courtesy and kindness and generous hospitality with which they were always received. Nor was he in Chinese, or even in religious, matters nearly so intractable, controversial, or difficult to persuade as has sometimes been supposed.

"He made more progress in Chinese." After twenty-six years in China, and four at Aberdeen, he spent the remaining thirty-seven years of his life as Professor of Chinese at Cambridge (actually resigning in December, 1932), and his interests for those nearly seventy years were for the most part centred in the Chinese language and literature, which he read himself, and then made known to others by the stream of his publications which flowed for just about a cycle. His first book, however, was not Chinese, but a double version of *Longinus on the Sublime*, which he made in Formosa, 1869, for his father's " Keys to the Classics ". And a certain familiarity with the Greek and Latin classics followed him through life.

In Chinese he showed at first some interest in dialects, but later would almost boast that he knew nothing but

Mandarin and the language of books. His powers and inclinations led him on the whole away from antiquarian or linguistic research to a practical knowledge of the language, a practical delight in the literature, and an unerring instinct for what would interest the public and be practically useful to students. Yet one of his most elaborate efforts, *The Remains of Lao-tzŭ*, is not only his most famous controversial writing, but has established his claim to have been by intuition full thirty years in front of his times. And again, his *Chuang tzŭ; Mystic, Moralist, and Social Reformer*, published at the same brilliant epoch, is no popular student's book, but will last, probably, as long as any of his work, and has attracted serious attention far outside the limits of sinology. Yet it is characteristic that the promised supplement with notes and Chinese characters never appeared. But where he was supreme was in his power to seize the opportunity of supplying felt wants which had been supplied inadequately, if at all, by his predecessors or contemporaries. To this we owe *Chinese without a Teacher*, *A Glossary of Reference*, *The San Tzŭ Ching* (superseding Eitel and others), *The Chinese–English Dictionary* (based on and superseding Williams), *The Biographical Dictionary* (based on, but far exceeding, Mayers's *Manual*), while *Gems of Chinese Literature*, *Strange Stories*, and *Chinese Pictorial Art* were more purely pioneer adventures into the unknown. "But perhaps," writes one who knew him very intimately, and is well qualified to appreciate his work, "his chief title to fame was as a translator. Like all of us, of course, he made mistakes, but he had an almost uncanny intuition for the real meaning of difficult sentences, and a remarkable aptitude for rendering them into good and readable English." He had also a pleasant gift for writing English verse, which he used not only in the translation of Chinese verse, but also for frequent contributions to *The Times*, *The Observer*, and other papers.

The French Academy, the Chinese Government, Oxford, and Aberdeen, and the Royal Asiatic Society, all bestowed their honours upon him; but his time at Cambridge must have been rather a disappointment to him. He had few pupils, and from the University he received very little encouragement or recognition.

By his death the most prominent figure among British sinologists has been removed.

12. A. C. MOULE.

Eleanor Henrietta Hull

Many members of the Society will have heard with regret of the death of Miss Eleanor Hull, which took place on 13th January, at her home in Wimbledon. An obituary notice in *The Times* of 14th January was followed on the 16th by an appreciation on the part of Dr. Flower, then Chairman of Council of the Irish Texts Society, whereof Miss Hull had been the foundress (1899) and was honorary secretary. Her enthusiastic and scholarly studies of old Irish literature and folk-lore constitute her chief work; but during a comparatively short period (November, 1918, to July, 1920) she served the Royal Asiatic Society in the capacity of secretary, her keen interest in all matters, her understanding of literary questions and her frank and engaging personality rendering her generally acceptable.

The chief transactions in which she was occupied on behalf of the Society were the adjustments connected with the removal from Albemarle Street to the new house, and the absorption of the interests and personnel of the Society of Biblical Archæology. But she also participated enthusiastically in the arrangements for the numerously attended Session held jointly with the Société Asiatique de Paris, the American Oriental Society and the Scuola Orientale of the University of Rome in September, 1919. At the Second Session, held in Paris during the July of the following year, she was present on behalf of the Society. Her retirement from the secretaryship was for the sake of her own studies.

Miss Hull was daughter of Professor Edward Hull, F.R.S., and was educated at Alexandra College and the Royal College of Science, Dublin. Celtic she studied under Pedersen, Kuno Meyer, and Professor Flower, whose teaching was fruitful in the long series of publications whereof she was author, or with which she was connected. She was also President of the Irish Literary Society of London and a member of the Council of the Folk-lore Society. At the time of her death she was within two days of her seventy-fifth birthday.

F. W. Thomas.

Professor Zoltán Gombocz

The death of Professor Zoltán Gombocz at the comparatively early age of 58, which took place with tragic suddenness in the middle of a Faculty meeting on 2nd May last, has deprived Finno-Ugrian philology of one of its two *altmeister*. By a sad coincidence, the death of the other, Professor E. N. Setälä of Helsinki, also took place this spring and the subject has thus suffered a double loss in one year.

Zoltán Gombocz started his career at a time when the scientific study of Hungarian was still in its infancy. In the University of Budapest he worked under the great Zsigmond Simonyi who did so much essential pioneer work, not only in the specially Hungarian field, but also in the application of the scientific *junggrammatisch* ideas of the time to the new subject. At the age of 21 Gombocz produced an important methodological study on the "Principles of present-day Philology". Later he made more direct contact with the *junggrammatiker*. In Germany he worked with Hermann Paul and Wilhelm Wundt and acquired at this early date that admiration for a rigid method which has always distinguished his work. He also worked in Paris and Helsinki, meeting in the latter place the great Finnish philologists of the time and acquiring the practical mastery of spoken Finnish which is so difficult for all Finno-Ugrian philologists whether they already speak a related Finno-Ugrian language or not.

After being Professor of Finno-Ugrian philology at Kolozsvár and Szeged, Gombocz came to Budapest to occupy the chair of this subject; later he became Director of the famous Eötvös-College where, in addition to continuing uninterruptedly his research-work, he showed his ability in another direction—as a practical organizer.

Gombocz' chief work was on Finno-Ugrian philology. In this field he is distinguished from all others by having been the first to make a scientific attack on the major problem afforded by the extraordinarily difficult reconstruction of the vowel-system and vowel-ablaut of Primitive Finno-Ugrian. Up to the time of Gombocz this problem had been regarded as insoluble, but he has gone a long way towards solving it. He and Setälä (who was responsible for the reconstruction of the Primitive Finno-Ugrian consonant-system and consonant-ablaut) have thus together laid the foundations of Finno-Ugrian phonology. In Hungary Gombocz' best-known work is undoubtedly his *Outline of a Historical Hungarian Grammar*. This is divided into five parts: Methodology, Phonology, Morphology, Syntax and Semantics. It is an important work for many reasons, admirable for its clarity of method and accuracy and, while the fact that it embodies many of Gombocz' new conclusions renders it indispensable to the research-worker in the difficult field of Hungarian philology, it can nevertheless be used with advantage by students of all grades, even the most elementary. The "Semantics" deserves special mention; it is the only book on the subject in any language which is extremely rigid in method and at the same time suitable for elementary students. I should much like to see a translation into English (with English examples substituted for Hungarian ones) which could be used by philological students in English universities. The great etymological dictionary of the Hungarian of all periods by Gombocz and Dr. János Melich which is still appearing is of the highest importance. It is the first scientific etymological dictionary of a Finno-Ugrian language in print; although highly cautious, it contains a wealth of new etymologies, and, further, full references to the extensive and scattered literature of the subject.

Gombocz specialized also in another field; he was a great turkologist. Of his purely Turkish studies I do not feel competent to write, but I must mention one book bearing on the two subjects—his *Turkish Loan-words in Hungarian.* This is the standard work on the subject, outstanding for its completeness and for the important conclusions as to pre-Hungarian phonology. Summarizing, it may be said that Gombocz' work was remarkable for a rigid application of the scientific method to a subject which had not hitherto known it.

In conclusion I must add that Professor Gombocz was a remarkable practical linguist, that he was a member of many learned institutions at home and abroad, that he possessed the rare ability to instil his ideas into students worthy to continue his work and that he was extremely popular with both staff and students at Budapest. For myself, I will merely say that I shall always remember him for his kindness and hospitality, some years ago, to one beginning a difficult subject *via* the medium of a foreign and difficult language, and for his continued guidance since that date.

16. ALAN S. C. ROSS.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

9th May, 1935

Professor D. S. Margoliouth, M.A., D.Litt., F.B.A., President, in the chair.

The proceedings commenced with the reading and confirmation of the Minutes of the last Anniversary Meeting of 10th May, 1934.

We deeply regret to announce the irreparable loss which has been sustained by Oriental scholarship in general, and this Society in particular, by the deaths of the undermentioned Members during the year :—

Sir Ernest Wallis Budge.
Professor Basil Hall Chamberlain.
Rai Bahadur Dr. Hiralal.
Dr. Berthold Laufer.
Dr. T. G. Pinches.
Dr. James William Thirtle.
Dr. O. G. von Wesendonk.

Their scholarship is known throughout the world of Oriental literature and is lost, to the detriment of posterity.

The Society has also lost, by death, a very valued counsellor and guide, Mr. Alexander Hayman Wilson, our trusted Hon. Solicitor. A kindly and skilled pilot amid the intricacies of the Law. His good natured and ever-ready directions were a priceless asset in all legal matters. He had been Hon. Solicitor since 1886 and was the grandson of Horace Hayman Wilson, the Sanskritist, whose portrait looks down upon us even to-day. His firm, Messrs. T. L. Wilson & Co., has most generously offered to continue its valuable assistance as Hon. Solicitors, in his memory, an offer which your Council was indeed gratified to accept in your name.

The Council further regrets to draw attention to the death of the following Members :—

Mr. Satis C. C. Chowdhury.
Khan Bahadur S. H. Khan.

The following Members have resigned:—

Mr. S. Srinivasa Aiyar.
Mr. B. L. Bhargava.
Mr. I. H. Burkill.
Mr. I. S. Chemjong.
Mr. K. R. Gupta.
Miss D. E. Harvey.
Mrs. M. A. Holmes.
Mr. J. H. Hutton.
Rao Br. Sirdar M. V. Kibe.
Mr. C. A. Lawrie.
Mr. R. L. McCulloch.
Mr. A. C. Master.
Dr. Rushton Parker.
Captain Sir H. E. Poynter.
Professor H. G. Rawlinson.
Dr. F. Braine Rockstro.
Mr. Amar Sen.
Mr. H. Lee Shuttleworth.
Mr. S. G. Vesey-FitzGerald.
Mr. K. Viswanathan.
Mr. G. L. Watson.
Mr. C. P. T. Winckworth.

The following have taken up their election:—

As Resident Members

Mr. G. FitzGerald-Lee.
Sir Herbert Goffe.
Mr. S. Hillelson.
Mr. R. D. A. Puckle.
Mr. J. K. Rideout.
Mr. A. Silcock.
Mr. F. St. G. Spendlove.

As Non-Resident Members

Mr. J. Abbott.
Mr. S. A. Ahmedali.
Mr. M. I. E. S. M. Bangalorevala.
Mr. T. C. Bernard.
Rev. B. S. Bonsall.
Baron Peter A. Boodberg.
Mr. E. G. Carpani.
Rev. R. F. Chambers.
Mr. Elmer H. Cutts.
Dr. Chung-Mien Ch'in.
Mr. S. O. Daniel.
Mr. H. J. Evans.
Dr. J. Finkel.
Professor R. Gottheil.
Mr. A. Gugushvili.
Mr. O. P. Gupta.
Mr. V. A. D. Hamdani.
H.E. A. A. Hekmat.
Professor F. Howland.
Rev. E. R. Hughes.
Shaikh Baqar Husain.
Rev. T. Christie Innes.
Mr. K. L. Jain.
Sayed M. W. H. Jeelani.
Mr. S. N. Joshi.
Professor N. H. von Koerber.
Mr. H. Kurdian.
Professor R. K. Mathur.
Mr. G. A. Naidu.
"Lt.-Col." H. V. Rohu (Salvation Army).
Miss M. Rowlatt.
Rev. Professor H. H. Rowley.
Dr. Professor Renato Salerno.
Mr. C. H. Shaikh.

Mr. H. O. Shastri.
Miss J. D. Storey.
Captain S. E. Tidy.
Mr. S. V. Tirtha.
Mr. S. R. Tiwari.
Dr. K. H. Uttley.
Dr. J. R. Ware.
Rt. Rev. Bishop W. C. White.

As Library Associates

Miss F. Beck.
Mr. R. Byron.
Mr. S. H. Gokhale.
Miss R. Clay.
Mr. A. G. Cook.
Mrs. W. P. Ker.
Miss B. H. Parker.
Mr. H. D. Sankalia.
Miss D. Varley.

As Student Associate

Mr. J. W. Layard.

As Non-Resident Compounders

Professor M. A. Canney.
Mr. O. R. Gurney.

The hearty sympathy of the whole Society is accorded to Sir James Stewart Lockhart on account of the grievous ill-health from which he is suffering and which has caused him to give up his labours upon the Council as our Hon. Secretary and as our representative on the Governing Board of the School of Oriental Studies. He has held the former office since 1928 and the Society is infinitely indebted to him for his guidance and aid. We hope that we may count upon them for many a long year still.

May we offer our homage and welcome to the Sovereigns of Egypt and Siam who have so graciously accepted the Foreign Extraordinary Membership of the Society. It may be of interest to know that amongst the Honorary Members of the Society in bygone years were numbered Their Majesties the Kings of Siam from 1860 for some years and His Highness the Pasha of Egypt from 1834 for many years.

In the place of the late Dr. Serge d'Oldenburg, of Leningrad, the Council elected Professor Moritz Winternitz, of Prague, as Honorary Member.

Under the terms of Rule 25*a* 55 persons ceased to be Members of the Society owing to the non-payment of their annual subscriptions. In the year before their number was 35. The total number of Members is now 739, being a decrease of 19. The number of subscribing libraries is 267 or eight less than in 1933. The stormy condition of world economic affairs has produced a very serious effect upon our membership during the last five years but it seems as though the clouds were slowly being dissipated at last. It is very gratifying to notice the number of Oriental scholars from Europe and America who have become members during the past year. They may be assured of a very hearty welcome from the Society in general and the Council in particular.

As foreshadowed in the last Annual Report and resulting from a suggestion made at the previous Anniversary Meeting, a number of members in various parts of the world have, very generously, undertaken the task of bringing our activities before the notice of their neighbours. Papers and information in connection with the aims and work of the Society are sent to them at certain intervals, and they have allowed the designation of " local representative " to be shown against their names in the List of Members, so that they may be more easily recognized as such. They have merited the gratitude of the Council for their helpful services.

The Leasehold Redemption Fund was augmented from £329 17*s*. 6*d*. worth of 3½ per cent War Loan last year, to £370 14*s*. 1*d*. on 31st December, 1934.

In the interests of economy it has been decided by the Council that the size of the *Journal* should be further reduced from 900 to 800 pages. This is hoped to be but a temporary measure. More particularly as the amount of matter submitted for publication can seldom have been so high.

Happily we have let the empty room upstairs and rearranged some of the other tenancies on a long-term basis, so that all our accommodation is now satisfactorily taken up.

The sternest efforts have been made by the Council to reduce all expenditure to a minimum. Hardly anything has been spent in the Library upon new purchases or even on the binding of books, which is so badly needed. It was felt that we must wait till we can better afford this expenditure, though the latter operation especially is frankly realized to be a necessity. From the buffets of fortune which we have received let us turn to an account of our own performances.

Upon the happy occasion of the Silver Jubilee of His Majesty The King, your Council has presented to His Majesty, through the Home Secretary, a congratulatory address from the members of the Society, as a humble offering of their loyalty and affection to his Royal Person, their profound gratitude for the consistent encouragement accorded to the Society by our noble Patron and his royal predecessors, and to assure him of our ardent wishes for the prolongation of his beneficent reign.

We have held celebrations in honour of two great names connected with the East: one of them, Firdausi, the world-famed Persian poet whose name will always be coupled with his greatest work, *Shahnamah* or "The Story of the Kings of Persia", and whose millenary fell due in 1935. It was celebrated in many parts of the world. The other, Alexander Csoma de Körös, the Hungarian explorer and Tibetan scholar, who produced such wonderful linguistic results for that country in India, at the price of his bodily health and well-being and finally at the cost of his life. His self-inflicted privations in the cause of scholarship form an epic of almost incredible self-denial. The 150th anniversary of his birth took place this year.

On the occasion of Firdausi's millenary, a lecture on "Firdausi: the Poet and his Work", was given by Professor R. A. Nicholson at the hall of the Royal Geographical Society, by the kind permission of the President and Council of the Royal Geographical Society. His Excellency the Persian Minister spoke afterwards of the satisfaction given to the Persian people by the celebrations and voiced the gratification of His Majesty the Shah.

Shortly afterwards an "At Home" was given at the rooms

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS

RECEIPTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions—						
Resident Members	248	17	0			
Non-Resident Members	754	10	0			
Resident Compounders	25	4	0			
Non-Resident Compounders	24	12	0			
Students and Miscellaneous	28	7	8			
				1,081	10	8
Rents Received				590	0	0
Grants—						
Government of India	210	0	0			
„ Federated Malay States	40	0	0			
„ Straits Settlements	20	0	0			
„ Hong Kong	25	0	0			
				295	0	0
Sundry Donations				5	5	0
Journal Account—						
Subscriptions	471	5	6			
Additional Copies sold	45	8	4			
Pamphlets sold	6	13	1			
				523	6	11
Dividends				83	7	0
Income Tax Recovered for the Year ended 5th April, 1933				5	2	5
Centenary Volume Sales				1	2	8
Commission on Sale of Books				3	3	8
Interest on Post Office Savings Bank Account				8	10	5
Sale of Old Books				6	17	6
Sundry Receipts				58	5	11
				2,661	12	2
Balance in Hand 31st December, 1933				612	9	1
				£3,274	1	3

Investments

£350 3½ per cent War Loan.
£1,426 1*s.* 10*d.* Local Loans 3 per cent Stock.
£777 1*s.* 1*d.* 4 per cent Funding Stock 1960–90.

FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st DECEMBER, 1934

PAYMENTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
House Account—						
Rent and Land Tax	508	7	3			
Rates, less contributed by Tenants	77	13	6			
Gas and Light, do.	65	12	9			
Coal and Coke, do.	51	5	9			
Telephone	13	17	0			
Cleaning	5	4	0			
Insurance	35	6	6			
Repairs and Renewals	200	17	5			
				958	4	2
Leasehold Redemption Fund				30	10	6
Salaries and Wages				795	8	4
Printing and Stationery				77	3	3
Journal Account—						
Printing	995	15	2			
Postage	60	0	0			
				1,055	15	2
Library Expenditure				103	4	5
General Postage				57	15	6
Audit Fee (including Taxation Work)				8	8	0
Sundry Expenses—						
Teas	27	15	11			
Lectures	23	0	4			
National Health and Unemployment Insurance	20	5	4			
Other General Expenditure	34	13	9			
				105	15	4
				3,192	4	8
Balance at 31st December, 1934						
On Carnegie Grant for printing catalogue	250	0	0			
On Compound Subscriptions Account	471	13	3			
	721	13	3			
Less: Over-expended on General Account	639	16	8			
				81	16	7
				£3,274	1	3

Represented by:

	£	s.	d.
Cash at Bank on Current Account	39	15	4
Cash at Post Office Savings Bank	29	3	10
Cash in hand	12	17	5
	£81	16	7

I have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the Books and Vouchers of the Society, and have verified the Investments therein described, and hereby certify the said Abstract to be true and correct.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

Countersigned { O. WARDROP, Auditor for the Council.
C. N. SEDDON, Auditor for the Society.

1st April, 1935.

SPECIAL FUNDS

Oriental Translation Fund

Receipts	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	Payments	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1934. Jan 1.							1934. Dec. 31.						
Balance . . .				276	15	1	Storage of Stock .				7	12	4
Sales (net) . . .				58	0	10	Binding 25 Vol. XX .				1	5	0
Interest on Deposit .				1	4	11	Balance carried to Summary . . .				327	3	6
				£336	0	10					£336	0	10

Royal Asiatic Monograph Fund

Receipts	£	s.	d.	Payments	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.				Dec. 31.			
Balance . . .	139	3	4	Balance carried to Summary . . .	150	16	9
Sales (net) . . .	11	13	5				
	£150	16	9		£150	16	9

SUMMARY OF SPECIAL FUND BALANCES

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.				Dec. 31.						
Oriental Translation Fund . . .	327	3	6	Cash at Bank—						
Royal Asiatic Society Monograph Fund .	150	16	9	On Current Account .	228	0	3			
				On Deposit Account .	250	0	0			
	£478	0	3					£478	0	3

Leasehold Redemption Fund

Receipts	£	s.	d.	Payments	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.				Dec. 31.						
Balance . . .	348	1	9	Balance represented by £370 14*s.* 1*d.* 3½% War Loan . .	378	12	3			
Transfer from General Account . . .	30	10	6	Cash at Bank . .	12	19	4			
Dividends to be Re-invested . . .	12	19	4							
	£391	11	7					£391	11	7

TRUST FUNDS

Prize Publication Fund

Receipts	£	s.	d.	Payments	£	s.	d.
1934. Jan. 1				1934. Dec. 31.			
Balance . . .	99	0	4	Binding 75 Vol. XIII .	3	11	3
Sales (net) . .	31	5	3	Balance carried to Summary . . .	144	14	4
Dividends . . .	18	0	0				
	£148	5	7		£148	5	7

Gold Medal Fund.

Receipts	£	s.	d.	Payments	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.				Dec. 31.			
Balance . . .	59	18	5	Balance carried to Summary . . .	69	13	5
Dividends . . .	9	15	0				
	£69	13	5		£69	13	5

Universities Prize Essay Fund.

Receipts	£	s.	d.	Payments	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.				Dec. 31.			
Balance (from Public Schools Gold Medal Fund)	158	7	2	Cash Prize . . .	20	0	0
Dividends . . .	20	15	4	Prize Books . .	1	1	6
				Printing . . .		17	6
				Balance carried to Summary . . .	157	3	6
	£179	2	6		£179	2	6

SUMMARY OF TRUST FUND BALANCES

Dec. 31.	£	*s.*	*d.*	Dec. 31.	£	*s.*	*d.*
Prize Publication Fund	144	14	4	Cash at Bank on Current Account . .	371	11	3
Gold Medal Fund .	69	13	5				
Universities Prize Essay Fund . .	157	3	6				
	£371	11	3		£371	11	3

Trust Fund Investments.

£600 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable " B " Stock (Prize Publication Fund).
£325 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "A" Stock (Gold Medal Fund).
£645 11*s.* 2*d.* Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable " B " Stock (Universities Prize Essay Fund).
£40 3½ per cent Conversion Stock (Universities Prize Essay Fund).

I have examined the above Statement with the books and vouchers, and hereby certify the same to be correct. I have also had produced to me certificates for the Stock Investments and Bank Balances.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, *Professional Auditor.*
Countersigned { O. WARDROP, *Auditor for the Council.*
C. N. SEDDON, *Auditor for the Society.*

1st April, 1935.

BURTON MEMORIAL FUND

Receipts.	£	*s.*	*d.*	Payments.	£	*s.*	*d.*
1934. Jan. 1.				1934. Dec. 31.			
Balance . . .	7	16	2	Cost of Medal . .	2	7	6
Dividends . . .	1	9	4	Cash at Bank on Current Account . .	6	18	0
	£9	5	6		£9	5	6

Investment—
£49 0s. 10*d.* 3% Local Loans.

JAMES G. B. FORLONG FUND

Jan. 1.	£	*s.*	*d.*		£	*s.*	*d.*
Balance . . .	427	1	0	10% Commission on 1933 Sales . . .	3	3	8
Sales (net) . . .	43	14	2	Printing 500 Vol. XI .	54	8	3
Dividends . . .	201	13	10	Printing 500 and Binding 100 Vol. XII .	73	18	9
Income Tax recovered for the Year ended 5th April, 1933 .	36	17	10	Printing and Binding 500 Vol. XV . .	109	9	0
				School of Oriental Studies—Bursary .	23	2	0
				School of Oriental Studies—Scholarship.	150	0	0
				Balance, Cash at Bank on Current Account	295	5	2
	£709	6	10		£709	6	10

Investments

£1,005 14*s.* 7*d.* New South Wales 4 per cent Inscribed Stock 1942–62.
£1,015 16*s.* 3*d.* South Australian Government 4 per cent Inscribed Stock 1940–60.
£1,010 Bengal-Nagpur Railway 4 per cent Debenture Stock.
£1,143 6*s.* 3*d.* India 3½ per cent Inscribed Stock.
£700 Conversion Loan 3½ per cent.
£45 East India Railway Co. Annuity Class " B ".
£253 18*s.* 4*d.* 3½ per cent War Loan.

I have examined the above Abstracts of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society and have verified the Investments therein described, and I certify the said Abstracts to be true and correct.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, *Professional Auditor.*
Countersigned { O. WARDROP, *Auditor for the Council.*
C. N. SEDDON, *Auditor for the Society.*

1st April, 1935.

of the Society, to meet H.E. the Persian Minister, at which he read out a telegram of thanks from H.H. Foroughi Khan, the Prime Minister in Teheran. The text is as follows:—

"The news of the London celebrations of the Firdausi millenary have been received with gratefulness. Please convey the sincere thanks of the Imperial Government and the Society for the Preservation of Historical Monuments to all the personages and honourable societies which have so kindly participated in the said celebrations.—Foroughi."

A short account of the celebrations will be found in *JRAS.*, 1935, part 1, pp. 239–241.

The commemoration of Körösi Csoma was observed with a lecture by Sir Denison Ross upon his life and work in founding Tibetan Study in India, and an article in the *Journal* of 1935, pp. 233–7, by Dr. Joseph de Somogyi, of Budapest, his fellow countryman. Similar commemorations were, of course, held in Hungary and elsewhere.

Lectures.—The following lectures were delivered during the session under review; almost all of them were illustrated by lantern slides.

"Eighteen Months in N.E. Malaya," by Mlle Jeanne Cuisinier.

"The Quarrel of Ancient and Modern in Arabic Poetry," by Professor H. A. R. Gibb.

"Firdausi: the Poet and his Work," by Professor R. A. Nicholson.

"Luristan," The Burton Memorial Lecture, by Miss Freya Stark.

"The Maria and other Gonds of Bastar State," by Mr. W. V. Grigson.

"The History of Kish from the Earliest Times to the Middle Ages," by Professor S. H. Langdon.

"Bedouin Life in Arabia To-day," by Mr. Carl R. Raswan.

"Alexander Csoma de Körös," by Sir E. Denison Ross.

"Finno-Ugrian Philology," by Mr. Alan S. C. Ross.

"The Joseph Narrative in the light of Egyptian Monuments," by Dr. A. S. Yahuda.

"Buddhist Sculpture in Siam," by Mr. Reginald S. le May.

"Bull Worship in Ancient Egypt," by Mr. H. W. Fairman.

Two lectures which had been arranged for, were unhappily cancelled owing to the sudden indisposition of the lecturers.

"Ordos Bronzes," by Professor W. Perceval Yetts.

"The Near East before 2000 B.C.," by Sir Flinders Petrie.

We are indebted to Professor H. A. R. Gibb for so ably taking the place of the latter lecturer at twenty-four hours notice.

Announcements have been sent to booksellers all over the world drawing their attention to the publications and activities of the Society. The terms of membership have been adequately explained together with their profitable role of agency for membership. These announcements are circulated regularly.

Last year a Special General Meeting gave powers to the Council, under the new Rule 18 *b* to reduce, at its discretion, the annual subscription of membership in the case of Resident Members who are Ministers of Religion, officials at a museum or library, or in the case of persons who are engaged in teaching any of the subjects within the Society's scope. So far, this rule has been made use of in one case only. Other alterations sanctioned at the same time have been much more profitable. Rule 16*a* admits Library and Student Associates under certain specified conditions. Ten new candidates have taken up their Membership under this clause. This influx merits the thanks of the Society to Professor Yetts and Mr. Sidney Smith, who have done much to bring it to the notice of their own students.

The change made in the Society's Public School Essay Prize has proved most successful. Its name has been altered to The Royal Asiatic Society's Annual Universities Prize Essay Competition and its form designed to attract those university students who are interested in Indian affairs. Under the old scheme no essays were received for some years, showing how little concern for such matters is roused in the bosoms of young scholars till they come to man's estate. During the last two years, the essay examiners have been so much gratified by the excellence of the matter submitted that the Council has, upon their urgent recommendation, granted a second prize to mark its appreciation of the efforts made by the writers. As regards the last competition, moreover, the report of the examiners contained the following words: "We desire to place on record how greatly we were impressed by the high level of excellence shown by all the competitors, and to add that the work of four of them required very careful consideration before a final decision could be arrived at."

The winner was Miss Dorothy Anne Louise Stede, of Girton College, Cambridge. The second prize was awarded to Mr. George Edward Holderness, of Keble College, Oxford. The subject was "The Importance of the Physical Features of India for the Understanding of her History". The subject for the next essay will be "The Causes of the Decay of the Mogul Empire".

The Burton Memorial Lecture was delivered before the Society on 25th October last, and the Burton Memorial Medal was presented to Miss Freya Stark. The title of her lecture was "Luristan" and Miss Stark told of her explorations and adventures in that country. The presentation was made by Lord Lloyd, who said that the part of the lecture which had most vividly appealed to his imagination was her description of the endless line of the road leading across an empty land: leading not only from the Caspian to the Indian Ocean and from the Mediterranean to the Pacific, but from prehistory to modern times and from one civilization to another. It speaks volumes for the Government of H.I.M. Reza Shah Pahlavi that a gently nurtured lady should already be able to travel unhindered across the wilds of Persia.

The Society's Triennial Gold Medal has been awarded this year, in accordance with the terms of the Declaration of Trust, to Sir Edward Denison Ross, our Director, in recognition of his "distinguished services in Oriental research". The presentation was made by His Excellency the Iranian Minister.

The following new volumes of original work have been published or accepted for publication by the Society during the past year.

Prize Publication Fund.

Women in the Aiyam al-Arab, by Dr. I. Lichtenstädter.

James G. Forlong Fund.

Dialogues in the Eastern Turki Dialect on Subjects of Interest to Travellers, by R. O. Wingate and E. Denison Ross.

Phonetic System of Ancient Japanese, by S. Yoshitake.

An Introduction to Colloquial Bengali, by W. Sutton Page.

Balti Grammar, by A. F. C. Read.

Other volumes are in the press.

The printing of the *Catalogue* is in hand, but is taking longer than was anticipated. The Councillors who are so kindly giving their time to the voluntary scrutiny of cards and proofs, are themselves busy men. The thanks of the Society are due to them for their help, especially to Mr. Ellis and Dr. Randle.

The thanks of the Society are also due to Mr. G. A. Yates for ready and valuable help to the Editor of the *Journal.*

It is satisfactory to know that the number of students making use of the Library is meanwhile increasing steadily. This year the visits paid to the Library numbered 730, as against 609 the year before and 535 in 1932. There should be a speedier increase when the *Catalogue* is available. The number of books lent out, however, was 613, a figure slightly lower than that for 1933. In addition to the above, 89 books were lent to affiliated members through the National Central Library and 24 were borrowed for our Members from affiliated libraries.

Four important manuscripts have been lent to universities for the use of certain scholars: two to Lahore, and one each to Berlin and Utrecht. Of these three have been used and returned.

A photostat copy of another MS. has been made for students at the Calcutta University; a second for Leningrad is being arranged for. Mutual exchange of Journals with other Societies, Universities or Institutions, has been authorized by your Council in four more cases during the year. The Academy of Sciences of Leningrad has reopened the publication of the *Bibliotheca Buddhica* which has been in abeyance for some years. The next volume is eagerly awaited by scholars.

While Mr. Waley was looking through the Chinese Library, he discovered a very rare book, No. 313, *Huang K'an Lun Yu I Su.* He reports on it as follows:—

"This is the famous subcommentary of Huang K'an, who died A.D. 545, on the *Lun Yü Chi Cheh.* It was lost in China (during the eleventh century or later), and was regarded as irrecoverable. Much later it was recovered in Japan. The date of the recovery has never been stated in European works; but Chavannes gives the date of the Japanese republication as 1850.

"From a MS. note in the present copy (signed by Titsingh) we learn that the book was discovered in 1720. Chavannes gives the name of the discoverer in a confused and inaccurate form. From the Colophon of 313 we learn that it was Nemoto Hachiyemon Hakushū.

"The book was published in 1750 by Okumura Kihei and others at Tokyo."

The thanks of the Society are therefore due to Mr. Waley for bringing this valuable information to our notice.

The late Dr. T. G. Pinches made a bequest to the Society consisting of 500 of his Assyriological and Babylonian lantern slides. He specially wished that the Society would hold them for the use of *bona fide* students or lecturers on these subjects, or institutions such as the Victoria Institute.

They are to be lent on request at the discretion of the Council, in order to assist in promoting an interest in Assyriological and Babylonian studies.

The slides have been catalogued by Professor S. H. Langdon, to whom the thanks of the Society are therefore due.

A very generous offer was made by Dr. Bimala Churn Law, a Member in Calcutta, to endow the grant of a gold medal for the best monograph on Buddhism, Jainism or the History or Geography of Ancient India in annual competition open to the world. After very careful consideration your Council reluctantly explained the vast amount of labour which would be imposed upon it, in receiving, correcting and adjudicating upon the essays involved, which might amount to hundreds in the year. As an alternative, Dr. Law was invited to found and endow a "Law" series of books or papers to be published under the ægis of the Society and dealing with the subjects enumerated, an offer which would be gratefully accepted. This suggestion is now being considered by our generous and public-spirited member.

As was foretold in the Annual Report there has been a considerable drain on the Society's resources during the year in connection with certain repairs and renewals which had become imperative and could no longer be delayed. The stability of the main staircase from the hall to the lecture room was failing, two large combined chimney stacks on the roof were found to be so considerably out of plumb as to be in danger of falling, and the electric light and bell installations of the house were showing the deterioration of time. The consideration of these sources of heavy expenditure became insistent and the repairs could no longer be deferred. They have all been efficiently and satisfactorily dealt with, but have left their mark on the balances at the disposal of the Hon. Treasurer.

The congratulations of the Society are due to Professor C. G. Seligman, upon whom the title of Emeritus Professor of Ethnology was conferred by the University of London when he retired from the staff in July.

By the Rules of the Society, certain changes automatically take place each year in the constitution of the Council of

Management. One of the Vice-Presidents and four Ordinary Members retire and are not eligible for re-election in the same capacity.

This year your Council recommends for the next session that the new Vice-President, under Rule 30, be Dr. C. Otto Blagden, and that, under Rule 32, R. E. Enthoven, Esq., Professor S. H. Langdon, R. S. Le May, Esq., Dr. A. S. Tritton and Professor R. L. Turner should take the place of the retiring Ordinary Members. Also that Sir Oliver Wardrop, who took the place of Sir Edward Gait on retirement, under Rule 28, be confirmed in his position. In addition to the above they recommend that C. E. A. W. Oldham, Esq., should take the place of Sir James Stewart Lockhart as Hon. Secretary, while the vacancy thus caused in the number of Ordinary Members, be filled by the Rev. Professor A. Guillaume.

The two other undermentioned Honorary Officers are recommended for re-election under Rule 31: Mr. Ellis as Hon. Librarian and Mr. Perowne as Hon. Treasurer. Your Council has further chosen Sir Edward Maclagan to represent the Society on the Governing Board of the School of Oriental Studies in place of Sir J. Stewart Lockhart.

The annual accounts for the year 1934 have been audited professionally by Messrs. Price, Waterhouse and Co. They were then examined by a board of auditors, which included Sir Nicholas Waterhouse and two honorary auditors whom you elect annually, one to represent the Council and one to represent the Members. They held their audit meeting on 20th March, 1935, and reported that the accounts were kept in a satisfactory manner.

Under Rule 81 the Auditors retire but are eligible for re-election. Messrs. Price, Waterhouse and Co., the professional auditors, being eligible, kindly offer themselves for re-election.

The Chairman: I will now call upon the Honorary Treasurer to make his annual statement explaining the accounts of the Society for the past year.

Mr. Perowne, the Hon. Treasurer, said:—

Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen, last year was a gloomy one for our accounts, there being a deficiency of receipts against payments of £530 12*s*. 6*d*., as you will see on referring to the accounts in front of you. Our total receipts are £2,661 12*s*. 2*d*. only, as against £3,192 4*s*. 8*d*. payments. Moreover, out of our receipts some £50 has to be credited to capital as representing compounded subscriptions.

This means in fact that the available income was £2,611 12*s*. 2*d*., so that we are some £580 short on the year's accounts. This, however, does not arise so much from a continued decrease in our receipts as compared with last year as an increase in payments, for, as compared with the previous year, our receipts available as income are in fact about £11 higher. On the other hand, our payments last year were as I have said, £3,192 4*s*. 8*d*. as against £2,999 11*s*. 6*d*. in the previous year, the difference arising in a great measure from some heavy repairs and renewals we had to do, as you have seen in the annual report and foreshadowed in last year's report. Even allowing for this, however, it shows that with our income now reduced to £2,600 in round figures, we cannot carry on if we accept £3,000 as about the average of our payments in a normal year.

Now let us see how our income is made up for the past year. Our income subscriptions (excluding compounders), amounted to £1,031 14*s*. 8*d*. as against £1,051 19*s*. 4*d*. in 1933, a further drop of £20 after a previous fall of £35 in 1932. Our rents were eight guineas less than in 1933, and there is a decrease of £12 10*s*. upon the Savings Bank Interest Account owing to our having had to withdraw practically the whole of our deposit.

On the other hand "Sundry Donations" recovered £30, and under the heading of "Journal Account" it is cheering to note that there is also a slight increase of £12, though still a considerable drop from 1932. Under "Sundry Receipts" there is an increase of £15 10*s*. Thus, on balance, the receipts for last year and the previous one are about equal, the only real matter of concern being the drop in subscriptions.

Turning to the payments side, you will notice under the head of "House Account" that the rates are up as compared with the previous year by £36, most of this in consequence of the new lease of the flat referred to in the Report; lighting £18, and coal £16, which are usually fluctuating figures, and repairs are no less than £170 in excess of what was spent in 1933, the major part of it being in connection with the repairs and renewals to which your attention is drawn in the Report. The total of the House Account, therefore, is £246 in excess of the previous year. Salaries and wages are up by £18. Printing and stationery by £32, and teas about £5.

On the other hand, there is a decrease of £71 in the *Journal* Account, £17 in the Library Expenditure, and £23 under the heading of "Other General Expenditure", the total payments making up, as I have said, £3,192 4*s*. 8*d*. as against £2,661 12*s*. 2*d*. receipts.

The balance in hand on the 31st December, 1933, was as you see, £612 9*s*. 1*d*., while on the 31st December last we have only brought forward £81 16*s*. 7*d*., the difference being accounted for by the amount expended in the year's account as already mentioned.

You will also note the manner in which that balance has been set out so as to give you as clear a statement as possible as to the present position of our finances, so far as regards our receipts and payments. From this you will see that we have to account to the Carnegie Grant for £250, which we had in hand for printing the catalogue, and which we shall be able to provide when required, if not from surplus income, then from a sale of some of our investments.

There is also £471 13*s*. 3*d*. which has been credited to capital account for compounded subscriptions. This money will also be recouped in due course to capital account and invested as and when surplus income is available for the purpose.

The position of our accounts is not a cheerful one, especially as this £580 comes upon the top of a deficit of the previous year of about £400.

The one all-important matter is the question of the subscriptions, and I would earnestly ask all the members to do their utmost to obtain new subscribers and bring our personal subscriptions back to the old figures of £1,200 or £1,300 of a few years ago. These form the backbone of our financial position, and must always remain so, and in this observation, of course, one must include the *Journal* subscriptions.

As you will have seen from the Annual Report, special efforts have been and are being made by the appointment of local representatives and in other ways to draw attention to the activities of the Society and to make it better known, and the terms of membership more attractive. Some little result seems already to have been attained, and we hope that in time this may bring in many fresh adherents. Donations also will be most gratefully received.

It is very gratifying to be able to report that the India Office have now kindly agreed to restore their full grant of £315 per annum instead of the £210 we have been receiving for the last three years. This will make a welcome addition to our receipts this year.

In addition as you will have also noted in the Report, there is a rearrangement of some of the tenancies, and we have succeeded in letting one of our rooms which had been untenanted for some two or three years, which gives us an additional £60 per annum.

On the payments side we hope to make a considerable saving this year under the House Account heading as we have not much in the way of repairs in prospect.

There will also be an important reduction (referred to in the Report) in the size, and therefore cost of the *Journal*, and the library expenses also will be slightly diminished. With these increases in receipts and reduction in expenditure, we shall hope to bring the receipts and payments account this year into better relationship, though it will clearly take some time to recover from the crisis through which we have been passing during the last few years.

As for the Special Funds accounts, I do not think there is anything to which to call your attention, except that the Leasehold Redemption Fund is slowly increasing and will increase still faster in future years. This should provide a sum of some £4,000 or £5,000 at the end of our lease, which is a long way off at present, in order to recoup the expense we had in moving from our premises in Albemarle Street.

All the other special funds are in a healthy condition. One is almost too healthy, namely the Forlong Fund, on which there is still a considerable balance, a large part of which should however be absorbed by the end of the current year.

Let me add my usual word of thanks to Mrs. Davis, our genial assistant secretary, who draws eulogistic reports from our accountants as to the way in which the accounts are kept, and to whom your treasurer never appeals in vain when requiring some complicated information as to certain statistics or figures.

As a final word may your treasurer express his humble opinion that our finances have touched bottom, and are likely now to improve slowly if, as he hopes and believes, members will do what each of them can in their several ways to assist that recovery.

The Chairman: We are greatly indebted to the Hon. Treasurer for the trouble he takes over our finances, and I think we ought to be very grateful to him for the extremely lucid statement he has made.

I will now call upon Mr. Oldham to move the adoption of the Report and to propose the auditors for the ensuing session.

Mr. Oldham said: In moving the adoption of the Council's Report but a few remarks seem called for.

At each of these anniversary meetings it is our sad duty to pay a tribute to the memory of distinguished members of the Society who have passed away during the year. On the present occasion we mourn the loss of six men who have earned wide fame in the annals of Oriental scholarship, among them being one of our oldest members and a constant attendant at our meetings, whose kindly presence we must all miss—I refer to Dr. T. G. Pinches, the Assyriologist. There is another name to which I should like to refer, namely that of Rai Bahadur Hiralal, a very distinguished Indian scholar, who had done valuable work on the *District Gazetteer*, the volumes on the *Tribes and Castes* and the *Inscriptions* of his Province. He was, moreover, greatly esteemed by all who had the privilege of his acquaintance. A link with the past has also been snapped by the death of Mr. A. H. Wilson, our honorary solicitor for almost fifty years, and the grandson of one of our greatest Indologists, Horace Hayman Wilson, director of this Society for twenty-three years, and its President eighty years ago. Then we all deeply regret that we are losing, owing to his failing health, the valued services as honorary secretary of another of our oldest members, Sir J. Stewart Lockhart.

It is a pleasure, on the other hand, to offer our warm congratulations to our versatile Director on the award to him of the Society's triennial gold medal.

Turning to more material affairs, you have heard the account of the past year's finances told by our Hon. Treasurer in the clear and succinct manner habitual to him. The fact is that for three years past our financial position has given cause for anxiety. The receipts from subscriptions—the mainstay of our resources—fell from an average of about £1,350 during the ten years ending with 1931 to an average of about £1,100 in the last three years. Concurrently with this falling off in subscriptions, which many other societies also have had to face as a result of the widespread economic depression, the grant received from the Government of India was reduced from 300 to 200 guineas, representing a loss of

£105 per annum. Last year we had, further, to meet heavy exceptional charges for repairs and renewals amounting to £200. Only by the exercise of rigid economy in all directions and a further reduction in the size of the *Journal* has the Chancellor of our Exchequer managed to balance his budget; and we owe him a debt of gratitude for his ceaseless and efficient control. We all admire his temperament—he is never downhearted. I do not know what his motto is, but it ought to be *mens aequa in arduis*. He is always cheerful, and he always hopes for the best, and rightly so in the present circumstances as we shall see later on.

The fall in our membership by fifty or sixty since 1931 need not cause undue alarm; it has been due largely to the operation of Rule 25*a*, under which non-payment of the annual subscription involves cessation of membership. It may be recalled perhaps that in 1876 the number of paying members had fallen to about 140.

It is at least gratifying to know that, in spite of enforced economy, the essential activities of the Society, the standard of the contents of the *Journal*, and of the lectures delivered, and the use of our library by readers and research workers, have been maintained.

Signs are not wanting, however, that the tide is turning in our favour. We have gratefully to acknowledge that the grant from the Government of India has been restored to its former figure with effect from the current year; the tenancies of our spare rooms have, by the diplomatic negotiation of our secretary, been rearranged on more satisfactory and remunerative terms; and we have had a welcome accession of new members from the Continent and America, and of Library and Student Associates admitted under the new Rule 16*a*, passed only last year. The estimation in which our Society continues to be held in India is attested by the proposal (referred to in the Report) received from a distinguished Indian scholar and patron of research, Dr. B. C. Law. We may fain hope that these are auguries of better times ahead, signs that may afford some satisfaction to the members of our staff, who have worked so indefatigably to promote our interests. The thanks of the Society are due to all their staff—to Colonel Hoysted, Mrs. Cardew, and Mrs. Davis, as well as to those members who are devoting their spare moments to the passing of the *Library Catalogue* through the press.

I will now end by proposing the names of the gentlemen who are nominated to fill the appointment as auditors for the forthcoming session.

I have great pleasure in proposing Mr. Enthoven to be Hon. Auditor as representing the Council, and Sir Richard Burn to represent the rest of the members of the Society as second Hon. Auditor. And, as the professional auditors, I can do no better than propose the name of Messrs. Price, Waterhouse and Co.; we have always been most satisfied with their work in the past, and no better auditors can be had.

The Chairman: I will ask Sir Percy Sykes to second this.

Sir Percy Sykes: I think the best thing that I can do is to criticize a little, and then make a suggestion.

When I joined the Society some thirty odd years ago, in those prehistoric, pre-War times, I was told that no one was admitted unless he were a learned man. I said 'I am not a "learned" man, but I am interested in the objects of the Society', and I was allowed in. I look on it that the man you want is the man who is interested in the subjects you have at heart; he need not necessarily be a learned man. No Society can live if only learned men belong to it—there are so few of them. A second point is that this Society has not had enough fresh blood in it. In another Society, the Royal Central Asian, with the running of which Sir Denison Ross and myself have a good deal to do, we are always getting in fresh blood. In the last three years our membership has gone up from 1,200 odd to nearly 1,600, and I think that is owing to the fact that we are up-to-date, modern people. We are always bringing in new people from outside, and therefore we have very much increased the area and the number of people interested in the Society. I would, in conclusion, say that I have much pleasure in seconding this Report, and associating myself very especially with what has been said as to the valuable officers whose work is really admirable.

The Chairman: We will now proceed to the election of officers. Professor Thomas we hoped would be willing to remain on the Council. After being either Vice-President or on the Council for three years, members retire for one year, so that we usually, if we can, elect as Members of Council those whose term of office as Vice-President has expired, and vice versa. Professor Thomas is extremely busy with work which will occupy him for a long time, but we hope that sooner or later he will be able to return to the Council. He is not able to do so on this occasion. The honorary officers we wish to elect are: Mr. Ellis as Hon. Librarian, Mr. Oldham as Hon. Secretary, and Mr. Perowne as Hon. Treasurer. Just as the services of the staff have been properly eulogized in the speech that has been made, we ought also to express gratitude for the very great services which have been rendered to us by the honorary officers. Sir J. Stewart Lockhart, owing to ill-health, has had to retire from the office of Hon. Secretary, and we are very grateful to Mr. Oldham for being ready to undertake those duties. Something has been said already of the debt we owe to Mr. Perowne for his services. We recommend for the Council the following names: Mr. R. E. Enthoven, the Rev. Professor A. Guillaume, Professor Langdon, Mr. R. S. le May, Dr. A. S. Tritton, Professor R. L. Turner, Sir Oliver Wardrop.

The Chairman: You have now been able to read the annual Report of the Council, you have had the accounts lucidly explained to you, and proposals have been made to you for filling the vacancies in the Council and for choosing the Auditors for the forthcoming session. I will now ask you, if you are content to adopt that Report and those nominations, to express your desire to do so by the usual show of hands.

Carried unanimously; thank you.

The Chairman: It has been the custom for the President on this occasion to say something about the past, present and the future of the Society. This is, however, a very special occasion, and we have had the pleasure of hearing speeches from His Excellency the Iranian Minister and from Sir Denison Ross. Since our thoughts, I think, this week are much more about the King's Silver Jubilee than anything else, instead of giving a Presidential Address, I will read to you the address which this Society sent to His Majesty on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee. It reads as follows:—

"TO HIS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY KING GEORGE V

"May it please Your Majesty,

"On behalf of the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY we, the undersigned, respectfully beg leave to offer its sincerest congratulations on the approaching jubilee of Your Majesty's accession to the throne.

"The Society remembers with gratitude that it has been consistently supported throughout its career by the patronage of Your Majesty and your royal predecessors. Upon its formation in 1823, H.M. King George IV graciously consented to become its Patron, and each succeeding sovereign has deigned to accept the same position. At the present time the Society has the encouragement of having Your Majesty as its Patron and their Royal Highnesses the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Connaught as Vice-Patrons. The support thus given to its endeavours to promote the study of Oriental learning and to stimulate intercourse between the East and the West has been of incalculable benefit to the Society, and to the task which it has taken in hand.

"The Society includes a considerable number of Your Majesty's Indian subjects, besides many of foreign nationality. We are all of one mind in offering to Your Majesty our felicitations on the conclusion of twenty-five years' occupation of the throne, and our ardent wishes for the prolongation of a reign which has been marked by a steady increase in the affection and respect in which the royal house of Windsor is now universally held.

" And we crave leave to add that these feelings are largely due to Your Majesty's undeviating devotion to the national interests, and to the zeal manifested by Your Majesty and your Royal Consort in promoting all movements having for their end the improvement and betterment of mankind.

" We have the honour to be, Sir, with the profoundest respect, Your Majesty's dutiful servants,

(Signed) D. S. Margoliouth,
President.
(Signed) E. Denison Ross,
Director."
Seal.

The following is the reply which has been received :—

Home Office,
Whitehall.
8th May, 1935.

" Sir,—I am directed by the Secretary of State to say that he has been commanded by the King to convey to you His Majesty's thanks for the loyal and dutiful Address from the Royal Asiatic Society on the completion of the Twenty-fifth Year of His Majesty's Reign, and to assure you that His Majesty deeply appreciates the sentiments of loyalty and affection to which it gives expression.

" I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
H. A. Strutt."

The Secretary,
Royal Asiatic Society,
74 Grosvenor Street, W. 1.

PRESENTATION OF THE TRIENNIAL GOLD MEDAL

The Society's Gold Medal for distinguished services in Oriental research was presented by H.E. the Iranian Minister, on 9th May, to Sir E. Denison Ross, Kt., C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Lit. Advantage was taken of the annual anniversary general meeting on that date at the Society's premises to combine the two ceremonies. The presentation took place before the anniversary meeting.

Professor Margoliouth :—

Before we begin with the business of the Society, I have the very agreeable duty of inviting H.E. the Iranian Minister to present, on our behalf, the Triennial Gold Medal of the Society to Sir E. Denison Ross.

I would like to say a few words about the origin of the Gold Medal. The Society, while it honoured foreign scholars by electing them as honorary members, had no means of rewarding British erudition, and therefore proposed, in 1897, to establish, in honour of Queen Victoria's Jubilee, a fund to award a gold medal to a distinguished British scholar every third year. In this Sir A. N. Wollaston took a leading part. The suggestion was welcomed: money was subscribed and the first medal was awarded to Professor E. B. Cowell, a famous scholar and professor of Cambridge. The requisite capital for the Gold Medal Fund was secured in 1900, under a Trust Deed. I may mention the names of a few of the subsequent gold medallists—Dr. E. W. West, Sir William Muir, the Rev. G. U. Pope, Sir George Grierson, Dr. J. F. Fleet, Mrs. Agnes Smith Lewis and Mrs. Margaret Dunlop Gibson, Mr. Vincent Smith and, more recently, Professor Sayce and Sir Aurel Stein. Many persons of distinction have been good enough to present the medal on the Society's behalf to these distinguished scholars. The first of these, Dr. E. W. West, had the medal presented to him by Albert Edward, Prince of Wales at the time, afterwards King Edward VII. Others who have presented the medal for us have been Sir Austen Chamberlain and Lord Birkenhead, who presented it to Professor Sayce. I feel that it is particularly appropriate that His Excellency the Iranian Minister should this afternoon present the medal to Sir Denison Ross, who has many interests, but I have a sort of idea that the subjects nearest to his heart are Persian literature, Persian poetry and Persian art. I will now ask His Excellency to present the medal.

H.E. the Iranian Minister then spoke.

Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen : I highly appreciate the honour done to my country by the Royal Asiatic Society in asking me to present their Triennial Gold Medal to Sir Denison Ross. My gratification is enhanced by the fact that this distinguished orientalist, who has rendered yeoman service to Iran by making her literature, art and civilization better known, is also a dear friend of mine.

The coveted distinction conferred upon him to-day is well deserved, and could not have been more appropriately bestowed. This assertion is not made lightly. The reasons for it are well founded and, with your permission, I will briefly touch upon them. In doing so I will speak of Sir Denison Ross's character, his useful initiatives, and his studies. First let me say that the recipient of your gold medal has a heart of the same metal. Numerous are the persons and institutions that have benefited by his kindness and generosity. He is a man of the world, and lacks insularity. This is probably due to the fact that he has studied in so many different countries; in London, in St. Petersbourg, at Strasbourg—under the great Nöldeke and in Paris. He has widely travelled not only in Europe, but also in Iran, Turkestan, China and the Caucasus. His has never been the proud seclusion of the study, but rather a warm contact with humanity. He has kept abreast of events and one is amazed by his versatility, sense of humour and ubiquity. He is like quicksilver, and never remains long in one place. Within a few weeks he attended the Firdausi Millenary celebrations in Teheran, and was back to participate in the Firdausi week in London, and make it the brilliant success that it was. He has a great range of interests. Not only does he know the languages of Europe and the Near East, but he is also acquainted with Tibetan, Chinese, and Eastern Turkish. There is a well-known " hadith " of our prophet Mahommed : اطْلُبوا العلم و لوكان ابّصين " Seek science even as far as China." Sir Denison Ross has followed this precept to the full. He is also a true Persian in that, according to another " hadith " : " He would reach knowledge even were it to be found in the Pleiades."

Among his very useful initiatives, I would cite a few :—

When in India in 1903, in the time of Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty, he was philological Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and in that capacity conceived the idea of acquiring by purchase such valuable Persian and Arab manuscripts as could still be traced to the possession of small private owners in India. The Curzon Collection was the outcome of this initiative, and a remarkable catalogue containing 756 valuable items was drawn up by Ivanow and dedicated to Sir Denison Ross by the Council of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

On his return from India he was for some time at the British Museum classifying the collections of that great explorer and archaeologist, Sir Aurel Stein, who, I am glad to say, is going to continue his studies in Iran this autumn, and he became Keeper of the Stein Antiquities.

Since its foundation in 1916 he has been the Director of the School of Oriental Studies. With diligence, acumen, wonderful tact and patience, he has for some nineteen years guided the destinies of that great institution, endearing himself to teachers and students alike, building up its library from a few volumes to 13,500 books and pamphlets. To-day over forty languages are taught at the school, and instruction is given in the history, religions and cultures of many Asiatic and African countries.

In January, 1931, at the time of the memorable and unsurpassed Exhibition of Persian Art at the Royal Academy, Sir Denison Ross organized and presided over the First Congress of Persian Art in which the Minister of Education of Iran and I had the privilege of participating. There he displayed his wonderful gift of languages, his knowledge of Iranian lore and his capacity for making everyone feel happy and at home. The outcome of the Congress is a Survey of Persian Art and Archæology, which is being published by the Oxford University Press under the able editorship of Professor A. U. Pope, that energetic lover of Persian art.

I now come to the last part of my remarks, and I hope I am not overtiring you.

Sir Denison Ross's accomplishments in the realm of pure studies cover a wide range: India, Central Asia and Iran. I must confine myself to citing but a few. He has edited an Arabic history of Gujerat in three volumes and has given us studies in Portuguese Sources of Indian History. In the field of Central Asian studies he is responsible for the historical part of Skrine's Book on Turkestan, *The Heart of Asia*, and the translation of the basic *Ta'rīkh-ī-Rashīdī* so important for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. That history, written in excellent Persian by Mirza Haydar, a Moghul Prince of Kashmir, shows how widespread was the use and knowledge of the Persian language in the sixteenth century.

Sir Denison edited the more interesting parts of Fakhr-ed-Din Mobarakshahi's work, important for the history of the Turkish tribes, and quite recently brought out the *Turki Dialogues*, the first practical manual of conversation in the dialect spoken in the much agitated area of Chinese Turkestan. The interest aroused by this book is shown by the fact that an extensive review of it happened to be the closing episode in the career of the great German Turcologue, W. Bang. To these must be added the lists of names of birds in a rare combination of languages: Manchu, Chinese, and Turkish, and three illuminating lectures on the complicated problem of Nomadic Movements in Central Asia.

Last, but not least, and here I am on more familiar ground, I will mention some of Sir Denison Ross's Persian studies. His interest in this field is many-sided, and he has always been attracted by the less explored paths. In his Strasbourg thesis on a rare history of Shah Ismaïl, he has rendered accessible an important source on the origins of the Safavid Dynasty. His article on the Dynasties of North-Western Persia has paved the way for the Seyed Ahmad Kasravi, a present-day Persian investigator of the history of those "Forgotten Rulers". His studies on Rudaki and Omar Khayyam have thrown much light on the difficult problems concerning those great poets. To the excellent series of "The World Travellers" Sir Denison contributed several important volumes on the early British visitors to the land of the Lion and the Sun. Thanks to him a manuscript of Juvaini's famous *History of the Mongols* and Amin Razi's *Haft Iqlim* and a curious tract on the Necropolis at Shiraz have seen light. To crown all, he published, at the time of the Persian Exhibition of 1931, a delightful book on *The Persians.*

A man of such brilliant attainments and breadth of view who has worked indefatigably in the path of a better international understanding is surely an instrument of peace, and therefore to be prized in these days of anxiety, when a new race in armaments has begun and rumours of conflicts between the nations of the West are rife. The Royal Asiatic Society serves a very excellent purpose as a bridge between the East and the West. With the shrinkage of space it will be called upon more than ever to exercise its beneficent influence. When it confers high distinctions upon savants such as Sir Denison Ross, it is certainly following its best traditions and giving encouragement to other men of learning and goodwill.

I have much pleasure in handing to him this high tribute to his work from the Royal Asiatic Society.

Sir Denison Ross in reply said :

I feel that this sort of thing is too good to be true; possibly I shall be transferred to the lower regions and cross-questioned and shall hear things about myself not mentioned in this charming speech. But the embarrassment is over and I, of course, feel more deeply attached than ever to the eloquent speaker, so eloquent that anyone following him is almost ashamed to open his mouth in English, not to mention French and Persian. I have to thank him very heartily for all he has said; and now that that is over, I hope you will forget all about it, and only remember that it was a Persian minister who presented this medal. May I now talk about something different.

As Professor of Persian in the University of London, I cannot on this occasion deal with any more fitting subject than that of Iranian studies. There can be no doubt that European scholars have during the past two centuries placed Iran under a very deep obligation, by making Persian literature known not merely to the West, but also to the Persians themselves; and in this field Englishmen have always been pioneers.

It was more especially the Englishmen in the service of the East India Company who contributed in so large a measure to the foundation of these studies. I have only to recall the names of Turner Macan, James Atkinson, Sir William Jones, Sir John Malcolm, Sir Gore Ouseley, E. B. Eastwick. Coming to more modern times, I would refer to Cowell, Whinfield, John Payne, the Warner Brothers and last but not least to Edward Granville Browne.

As far as regards the general public in Europe and America it may, I think, be claimed that the only poets of Asia known to them by name are those of Persia. How many men of good education could give you the name of a single Arabic, Chinese or Indian classical poet? (Of course, I do not forget Rabindra Nath Tagore—but he is in a sense an English poet.) On the other hand, most of us, without being orientalists, are familiar with the names of Hafiz, Sa'di, Omar Khayyam, and Firdausi.

The reason for this pre-eminence of the Persian poets is, I think, to be found first in the relative simplicity of the language, and secondly in the ready appeal which Persian poetry makes to our hearts and our minds. Persian poetry, being more easy to translate than the poetry written in more difficult languages, such as Sanskrit and Arabic, took the lead in the West long ago, in spite of the great advances recently made in the interpretation of other literatures, a position which it has ever since maintained.

As our President has told you, the Triennial Medal of the Society was founded in connection with the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria in 1897, and it is interesting to recall that Edward Cowell, the first scholar on whom it was conferred, although by profession a Sanskritist, was closely connected with Persian studies. Cowell was born in 1826. In 1850 he went to Oxford, where he began at once the study of Sanskrit and Persian (in addition to Classics and Mathematics). Like myself, he went to Calcutta at the age of 30, and after spending ten years in India, he was appointed to the Chair of Sanskrit at Cambridge, where he remained until his death in 1903.

To him we owe it that Edward FitzGerald ever took up the study of Persian. This was in 1853. In 1858, the first edition of the *Rubaiyat* appeared. It would be difficult to estimate the influence of FitzGerald's translation throughout the world—the only translation (unless we except the Bible) ever destined to become a classic on its own merits.

But among the many Englishmen who have devoted themselves to the study of this beautiful language one stands out clear-cut against the rest, and it gives me very great satisfaction to take advantage of this occasion to say a few words about Edward Granville Browne, for to him I owe more than to any other man in my life. To know him was to love him, to listen to him was a liberal education; he was the soul of generosity, both materially and spiritually, and few and dull were those who remained unmoved by his enthusiasm. He possessed endless resources of industry, and yet, seeing how ready he was to spend long hours entertaining not only his friends but even the most casual acquaintances, it is a wonder that he managed to get through so much reading and writing, not to mention the vast correspondence he conducted in various languages, for he had the rare gift of being able to write a good letter in Arabic, Persian and Turkish.

Edward Browne's name will certainly live long in Cambridge, while in Persia I think it can never die. I know of no other European whose name has become a household word in an Eastern country. The case is without parallel as far as I am aware. I can only think of Robert Hart in China, and Cromer in Egypt; but the basis of their reputations was quite other, and was not in any way connected with the *religion* or *letters* of those countries.

Browne's four volumes on Persian literature can never be superseded—and my great regret is that he did not devote some of the precious years he gave to the study of Babism to the compilation of a *History of Persia in Islamic times*; for such a book still remains to be written, and no more urgent task than this awaits the labours of Persian scholars.

It is important to remember that a great number of the chief sources for Persian history have never even been published, indeed have never been translated. Moreover, some of these sources exist only in unique copies. The Persians have been fond of writing universal histories beginning with the creation of the world, in which the only valuable portions are those dealing with the writer's own period. It is mainly on such chronicles that European histories of Persia are based. But our libraries contain hundreds of special histories dealing with dynasties or founders of dynasties, which await publication or translation. For in Persia there is nothing in the shape of archives such as we find in Europe, or of official dynastic histories such as exist in China. Of many important periods, such as that which preceded the rise of the Safavids, and of many of the minor dynasties, our knowledge is lamentably slight.

Edward Browne was instrumental in promoting the publication of careful editions of a certain number of special histories, and his knowledge of these sources was unrivalled, but unfortunately he never set about the task of co-ordinating his vast stores of information with a view to writing a history of Persia.

It is true that fresh materials are constantly being made available to the student, and it is possible that the time has not yet come for the writing of a history in any sense complete. Perhaps the most that might be achieved is a compendium of Persian history on the lines of Sir Henry Eliot's famous *History of India*, which gives an analysis of all the main sources, with translations of the most important passages. I should like to see some such work as this undertaken by a group of scholars. What Edward Browne did for Persian literature it is our obvious task to do for Persian history.

I purposely refrained on this occasion from referring to living scholars, for I think we may claim that Persian studies are still progressing in England, though the labourers are all too few.

There is one feature in connection with Persian studies to which I should like to refer before concluding my remarks, namely the very great progress in scholarly research which is being made in Persia to-day.

The greatest living scholar of Iran is undoubtedly Mirza Muhammad Khan Qazwini, who for so many years worked in close collaboration with Edward Browne. The many texts he has published are perfect models of careful editorship and profound scholarship, and he may, I think, be regarded as the founder of the new school of literary and historical research in Iran.

During my recent visit to Teheran I was delighted to find so many of the younger generation imbued with the spirit of modern research, and to notice the activities of the Department of Education in the printing of valuable texts. Dr. A. Hekmat, the present Minister of Education, himself a fine scholar, is doing splendid work in this direction. We are glad to welcome him, as a Member to this Society.

But nothing is more to be desired in Iran to-day than the preservation of manuscripts and the prevention of the wanton distribution of private libraries. Teheran, Meshed and other cities of Iran are the homes of many public and private collections, and until recently these have been for the most part inaccessible to non-Iranian students.

With regard to private libraries, I know of one or two very valuable collections in Teheran, which are in grave danger of disappearing, or rather of being neglected when their present owner dies. I have reason to hope that measures are now being taken to prevent this happening. I am convinced that if owners of libraries were encouraged to do so, they would be willing to bequeath to the State their manuscripts with the assurance that they would be carefully preserved and made accessible to students. It is no more uncommon in Iran than in other countries to find children who care not at all for the libraries built up with love and labour by their parents.

As for the public libraries, it was a source of intense satisfaction to me during my last visit to Teheran to find that Shah Riza Pahlavi, in his wisdom, had thrown open to non-Islamic students the great library of the Sipahsalar, into which during my former visits I was unable to penetrate.

I have now to confess to genuine feelings of my own unworthiness to be included in the list of the distinguished holders of this Gold Medal. I am only reconciled to this great honour by the thought that I have used every opportunity to keep alight the torch of Oriental studies in England and in India, and that I have set or helped many younger men on the road to better ends than it has ever been within my powers to achieve.

Finally I wish to say how highly gratified I am that this presentation should be made by the Iranian Minister, Husain Ala, with whom I have had friendly relations for so many years, and for whose charm, eloquence and brilliant talents I have the deepest admiration.

The Chairman: I have to convey the congratulations of the Society to Sir Denison Ross on receiving the Gold Medal, and also to convey the thanks of the Society to the Iranian Minister for coming to us in a week in which we fancy his engagements must be very numerous, and also for the extremely felicitous manner in which he has discharged the function.

Notices

On account of the Summer Vacation, it would be greatly appreciated if correspondence could be reduced to a minimum during the months of August and September.

Books sent to India by V.P.P. (Value Payable Post) may not be sent at Book Post Rates on account of the Customs Regulations. Consequently, it is cheaper, in most cases when speed is not imperative, to send payment in advance.

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. Vol. lxiv, July to December, 1934.

Stein, A. The Indo-Iranian Borderlands: their Prehistory in the Light of Geography and of Recent Explorations. (With plates xiv–xxii, and 2 maps.)

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution. Vol. vii, Part iv, 1935.

Schmidt, Fr. W. Die Stellung der Munda-Sprachen.

Gibb, H. A. R. Notes on the Arabic Materials for the History of the Early Crusades.

Bailey, H. W. Iranian Studies—IV.

Burrow, T. Iranian Words in the Kharosthi Documents from Chinese Turkestan—II.

Edwards, E. Some Aspects of the Conflicts of Religion in China during the Six Dynasties and T‘ang Periods.

Giles, L. Dated Chinese Manuscripts in the Stein Collection. (Plate vii.)

The Journal of the Burma Research Society. Vol. xxiv, Part ii, August, 1934.

Furnivall, J. S. The Early History of the Malay Archipelago.

Langham-Carter, R. R. Lower Chindwin Nats:—(3) Myinbyushin; (4) Komyoshin.

R. P. C. The Brahmanical Gods in Burma.

The Journal of the Burma Research Society. Vol. xxiv, Part iii, December, 1934.

Myaing, U Ba. The Northern Hills of Ponnagyun Township.

Pru, U Tha Tun. The Minbya Chin Hills of the Akyab District.

Journal Asiatique. Tome ccxxv, No. 1, July-December, 1934.

Finot, L. Manuscrits sanskrits de Sādhana's retrouvés en Chine.

Maspero, H. Les origines de la communauté bouddhiste de Lo-yang.

Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde.

Deel. lxxv, Aflevering i, 1935.

Kraemer, H. Dr. Eenige grepen uit de moderne Apologie van den Islam I.

Gonda, J. The Javanese version of the Bhagavadgītā.

Deel lxxv, Aflevering ii, 1935.

Kraemer, H. Dr. Eenige grepen uit de moderne Apologie van den Islam II.

Prins, J. Eenige gegevens betreffende Semendo en Semendo'sch volksrecht.

Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië. Deel 92, Derde Aflevering, 1935

Gonba, J. Dr. Eenige beschouwingen over inhoud compositie, aard en herkomst van het Agastyaparwa.

—— Aanteekeningen bij het Agastyaparwa.

Stapel, F. W. Dr. Een verhandeling over het ontstaan van het Menangkabausche rijk en zijn Adat.

Kern, R. A. Djandji Dalĕm.

O Oriente Português. Nos. 7, 8, and 9. 1934–1935.

Telles, R. M. Epigrafia de Baçaim.

Gracias, J. B. A. O Fundador de Baçaim.

Pereira, A. B. de B. Os Portugueses em Baçaim.

Pissurlencar, P. S. S. Maratas em Baçaim.

Egyptian Religion. Vol. iii, No. 1, January, 1935.

Foucart, G. Études thébaines, les Voyages mystiques aux Villes Saintes.

Journal of the American Oriental Society. Vol. lv, No. 1, March, 1935.

Feng, H. Y. and Shyrock, J. K. The Black Magic in China Known as Ku.

Barton, G. A. The Second Liturgical Poem from Ras Shamra.

Emeneau, M. B. A Story of Vikrama's Birth and Accession.

Montgomery, J. A. Ras Shamra Notes III.

Harris, Z. S. A Hurrian Affricate or Sibilant in Ras Shamra.

PRESENTATIONS AND ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

Remainder of Accessions, January to April, 1935

Sankalia, H. D., The University of Nālandā . . . (Studies of the Indian Historical Research Inst., vol. 12.) 9 × 6. *Madras,* 1934. *From the Author.*

Sarkar, H. B., Indian influences on the Literature of Java and Bali . . . (Greater India Studies, no. 1.) 9 × 5½. *Calcutta,* 1934. *From the Greater India Society.*

Scholtz, R., Die Struktur der sumerischen engeren Verbalpräfixe . . . Hälfte 1. (Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-aegyptischen Gesellschaft, Bd. 39, Heft 2.) 10 × 7. *Leipzig,* 1934. *From J. C. Hinrichsche-Buchhandlung.*

Schubring, W., Die Lehre der Jainas nach den alten Quellen dargestellt . . . (G. I. A. P., Bd. 3, Heft 7.) 10½ × 7½. *Berlin u. Leipzig,* 1935. *From Messrs. W. de Gruyter.*

Upaniṣads. Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka-Upaniṣad. Tr. et annotée par E. Senart. (Collection Émile Senart, 3.) *Paris,* 1934. *From " Les Belles Lettres ".*

Vadala, R., Samsoun. Passé, présent, avenir . . . (Pays et cités d'Orient, 2.) 10½ × 6½. *Paris,* 1934. *From Messrs. P. Geuthner.*

Wulff, K., Chinesisch und Tai. Sprachvergleichende Untersuchungen . . . (Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Hist.-fil. Medd. Bd. 20, Heft 3.) 10 × 6½. *København,* 1934. *From Messrs. Levin and Munksgaard.*

Accessions, April to July, 1935

Aḥmad Shāh, Atālīq al-ṣibyān. [" The Children's Instructor." A series of versified descriptions of concrete objects.] *Hindustani. Lithographed.* 9 × 5½. *Cawnpore,* 1934. *From the Author.*

Andrae, W., Die jüngeren Ischtar-Tempel in Assur . . . (Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Assur, 5.) 14 × 10½. *Leipzig,* 1935. *From J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.*

Asiatic Society of Bengal, Journal and Proceedings . . . Vol. 2, nos. 9, 10. Vol. 3, nos. 1–4, 7–10. Vol. 4, nos. 1–5, and extra nos. Feb. 20, March 27, and May 2, '08. 10 × 6½. *Calcutta,* 1906–8. *From Mrs. M. J. Pillinger.*

Asin Palacios, M., La espiritualidad de Algazel y su sentido cristiano. Tom. 2. (Publ. de las Escuelas de Estudios Árabes de Madrid y Granada, Ser. A, núm. 2.) 9½ × 6½. *Madrid,* 1935. *From Messrs. Maestre.*

Bagnold, R. A., Libyan Sands . . . 9½ × 6½. *London*, 1935.
From Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton.

Batavia. K. Batav. Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen. Jaarboek 2. 1934. 9½ × 6½. *Bandoeng. Exchange.*

Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin. Herausg. . . . unter Leitung von Prof. C. Schmidt. Bd. 1. Kephalaia. Lief 1/2 (Seite 1–50). 12½ × 9. *Stuttgart*, 1935.
From Messrs. Kohlhammer.

Bhagavatsiṃha, Maharaja of Gondal, Bhagavad-gaurava-suvarṇa-grantha. [A volume in English and Gujarati, celebrating the 70th birthday of Maharaja Bhagavatsiṃha, by various authors.] 10 × 6½. *Gondal*, 1934.
From the Golden Jubilee Committee, Gondal.

Binyon, L., The spirit of man in Asian art. Being the Charles Eliot Norton Lectures . . . in Harvard Univ. 1933–4. 9 × 6. *Cambridge, Mass.*, 1935. *From the Oxford University Press.*

British Museum, Catalogue of Arabic Printed Books . . . Vol. 3. Indexes. By A. S. Fulton . . . 11½ × 9. *London*, 1935.
From the British Museum.

—— Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. Ser. 3. Chester Beatty gift. Ed. by A. H. Gardiner. Vol. 1. Text. Vol. 2. Plates. 11½ × 9½, (Plates) 17½ × 14. *London*, 1935.
From the British Museum.

Brohier, R. L., Ancient irrigation works in Ceylon. Pt. 2 . . . 13½ × 8½. *Colombo*, 1935. *From the Government of Ceylon.*

Bruno, A., Das hebräische Epos. Eine rhythmische und textkritische Untersuchung der Bücher Samuelis und Könige . . . 9½ × 6½. *Uppsala*, 1935.
From Messrs. Almquist & Wiksell.

Buchanan, F., An account of the District of Shahabad in 1809–1810 . . . 10 × 7. *Patna*, 1934.
From the Bihar and Orissa Research Soc.

Bukhārī. A collection of Muhammed's authentic traditions. [Ed. and] tr. into English by I. H. Ei-Mougy . . . [Appearing in pts. in the "Nur-el-Islam Review", publ. by Al-Azhar Univ., Cairo.] Pt. 1. 11 × 8. *Cairo*, 1934.
From the Translator.

Cairo, Acad. Royale de la Langue Arabe. Majallah Majma. al-Lughah al-'Arabīyah al-Mulkī. [Bulletin.] Vol. 1. *Arabic*, 11 × 8. *Cairo*, 1935.
From the Acad. Royale de la Langue Arabe.

Calcutta Gazette. Appendix . . . Feb. 21, 35. Catalogue of Books registered in the Presidency of Bengal during the quarter ending 31st March, 1934.

—— 30th June, 1934. 14 × 8½. *Calcutta*, 1934.
From the High Commissioner for India.

Chess: Libro del Ajedrez . . . de autor árabe desconocido . . . Texto árabe, traducción y estudio previo por F. M. Pareja Casañas. . . . Tom. 1, 2. (Publ. de las Escuelas de Estudios Árabes de Madrid y Granada. Ser. A, num. 3.) 9½ × 6½. *Madrid-Granadà*, 1935. *From Messrs. E. Maestre.*

Daudpota, U. M., The influence of Arabic poetry on the development of Persian poetry . . . 10½ × 7. *Bombay*, 1934. *From the Author.*

Delougaz, P.: 1. Plano-convex bricks and the methods of their employment. 2. The treatment of clay tablets in the field. (Or. Inst., Univ. of Chicago, Studies in Ancient Or. Civilization, No. 7.) 9½ × 7. *Chicago*, 1933. *From Univ. of Chicago.*

Dhīrendra Varmā. Hindī-bhāṣā-kā itihāsa. [A history of the Hindi language, in Hindi.] 10 × 6½. *Allahabad*, 1933. *From the Indian Press, Allahabad.*

Dongray, K. R. B., In touch with Ujjain . . . 7½ × 5. *n.pl.*, 1935. *From the Oriental Book Agency, Poona.*

Dumézil, G., Ouranos-Váruṇa. Étude de mythologie comparée indo-européenne . . . 7½ × 5½. *Paris*, 1934. *From Messrs. Adrien Maisonneuve.*

Dunand, M., Miss. archéologique au Djebel Druze. Le musée de Soueïda . . . (Haut-Commissariat de la R. F. en Syrie, Bibl. arch. et hist., tom. 20.) 11½ × 9½. *Paris*, 1934. *From Messrs. Paul Geuthner.*

Geiger, W., A dictionary of the Sinhalese language. Compiled under the direction of W. G. by Sir D. B. Jayatilaka and others . . . Vol. 1, pt. 1. 11½ × 9. *Colombo*, 1935. *From the Sinhalese Dictionary Managing Committee.*

Gelb, I. J., Inscriptions from Alishar and vicinity . . . (Univ. of Chicago, Or. Inst. Publns., vol. 27. Researches in Anatolia, vol. 6.) 12 × 9½. *Chicago*, 1935. *From the Cambridge Univ. Press.*

Ghosh, N. N., An early history of Kaúsâmbī . . . (Allahabad Arch. Soc. Ser., 1.) 9 × 6. *Allahabad*, 1935. *From the Allahabad Archæological Society.*

Goldberg, L., Das samaritanische Pentateuchtargum. Eine Untersuchung seiner handschriftlichen Quellen . . . (Bonner Or. Studien, Heft 11.) 10½ × 7. *Stuttgart*, 1935. *From Messrs. W. Kohlhammer.*

Goodenough, E. R., By light, light. The mystic gospel of Hellenistic Judaism . . . 10 × 7. *New Haven*, 1935. *From the Oxford University Press.*

Grousset, R., Histoires des Croisades et du Royaume Franc de Jérusalem. 2 . . . 9½ × 6. *Paris*, 1935. *From the Librairie Plon.*

Gwalior. Archæological Dept.: Annual Report of the Arch. Dept. for the year 1923–4, 1924–5, 1925–6, 1926–7. 13½ × 8½. *Gwalior*, 1924–7.

—— —— *Also* Archæology in Gwalior, by M. B. Garde. 2nd ed. *Gwalior*, 1934.

—— —— and *Pamphlets*: Directory of forts in Gwalior State. 1932.
Guide to the Arch. Museum at G. 1928.
Guide to Chanderi. 1928.
[Guide to] Surwaya. 1933.
Gwalior Fort Album. 4th ed.
Sight-seeing at Gwalior. 2nd ed. 1934.
Exchange.

Eliot, Sir Charles, Japanese Buddhism . . . 9 × 6. *London*, 1935.
From Messrs. Edward Arnold.

Hoffmann, J., and Emelen, J. van, Encyclopædia Mundarica . . . Vol. 9. L and M. 11 × 8. *Patna*, 1934.
From the High Commissioner for India.

Horster, P., Zur Anwendung des islamischen Rechts im 16. Jahrhundert. Die "Juristischen Darlegungen" (Ma'rūżāt des Schejch Ul-Islam Ebū Su'ūd . . . Herausg., übersetzt und untersucht von P. H. (Bonner Or. Studien, Heft 10.) 10½ × 7½. *Stuttgart*, 1935. *From Messrs. W. Kohlhammer.*

Huai Nan Tzu. Tao, the great luminant. Essays from Huai Nan Tzu with introductory articles . . . by E. Morgan . . . 9 × 6. *London*, (1933).
From Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.

Ibn al-Mu'tazz, 'Abd Allāh, Kitāb al-Badī' . . . Ed. . . . by I. Kratchkovsky . . . (E. J. W. Gibb Mem. Ser., N.S. x.) 10 × 6½. *London*, 1935. *From the Trustees.*

Ibn Taghri Birdi. I. T. B's Annals, entitled An-nujūm az-Zâhira fî Muluk Misr Wal-ḳâhira, Vol. 5, pt. 3, A.H. 792–800. Ed. by W. Popper. (Univ. of California Publns. in Semitic Philology. Vol. 5, no. 3, pp. 517–644.) 11 × 7½. *Berkeley*, 1935.
From Messrs. E. J. Brill.

Ibrahim Madkour: La place d'al-Fārābī dans l'école philosophique musulmane . . . 10½ × 7. *Paris*, 1934.
From Messrs. Adrien Maisonneuve.

India Office Library: Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prākrit MSS. in the Library of the I.O. Vol. 2. Brahmanical and Jaina MSS., by A. B. Keith. With a Supplement, Buddhist MSS., by F. W. Thomas . . . In 2 pts. 11½ × 9. *Oxford*, 1935.
From the Oxford University Press.

Indian States Forces. Army List . . . January, 1935. 10 × 6½. *Delhi*, 1935. *From the Government of India.*

Ismā'īl Beg Chol: The Yazīdīs, past and present . . . Ed. by Costi K. Zurayk . . . (American Univ. of Beirut. Publ. of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Or. Ser., no. 6.) *Arabic.* 9½ × 6½. *Beirut,* 1934. *From the American University of Beirut.*

Jabagi, M., and Dumézil, G., Textes populaires inguš. Recueillis par M. Jabagi. Traduits, commentès, et précédés d'une introduction grammaticale par G. Dumézil. 10 × 6½. *Paris,* 1935. *From Messrs. Adrien Maisonneuve.*

Jamīl Sidqī. Al-Aushāl. [Drops of water. Poems. 5th Dīwān.] *Arabic.* 9½ × 7. *Baghdad,* 1934. *From the Author* (?).

Jayacandra Vidyālaṅkāra. Bhāratīya-itihāsa-kī rūpa-rekhā. [Studies of Indian history.] 2 vols. *Hindi.* 10 × 6½. *Allahabad,* 1933. *From the Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad.*

Jhaveri, K. M., The present state of Gujarati Literature . . . (Thakkar Vassonji Madhavji Lectures.) 8 × 5. *Bombay,* 1934. *From the Author.*

Jodhpur. Report on the administration of the Archæological Dept. and the Sumer Public Library . . . for the year ending 30th Sept., 1934. Vol. 8. 13½ × 8½. *Jodhpur,* 1935. *From the Supt., Sumer Public Library.*

Johnston, R. F., Twilight in the Forbidden City . . . [Official Japanese tr., circulated by the Japanese Govt.] 9 × 6½. [*Tokyo,* 1935.] *From Sir R. F. Johnston.*

Kshemendra. Loka Prakās'a. Vols. 3–4 . . . Sanskrit text with Gujarati tr. (by Upādhyaya Śri Vīnayavijayaji.) 11 × 7½. *Bhavnagar,* 1934. *From Messrs. Kunvaraji Anandaji.*

Kunda-Kunda Ācāryya: The Pravacana-sāra . . . with the commentary, Tattva-dipika, by Amṛtacandra Sūri. English tr. by B. Faddegon . . . (Jain Literature Soc. Ser., vol. 1.) 9 × 6. *Cambridge,* 1935. *From the Cambridge University Press.*

Lindquist, S., Siddhi und Abhiññā. Eine Studie über die klassischen Wunder des Yoga . . . 10 × 7. (Uppsala Univ. Årsskrift, 1935, 2.) *Uppsala,* 1935. *From the Author.*

Lounsbery, G. C., La méditation bouddhique . . . Sa théorie et . . . sa pratique selon l'École du Sud . . . 7½ × 5. *Paris,* 1935. *From Messrs. Adrien Maisonneuve.*

McEwan, C. W., The Oriental origin of Hellenistic kingship . . . (Or. Inst., Univ. of Chicago. Studies in Ancient Or. Civilization, no. 13.) 10 × 7½. *Chicago,* 1934. *From the Cambridge Univ. Press.*

Mackay, E., The Indus civilization . . . 8 × 5½. *London,* 1935. *From Messrs. Lovat Dickson.*

Margouliès, G., Petit précis de grammaire chinoise écrite. 8 × 5½. *Paris,* 1934. *From Messrs. Adrien Maisonneuve.*

Mostyn, Thomas, The third English embassy to Poona. Comprising Mostyn's Diary, Sept., 1772–Feb., 1774, and Mostyn's Letters, Feb.–Nov., 1774. Ed. by J. H. Gense and D. R. Banaji . . . 7½ × 5. *Bombay,* (1934). *From the Editors.*

Madras. Records of Fort St. George. Fort St. David consultations, 1746.

—— Letters to Fort St. David, 1747, 1747–8, 1748–9.

—— Tellicherry consultations. 1746–7. Vol. 17, A. 13½ × 8½. *Madras*, 1935. *From the High Commissioner for India.*

Mysore. Annual report of the Mysore Archæological Dept. for the year 1930. 11½ × 9. *Bangalore*, 1934. *From the Director of Arch. Researches in Mysore.*

Near East. A post-war bibliography of the Near-Eastern Mandates, 1919–1930. French fasc. (Publ. of the American Univ. of Beirut, Social Sci. Ser., no. 1.) 9½ × 7. *Beyrouth*, 1934. *From the American Univ. of Beirut.*

Al-Niffarī. The Mawáqif and Mukháṭabát . . . with other fragments. Ed. . . . with tr., commentary, and indices, by A. J. Arberry . . . (E. J. W. Gibb Mem. Ser., N.S., 9.) 10 × 6½. *London*, 1935. *From the Trustees.*

Nihāl Singh. Shree Bhagvat Sinhjee. The Maker of Modern Gondal . . . 10 × 6½. *Gondal*, 1934. *From the Golden Jubilee Committee.*

Nilakanta Śastrī, K. A., The Cōḷas . . . vol. 1 . . . (Madras Univ. Hist. Ser., no. 9.) 10 × 7. *Madras*, 1935. *From the Registrar, Madras University.*

Niẓāmī, ʻArūẓī. Chahār maqālah. Ed. by Muḥammad Rafīʻ Fāẓil Devbend. *Persian.* 7½ × 5. *Allahabad*, 1932. *From the Editor.*

Ojanssu, H., Kujola, J., Kalima, J., and Kettunen, L. Lyddīläisiä kielennäytteitä, koonneet H.O., J. K., J. K., ja L. K. (Mém. Soc. Finno-Ougrienne, 69.) 10 × 6½. *Helsinki*, 1934. *From the Société Finno-Ougrienne.*

Oppenheim, Max, Freiherr von, Aus fünf Jahrtausenden morgenländischer Kultur. Festschrift Max Freiherrn von Oppenheim zum 70. Geburtstage . . . (Archiv. für Orientforschung, Beibd. 1.) 11½ × 9. *Berlin*, 1933. *Exchange.*

Paris. Musée Guimet. Catalogue des collections indo-chinoises, par P. Dupont . . . Précédé d'études par P. Stern, J. Auboyer, G. de Coral Rémusat, P. Dupont. 10 × 7. *Paris*, 1934. *From the Director of the Musée Guimet.*

Patañjali. Concordance Panini-Patañjali (Mahābhāṣya). By P. C. Lahiri . . . (Indische Forschungen, Heft 10.) 10 × 6½. *Breslau*, 1935. *From Messrs. M. and H. Marcus.*

Patna Museum: Annual Report of the Managing Committee for the year ending 31st March, 1934. 13½ × 8½. *Patna*, 1935. *From the High Commissioner for India.*

Peshwa Daftar. Foreword to the Selections from the P. D. . . . 10 × 6½. *Bombay*, 1933. *From the High Commissioner for India.*

Pfeiffer, R. H., State letters of Assyria. A transliteration and tr. of 355 official Assyrian letters . . . 722–625 B.C., by R. H. P. . . . (American Or. Ser., vol. 6.) 10½ × 7½. *New Haven*, 1935.
From Messrs. J. H. Furst.

Princess of Wales Saraswatī Bhavana Texts.
No. 50. The Matrika Chakra Viveka.
Nos. 51–2. The Advaitasiddhānta Vidyotana and Nṛisiṃha Vijñapena.
No. 54. The Nṛisiṃha Prasāda, Prāyaṣcitta Sāra.
No. 55. The Nṛisiṃha Prasāda, Śraddha Sāra. 9 × 5½. *Benares*, 1934. *From the Govt. Sanskrit Library, Benares.*

Punjab. Catalogue of Books registered in the Punjab . . . during the quarter ending the 31st December, 1934. 13½ × 8½. *Lahore*, 1935. *From the Government of India.*

Punjab. Press List of Old Records in the Punjab Civil Secretariat. Vol. 25. From 1849 to 1861. Education Dept. 13½ × 8½. *Lahore*, 1934. *From the High Commissioner for India.*

Purāṇas : L'Īśvaragītā. Le chant de Śiva. Texte extrait du Kurma-Purāṇa. Tr. . . . par P. E. Dumont . . . 10½ × 7½. *Baltimore and Paris*, 1933. *From Messrs. Paul Geuthner.*

Qanungo, K. R., Dara Shukoh. Vol. 1. Biography . . . 7½ × 5½. *Calcutta*, [1935]. *From Messrs. Luzac.*

Ragusa. Avvisi di Ragusa. Documenti sull' impero Turco nel sec. xvii e sulla guerra di Candia. [Ed. by] I. Dujčev. (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 101.) 9½ × 7. *Roma*, 1935.
Exchange.

Ram Narain Lal. The Student's Practical Dictionary . . . Sanskrit . . . English and Hindi. 7½ × 5½. *Allahabad*, 1935.
From the Compiler.

Ramacandra Dikshitar, V. R., The Matsyapurāṇa. A study . . . (Univ. of Madras. Bulletins of the Dept. of Ind. Hist. and Arch., no. 5.) 10 × 7. *Madras*, 1935.
From the Registrar, Madras University.

Ravila, P., Reste lappischen Volksglaubens. Gesammelt und herausg. von P. Ravila . . . (Mém. Soc. Finno-Ougr., 68.) 10 × 6½. *Helsinki*, 1934.
From the Société Finno-Ougrienne.

Ribaud, M., Voyage du jeune Stanislas au Japon . . . Tom. 2. Le vieux Japon. "La route de la Mer Orientale." 8 × 6 *Paris*, 1935. *From Messrs. Adrien Maisonneuve.*

Rice, D. Talbot, Byzantine art . . . 8½ × 6. *Oxford*, 1935.
From the Oxford University Press.

Rome. Collegio Rabbinico Italiano. Annuario di Studi Ebraici . . . vol. 1, 1934. 9 × 6½. *Roma*, 1935.
From Messrs. Felice le Monnier.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS

ASIATIC SOCIETY MONOGRAPHS.

Vols. XX–XXI.

A Study in the Economic Condition of Ancient India. By Dr. Pran Nath. 1929. Price 12*s*. 6d.

The Kumzari Dialect of the Shihuh Tribe, Arabia, and a Vocabulary. By Bertram Thomas. 1930. Price 2*s*. 6d.

PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND.

Vols. XII–XIII.

Outlines of Tibeto-Burman Linguistic Morphology. By S. N. Wolfenden. 1930. 15*s*.

A Guide to Ismaili Literature. By W. Ivanow. 1933. 9*s*.

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND.

Vol. XXXI.

Vicitrakarṇikāvadānoddhṛta. Nevāri Text and Translation. Edited by Dr. Hans Jórgensen. 1931. 12*s*. 6*d*.

JAMES G. FORLONG FUND.

Vols. VII–XI, XV.

The Elements of Japanese Writing. By Commander N. E. Isemonger. 1929. £1 5*s*.

Falakī-i-Shīrwāni. His Dīwān. By Hādī Ḥasan. 1929. 10*s*.

Ta'rīkh-i-Jahān-Gushāy of Juwayni, Vol. III, Facsimile of MS. dated A.H. 690, belonging to Wahīd-ul-Mulk. With Introduction by Sir E. Denison Ross. 1931. 7*s*. 6*d*.

Dialogues in the Eastern Turki Dialect on Subjects of Interest to Travellers. By R. O. Wingate and E. Denison Ross. 1934. 4*s*. 6*d*.

Phonetic System of Ancient Japanese. By S. Yoshitake. 1934. 6*s*.

An Introduction to Colloquial Bengali. By W. Sutton Page. 1934. 10*s*. 6*d*.

Balti Grammar. By A. F. C. Read, Central Asian Mission. 1934. 8*s*. 6*d*.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

74 Grosvenor Street, W. 1.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

The JOURNAL of the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY is published quarterly. It is frequently illustrated and it contains Original Articles on the Languages, the Archæology, the History, the Beliefs and the Customs of the East.

Each quarter the principal books published on Oriental subjects are reviewed.

The Annual Subscription to the Society is THREE GUINEAS for Resident Members (except in the case of Ministers of Religion, Teachers of certain Oriental Subjects or Officials in certain Museums and Libraries, when the Council may reduce this subscription to Two Guineas), TWO GUINEAS for Non-resident Members residing in the British Isles, and THIRTY SHILLINGS for Non-resident Members residing abroad.

Each Member, whose Subscription for the current year has been paid, receives the Journal post free, has the use of the Library at the Society's rooms, and admission to the meetings of the Society. Three-guinea Subscribers may borrow books. Two-guinea Subscribers may be allowed to borrow books on payment of an additional fee to be determined by the Council.

Libraries and persons who are not Members may obtain the Journal post free by paying a Subscription of **Two Pounds Eight Shillings** a year in advance direct to the Secretary. The price of each part separately is **Fifteen Shillings.**

NOTICE TO MEMBERS AND STUDENTS.

Teas can be supplied by the Caretaker at a small charge.

STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS, LTD., PRINTERS, HERTFORD.

FOURTH QUARTER OCTOBER, 1935.

THE
JOURNAL
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
NOV 8 1935
LIBRARY

With which are incorporated the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology

October **1935**

QUOT RAMI TOT ARBORES
COOPER
A.D. MDCCCXXIII INST.

OCTOBER 15

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
74 GROSVENOR STREET, LONDON, W.1

Price Fifteen Shillings

Indexes to the Transactions and Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society

FOR THE YEARS 1827–1888. *Price Four Shillings and Sixpence.*
FOR THE YEARS 1889–1903. *Price Four Shillings and Sixpence.*
FOR THE YEARS 1920–1929. *Price One Shilling and Sixpence.*

Centenary Volume of the Royal Asiatic Society, containing a brief history of the Society from 1823 to 1923, together with indexes of authors, their contributions to the Journal and of the regions and countries dealt with, 1827–1922. Compiled and edited by F. E. PARGITER. 1923. Price 7*s.* 6*d.*

The Centenary Supplement of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1924. Being a selection of papers read to the Society during the celebrations of July, 1923. Price 7*s.* 6*d.*

Decade Index of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1920–29. Paper Covers similar to JOURNAL, each 1*s.*; Bound in paper boards, each 1*s.* 6*d.*; Bound in paper boards and interleaved, each 2*s.*

Members are asked to present the following numbers of the R.A.S. Journal:—

OLD SERIES.

1842. Vol. VII, No. 13.
1861. Vol. XIX, Pt. II.
1849. Vol. XI.
1863. Vol. XX. Pt. I.

NEW SERIES.

1870. Vol. IV, Pt. II.
1873. Vol. VI.
1876. Vol. VIII, Pt. II.
1879. Vol. XI, Pt. III.
1881. Vol. XIII, Pts. I, II, III.
1882. Vol. XIV, Pts. III, IV.
1883. Vol. XV, Pts. I, II.
1885. Vol. XVII, Pt. IV.

PRESENT SERIES.

1903. Pts. I, III.
1904. Pts. I, II, III.
1906. Pt. II.
1907. Pt. I.
1909. Pt. II.
1920. Pts. I, IV.
1921. Pt. I.
1929. Pt. I.

Also any complete volumes of the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology.

LONDON:
THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,
74 GROSVENOR STREET W. 1.

JOURNAL OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
1935

PART IV.—OCTOBER

A Specimen of the Thūlung Dialect

By STUART N. WOLFENDEN

THE dialect here under consideration was first given attention by Hodgson,[1] and was later briefly described from Hodgson's materials by Professor Sten Konow in the *Linguistic Survey of India.*[2] No connected specimen in the language has so far been made available.

The following story and notes, therefore, gathered in the Darjeeling District in 1931 [3] will perhaps serve as a supplement to our knowledge of this imperfectly known form of speech.

PARABLE OF THE PRODIGAL SON

Kōṅ mī-čyō-kā-m nī-čī ū-čyō bā-ī-ḍā. Mē nī-cī-ḍā
One man of two his sons were. Them two among

yāk̦-kē ū-čyō-kā ū-pā-p-kā-m-ḍā rāk-tā " *Pā-ā, ā-mā*
younger his son his father to said " Father, my

ā-dē k̔āū-lŭṅ hām-kō-bū k̔ō-lē bā-ṅē ". *Ū-pā-p-kā*
my share wealth that which is that give me ". His father

---

[1] *JASB.*, vol. xxvi (1857), pp. 333 et seqq. Reprinted in *Miscellaneous Essays Relating to Indian Subjects*, vol. i, pp. 176–193. Both these are vocabularies only.

[2] Vol. iii, pt. i, pp. 368–9.

[3] The material was obtained under the same circumstances as that of Rūngchhēnbūng previously reported in this *Journal*—see *JRAS.*, 1933, pp. 845–856. For comparative purposes see also the description of Sāngpāng in the *Acta Orientalia*, vol. xii (1933), pp. 71–9, and of Kūlung, id., vol. xiii (1934), pp. 35–43.

k̔ō-lē k̔āū-lŭṅ nī-p̔ī ū-čyō-či-kā dyō-styū. Mī-sī-mā
that wealth both his sons two (to) divided. Then
ū-yāk-kē ū-čyō-kā ū-dē lak-sā-kā ṭāṛo[1] *des*[2]*-ḍā*
his younger his son his share taking distant country to
la-stā. Dī-p̔ū ū-mā ū-k̔āū-lŭṅ j̔ūwā[3] *čām-stā-mā wak-tā.*
went. Then he his wealth gamble playing exhausted.
Mī-ṣiṇ-dā-mā mē bā-k̔ōp-ḍā saṅ-sa-wā dyū-stā. Mī-ṣiṇ-dā-mā
Then that place in famine occurred. Then
mē mī-čyō mē-dĕl-ḍām-kā-m j̔yŏl-sī-pā mī-čyō-kā-m-ḍā
that man that country of great man of
tyū-pā-čyō dyŭm-mū ḍā-styū-mā mē j̔yŏl-sī-pā mī-čyō-kā-m
servant becoming that great man of
nĕp-ḍā la-stā. Mē j̔yŏl-sī-pā mī-čyō-kā mē-kā bā
house to went. That big man him pigs
rĕm-mū t̔yū-rū-styū. Bā rĕp-ḍā ṣāro[4] *kryŭm*
to tend sent. Pigs tending while very hungry
lyū-stā-mā bā j̔ā-m pō-mū k̔āp-ḍū. Hā-lō bā-kā-m
feeling pig's food to eat wished. But pigs of
ū-hap-kā-m nyĭm-kā pō-mū mī čăp-syū-wā. Mē-kā
their owner of fear for to eat not ate. He
ū-na-ḍā myĭm-styū: ā-pā-p-kā-m nĕp-ḍā dē-kōṅ j̔ā-m
his mind in thought: my father's house in much food
pō-mū lā-sī. Hā-lō gō ā-sĭn-dā kryŭm-kā sĭt-tā-ṅā
to eat find shall. But I here hunger from dying
bū-ṅū. Ā-t̔ā-nē bak-sā-kā ā-pā-p-kā-m-ḍā la-ṅū. Mī-sĭn-dā-mā
am. Now arising my father to go will. Then
sya-wū "Pā-ā, gō-kā ē-mā ṅăṭ-ḍō pāp[5] *bē-ū-tō.*
say will "Father, I thee before sin did.
Bagwān[6]*-kā-m ṅăṭ-ḍō pāp bē-ū-tō. Ā-t̔ā-nē gō ē-mā ū-čyō*
God before sin did. Now I thy son

[1] N. टाड़ो *ṭāṛo*.
[2] N. देस *des*.
[3] N. जुवा *j̔uwā*.
[4] N. सारो *sāro*.
[5] N. पाप् *pāp*.
[6] N. भग्वान् *Bagwān*.

rā-mū yogya[1] *mī bū-ṅū. Gō-kā ē-mā-kā-m tyū-pā-čyō*
to be called worthy not am. Me thy servant (as)

bē-sā-kā ǰyŭl-ṅī". Ā-kō-tī myĭm-sā-kā bak-tā-mā
making keep". Thus thinking (he) arose

ū-pā-p-kā-m-ḍā la-stā. Ū-pā-p-kā ū-čyō bĭk-tō-ṅā bē-pā
his father to went. His father his son coming far off

rāp-ḍyū. Hā-mā ū-pā-p ōn-tō-ṅā la-stā-mā ǰē-sā-kā
saw. Then his father running approaching embracing

čūmā[2] *pyū-ḍū. Mī-sī-mā ū-čyō-kā rāk-tā "Pā-ā, gō-kā*
kiss gave. Then his son said "Father, I

ē-mā ṅāt-dō pāp[3] *bē-ū-tō. Bagwān*[5]*-kā-m ṅāt-dō pāp*[3]
thee before sin did. God before sin

bē-ū-tō. Ā-tā-nē gō ē-mā čyō rā-mū bō yogya[4] *mī bū-ṅū.*
did. Now I thy son called to be worthy not am.

Gō-kā ē-mā-kā-m tyū-pā-čyō bē-sā-kā ǰyŭl-ṅī". Hā-lō
Me thy servant making keep". But

ū-pā-kā wāṅ-mē tyū-pā-čyō rāk-tā "Jyō-pā nyō-ḍā
his father other servants (to) said "Good new

yē pī-sā-kā pa-sā-ḍā. Ū-brĕp-čō-ḍā čū-rĭm k̔ū-sā-ḍā.
clothes bringing put on (him). His finger on ring put.

Ū-k̔ĕl-ḍā ǰuttā[6] *k̔ū-sā-ḍā. Mī-sī-mā syō-nyū-pā bāčā*[7]
His feet on shoes put. Then fat calf

sĕḍ-nī. Gō-ī pē-sā-kā k̔ūši[8] *bī-ī. Hē-ṅā-mā ā ā-čyō*
kill. We eating merry will be. Because this my son

dām-stām bā-yē-ḍā lā-ū-tō; sī-pā bā-yē-ḍā lī-stā".
lost was is found; dead was is alive".

Mī-sī-mā mē-mī-m t̔yōr-sī-kā bā-m-ḍā.
Thus they happy remained.

---

[1] N. योग्य *yogya.*

[2] N. चुमा *čumā.*

[3] N. पाप् *pāp.*

[4] N. भग्वान् *Bagwān.*

[5] N. योग्य *yogya*

[6] N. जुत्ता *ǰuttā.*

[7] N. बाछा *bāčā.*

[8] N. खुशि *k̔uši.*

Mē bēlā[1] *ū-ḍōk-pū ū-čyō bĕṅ-sī-ḍā bā-yē-ḍā.*
That time his elder his son field in was.

Nĕm-t́ā nĕp-ḍā rōk-tā-lō nĕm-kā-m ṕār-dā rōk-tā-lō
In the evening house to returning house near coming

nĕp-ḍā t́yōr-sī-kā-m lyō-lām t́yō-styū. Mī-sī-mā mē-kā
house in merriment of sound heard. Then he

tyū-pā-čyō kōṅ čē-sā-kā "Hī-lā?" byū-ḍū. Mī-sī-mā mē
servant one calling "What?" asked. Then that

tyū-pā-čyō-kā rāk-tā "Ī-yāk-kē ī-lāk
servant said "Thy younger thy brother

rōk-pā bū ī-pā-p-kā ī-lāk-kā 'Mē
returned who has thy father (and) thy brother 'That

čyō-pā-ṅā lā-styū-mā' rāk-sā-kā, syō-nī-pā[2] *bāčā*[3] *sĕḍ-yū-mā*
son found is' saying, fat calf killing

t́yōr-sī bē-tō-ṅā bū". Mē lā t́yō-styū-mā ū-ḍōk-pū
merry making is". Those words hearing his elder

ū-čyō-kā čōk-čō byū-dyū. Nĕp-ḍā la-mū mī bī-sā-wā.
his son angry became. House into to go not wished.

Mī-sī-mā ū-pā-p bĭk-tā-mā nĕp-ḍā la-mū lĕṃ-styū.
Then his father came (and) house into to go entreated.

Mī-sī-mā ū-čyō-kā rāk-tā "Rĕp-ḍā! gō hām-kō nĕm-bā-t́āṅ
Then his son said "Behold! I thus long

gā-nā-nŭṅ bāṭ-pā bū-ṅ, gō ē-mā ī-lā mī ṕāl[4]*-tō-wā.*
thee with remained have, I thy thy word not disobey.

Hā-lō gā-nā hē-lō-bō ā-ṅōp-sā-nŭṅ t́yōr-sī bō-mū kōṅ
But thou never my friends with merry to make one

bāčā[3] *mī gāk-t́yū-ṅā bū-nā. Hā-lō ā ē-mā yāk-kē*
calf (even) not give didst. But this thy younger

ī-čyō ū-lām-lē-dyŭm-pā-kā k̆āū-lŭṅ wak-sā-kā nĕp-ḍā
thy son his extravagance (by) wealth lost house to

---

[1] N. बेला *belā.*

[2] *syō-nī-pā* and *syō-nyū-pā* both correct.

[3] N. बाछा *bāčā.*

[4] Fr. N. फाल्नु *pālnu* throw away, reject.

rōk-pā bū, gạ̄-nạ̄-kā ū-mā lāgi[1] *syō-nyū-pā*[2] *bāčā*[3]
returned has (and) thou him for fat calf
sē-sā-kā ťyōr-sī bē-nā. Hā-mā ū-pā-p-kā rāk-tā "*Ē*,[4]
killing merriment makest. Then his father said "O,
ạ-čyō! ā-mā ḱāū-lŭṅ bāṭ-pā ē-m ṅā-ḍē. Gō-ī ťyōr-sī
my son! my wealth remaining thine is. We happy
bọ̄-mū bạ̄-sī ā ī-lāk dām-stām bā-yẹ̄-ḍā lā-stī,
to be ought, (for) this thy brother lost was is found,
sī-pā bā-yē-ḍā lī-stā".
dead was is alive".

AFFINITIES

With this dialect one receives the distinct impression—noticeable also in the case of Bāhing—that a closer relationship exists with Tibetan in the matter of word-forms than is the case with most of the allied forms of speech. In this place, the following short list—in addition to those which will appear later in illustration of special points—will give an idea of the degree of relationship existing between Thūlung and Tibetan.

THŪLUNG	TIBETAN
ḱāp-mū to wish, to desire.	*rṅab-*[5]*-pa, rṅam*[5]*-pa, rkam*[5]*-pa*
ʃyŭl-mū to retain, to keep.	*skyil-ba*
rōk-mū to return.	*log-pa*
rāk-mū to say, to speak.	*ạgrag*(*s*)*-pa*, P. *grags*; *ạgrogs-pa* to call, to shout.
rā-mū to call, to say.	*zla-ba*
bak-mū to arise, to get up.	*ạṕag-pa*
ťyōr-sī glad, happy.	*bkra-šis*(*-pa*) (CT. *tra-ši*)
sĕḍ-mū to kill.	*gsod-pa* (P. *bsad*)
sī-pā dead.	*ši-ba*

---

[1] N. लागि *lāgi*.

[2] *syō-nī-pā* and *syō-nyū-pā* both correct.

[3] N. बाछा *bāčā*.

[4] N. ए *e*.

[5] This interchange of final *p*, *b*, and *m*, also occurs within Thālung itself in, for instance, *nĕp-ḍā* "in the house", from *nĕm* "house", *nĕp-sŭm* "sun", Hodgson *nep-sŭṅ*, or *nem*.

	Thūlung		Bāhing		Kūlung	Chouraśya	Khāling	Dūmi
	Hodgson	Own	Hodgson	Own	Hodgson	Hodgson	Hodgson	Hodgson
One . .	*kwoṅ, koṅ*	*kōṅ*	*kwoṅ, koṅ*	*kōṅ*	*u-būm*	*ko-lo*	*tā-wo, tå*	*tā-wo, tå*
Two .	*nī-či*	*nī-čī*	*nik-si*	*nĭk-sī*	*nik̇-či*	*nik̇-si*	*sak-po*	*sak̇-pu*
Three .	*syūm*	*syŭm*	*sām*	*sām*	*suṗ-či*	*sūṁ-ma-k̓a*	*sūk-po*	*sūk̇-po*
Four .	*blī, bleu-le*	*blī*	*lē*	*bū-lī*[1]	*lī-či*	*p̓ī-ba-k̓a*	*b̓āl*	*b̓yāl*
Five .	*ṅo, ṅo-lo*	*ṅō*	*ṅō*	*bā-ṅā*[1]	*ṅā-či*	—	*b̓oṅ*	*b̓ūoṅ, b̓woṅ*
Six . .	*ro, ru*	*rō*	*rūk-ka*	—	*tūk-či*	—	*rē*	*rā-woṅ*
Seven .	*se-ren, ser-le, ser*	*yĕn*	*čan-ni*	—	*nū-či*	—	*tār*	*rē*
Eight .	*yen, yet*	*lĕn*	*yā*	—	*re-či*	—	*rin*	*rī*
Nine .	*gū, ga-le*	*kōn*	*ġū*	—	*boṅ-či*	—	*ġū*	—
Ten . .	*koṅ-dyū-m, kwoṅ-dyū-m*	*kō-dyū-m*	*kot-dyu-m*	—	*uk̇-boṅ*	—	*ta-ḍam*	—
Eye . .	*mik'(-si)*	*mĭk(-čī)*	*mi(-či)*	*mī(-čī)*	*muk̇(-si)*	*bi(-si)*	*ma(-ś)*	*mik(-si)*
Nose .	—	*nyō*	*neu*	*nyō*	—	—	—	—
Ear .	*nōk-p̓la*	*nō-plā*	*sā-mā-nyēū*	*nī*	*nō-bwa, nō-bo*	*dō-bū*	*nē-čo*	*nē-čo*
Mouth .	*si*	*ā-sī, sī*	*syeu*	*syō*	*ṅo*	*dū-li*	*kwom*	*kwom, ko-m*
Tooth .	*lyū*	*lī*	*k̓leū*	*k̓lī*	*kāṅ*	*gūṁ-so*	*ṅā-lu*	*ṅī-lo, a-ṅ̇-lo*
Hair .	*sēm, swēm*	*sĕm*	*čām* (any) *suṅ* (head)	*čām*	*tō-sūm* (*tō* = head)	*sōm*	*u-mar-sam, do-sam-ū-sam*	*do-sūm* (*do* = head) u-som

	Thūlung		Bāhing		Kūlung	Chouraśya	Khāling	Dūmi
	Hodgson	Own	Hodgson	Own	Hodgson	Hodgson	Hodgson	Hodgson
Dog .	k̓lē-bā	klē-bā	k̓lī-ča	k̓lī-čā	k̓ĕ-bā	čā-li	k̓lē-b	k̓lē-b, k̓li-bu
Goat .	č̓wā̃-ra	č̓wā-rā	swo-ṅā-ra	sŏ-ṅā-rā	č̓ā-ṅ-ga-ra	sā-ṅa-ra	groḍ-yū	grot
Hen .	pwa	pŏ-kām-ḍ̓ē-māṅ	bā, ā-mo-bā	—	wā-ma	ā-bo-mŏ-bo	u-p̓ām	p̓yām, p̓ā-mu
Tree .	d̓ak-sa	ḍ̓ak-sā	d̓yāk-si, siṅ	ḍ̓ĕk-sī	t̓o-nām	siṅ	d̓yāk-sā	top-šū
Sun . .	nep-sūṅ, nem	nĕp-sŭm	nām	năm	nām	dwām	nām	nām
Moon .	k̓lyē, k̓lē	klyō-mū	lā	lā-bā	lā	twa-syāl, to-syal	lyā	lū-myām-tu, lu
Sky . .	dwā-mu	dā-mū	dwā-mūn	—	č̓ū-bu-ri, net-wa	dwām	d̓ām	nām-tū
Fat (adj.) .	sē-ni-pā	syō-nyū-pā, syŏ-nī-pā	syē-neū-ba	—	lēi-pā	k̓ōl-bŏ	se-nu-pā	lēĭ
Small .	kī-čem	kī-kyŏm	ka-čim	—	či-s-ma	yok-ka	ti-bi-čem	ti-bi-čyom
To think (Understand)	mim	myĭm	mim	mĭm	min	bim	mam	—

---

[1] Said to be forms used by the Mangar subdivision. Numbers above three were given in Nepāli by the informant.

In the *Linguistic Survey*,[1] Sten Konow expressed the view that Thūlung found its nearest relatives in " Kūlung on the one side, and Chouraśya, Khāling, and Dūmi on the other ". Judging from the present materials, one should also add Bāhing as one of its near relatives. In fact, in some cases, correspondence is even closer here than with Kūlung, Chouraśya, etc., in illustration of which the following list will serve.

VOWELS, CONSONANTS, AND CONSONANT CLUSTERS

The vowel sounds seem to be comparatively stable, though certain changes as against other languages may sometimes be observed. Thūlung thus has *ŭ* as against *i* (*ĭ*) in *ǰyŭl-mū* " to keep ", Tibetan *skyil-ba*, and *ū* where Tibetan has *e* (*ē*) in *mū* " fire ", T. *mi*. Again, Thūlung has *a* where Tibetan has *a* (*ā*) in *ča-pū* " bird ", T. *čā* (< *bya*), while *ō* appears in place of Tibetan *a* (*ā*) in Thūlung *nyō* " nose ", T. *sna*, *čyō* " son ", T. (*bu-*)*tsa*. In other cases the vowels agree with those of Tibetan : *lā* " hand ", T. *lag*, *bā* " pig ", T. *ṕag*, *mĭk* " eye ", T. *mig*, *bū-ī* " head ", T. *dbu*, etc.

The language shows a decided tendency to employ sonants where related dialects have surds or aspirates, as in *gō* " I ", as against Nāchhēreng, Lāmbichhōng, and Lōhōrōng *kā* ; *gā-nā* " thou ", where Rōdōng, Rūngchhēnbūng, Wāling, and Lāmbichhōng have *ḱā-nā* ; *dūṅ* " to drink " (shared in this form by several other dialects, see *LSI*., iii, 1, pp. 346–7) as against Dūngmāli *tūṅ*, Lāmbichhōng *t́ūṅ* (Tibetan *t́uṅ-wa* < *ạt́uṅ-ba*), and others.

There appear numerous initial consonant and palatal (*y*) complexes comparable to Tibetan initial consonant with *ya-ta* (*y*). Among such are, e.g. *t́yō* " hear ", *kō-dyū-m* " ten ", *dyŏl-čyū* " son-in-law ", *syū* " who " (interrog.).

Again, one finds initial consonant followed by *r*, paralleling Tibetan initial consonant with *ra-ta* (*r*), as in e.g. *grū-pū*

---

[1] Vol. iii, pt. i, p. 368.

" cock ", *kʻrāp-da* (H.) " weep " (cf. T. *kʻrab-kʻrab* " a weeper ") *brĕn* " obtain ".

Finally there are compounds of initial consonant and *l*, comparable to Tibetan initial consonant with following *la-ta* (*l*), as, for instance, *blī* " four ", *klē-bā* " dog ".

Triple compounds such as *kryŭm* " hunger ", *klyō-mū* " moon ", remind one strongly of similar manifestations in Lepcha.

Of the three double types, the first (with *y*) seems to be the most common. So far as we can judge from the present materials they occur as follows :—

y after *k*, *kr*, *kl*, *č*, *ǰ*, *ḍ*, *t*, *st*, *tʻ*, *d*, *n*, *p*, *b*, *m*, *r*, *l*, *s*.
r after *k*, *g*, *b*. *l* after *k*, *p*, *b*.

This characteristic use of suffixed *y*, *r*, and *l*, Thūlung shares with Bāhing, where again it is frequent, as in, e.g. *grā* " rope ", T. *sgrogs*, *brō* " taste ", T. *bro-ba*, and others.[1]

Comparison with Tibetan is here illuminating, though I have so far been unable to discover any exact laws governing their relationship. The table on p. 638 will make this clear.

From evidence of this nature it is at once evident that there are archaisms to be looked for in the language, for while for many centuries Tibetan has been changing its initial consonant and *ra-ta* complexes into the corresponding cerebral sounds *ṭ*, *ṭʻ*, and *ḍ*, except in the dialects of the west—and even there often takes the first step in substituting a dental for an original guttural (as, e.g. Lh. *dri* for *gri* (> CT. *ḍi*))—Thūlung has strength to resist this movement, as evidenced above by *kryŭm* and *brĕn*.

As to other single sounds of Thūlung, the cerebrals *ṭ* (ट) and *ḍ* (ड) have doubtless found their way into the language under Nepāli influence. The so-called " checked " final consonants appear to be absent, and it remains only to add that *a* is the indeterminate sound heard in " America ",

---

[1] See *LSI.*, iii, 1, p. 327.

ă the sound of *a* in German "Mann", and *āū* that of *ow* in English "how". The indeterminate vowel sound *a* (अ) is almost certainly due to Nepāli influence.

	Thūlung		Bāhing		Tibetan	
	Own	Hodgson	Own	Hodgson	Written	Spoken
Three .	*syŭm*	*syūm*	*sām*	*sām*	*gsum*	*sum*
Four . .	*blī*	*blī*	*bū-lī*	*lē*	*bži*	*śi*
Ten . .	(*kō-*)*dyū-m*	(*koṅ-*) *dyū-m*	—	(*kot-*) *dyu-m*	*bču*	*ču*
Nose . .	*nyō*	—	*nyō*	*neu*	*sna*	*na*
Son . .	*čyō*	*čye* *čwe*	(*ā-tā*)	(*tā-wa*)	(*bu-*)*tsa* (*bu-*)*ts‘a*	—
Dog . .	*klē-bā*	*k‘lē-bā*	*k‘lī-čā*	*k‘lī-ča*	*k‘yi*	*k‘yi*
Hungry .	*kryŭm*	*krūim*	(*sō-lī-mī*)	(*so-li-mi*)	*bkren-pa*	*ṭen-pa*
Think .	*myĭm*	*mim*	*mĭm*	*mim*	*sńam-pa*	*ńam-pa*
Hear .	*t‘yō*	*t‘yō-sa*	(*ṅĭm*)	(*ni-no*)	*t‘os-pa*	*t‘ō-pa*
Obtain .	*brĕn*	—	—	—	*len-pa* (P. *bloṅs*, F. *blaṅ*)	*len-pa*

Prefixes

(*a*) Pronominal. The prefixes of this nature are as follows: 1st person *ā-*, as in *ā-pā-p*[1] "my father", *ā-čyō* "my son"; 2nd person *ī-*, as in *ī-pā-p*[1] "thy father", *ī-čyō* "thy son"; 3rd person *ū-*, as in *ū-pā-p*[1] "his father", *ū-čyō* "his son".

(*b*) Non-pronominal. In some instances *ā-* appears as a non-pronominal element, as in *ā-sī* "mouth", as does also *ū-*[2] in *ē-mā ū-čyō* "thy son".

---

[1] *pā-p* "father" and *mā-m* "mother" are probably abbreviated from *pā-pā* and *mā-mā*. Compare Bāhing *pa-pā* and *ma-mā* respectively, the note below under the genitive, and the infinitive of Kūlung (*Acta Orientalia*, vol. xiii, p. 43).

[2] Hodgson, *Miscellaneous Essays*, etc., vol. i, pp. 179 and 181, lists forms in ū- also for "father" and "mother" where no pronominal prefix could be present.

SUBSTANTIVES

Gender is unindicated. Either separate words are used as in *pā-p*[1] " father ", *mā-m*[1] " mother ", *bĕ-p*[2] " grandfather ", *mī-m*[2] " grandmother ", or else the same word functions for both masculine and feminine genders, as in *bē-nō* " bull ", or " cow ", *klē-bā* " dog ", or " bitch ".

Number is frequently unindicated, the singular form being used also in the plural: *bā* " pig ", or " pigs ", *tyū-pā-čyō* " servant ", or " servants ". For the dual a suffix *-čĭ-p*[3] or *-čī* occurs: *klē-bā-čĭ-p* " two dogs ", *mī-čyō-čĭ-p* " two men ", *mĭk-čī* " eyes " (lit. " eyes-two "), while the plural suffixes *-mĭ-m*[4]: *klē-bā-mĭ-m* " dogs ", *mī-čyō-mĭ-m* " men ".

In the suffix *-čyō* of *mī-čyō* " man ", *tyū-pā-čyō* " servant ", we possibly have a class particle for human beings. There appears to be a variant *-čyū* in *ā-wō-čyū* " husband ", *mō-čyū* " wife ", *dyōl-čyū* " son-in-law ", for we shall later find *ō* and *ū* interchanging in verbal suffixes. *čyō* seems to be independent in *čyō* " son ", *čyō-čyō* " boy ", *mē-sĭm-čyō* " girl " (from *mē-sĭm* " woman ").

The case relations are as follows. The nominative and instrumental suffix is *-kā*: *ū-čyō-kā rāk-tā* " his son said ", *mē-kā ū-na-ḍā myĭm-styū* " he in his mind thought ". Compare the accusative.

The locative is formed with *-ḍā*, as in *ū-na-ḍā* " in his mind ", *nĕp-ḍā* " in the house ", *bĕṅ-sī-ḍā* " in the field ". Compare the dative.

The accusative appears to share the suffix *-kā* with the nominative and instrumental: *mē-kā . . . ťyū-rū-styū* " him . . . he sent ", *gō-kā . . . ǰyŭl-ṅī* " me . . . keep (as thy servant) ".

---

[1] See note 1 on p. 638.

[2] *-p* almost certainly represents a formerly vocalized syllable. Compare Bāhing *kī-kī*.

[3] See last footnote, and compare Bāhing *pī-pī*.

[4] There was probably a once-vocalized suffix here. See the note under the genitive below.

[5] See previous footnote.

The genitive suffixes *-kā-m*, as in *kōṅ mī-čyō-kā-m* " of one man ", *mī-čyō-kā-m nĕm* " the man's house ", *ē-mā-kā-m tyū-pā-čyō* " thy servant ". This suffix *-kā-m* is probably the genitive of *-kā*, as found in the nominative-instrumental and accusative cases, *-m*[1] appearing to be the same element as the genitive suffix *-mī*[1] of Sāngpāng, Chāmling, Nāch-herēng, etc.

The dative is formed either with the suffix *-ḍā*, as in *nĕp-ḍā rōk-pā bū* " to the house (he) has returned " (compare the locative), or else is built upon the genitive in *-kā-m* by means of *-ḍā*: *ū-pā-p-kā-m-ḍā rāk-tā* " to his father (he) said ". Otherwise the Nepāli **लागि** *lāgi* is employed: *ū-mā lāgi* " for him ".

The ablative appears to be built upon the locative in *-ḍā* by adding *-m*, as in *ō-ḍā-m*, or *ā-sĭn-ḍā-m* " from here ", or by means of the suffix *-ḍā-m* added to the genitive in *-kā-m*: *mē-kā-m-ḍā-m* " from him ", *syū-kā-m-ḍā-m* " from whom " (interrog.).

In addition to the above there are also *-nŭṅ* " with ", as in *gā-nā-nŭṅ* " with thee ", and *ṅăṭ-ḍō* " before ", as in *ē-mā ṅăṭ-ḍō* " before thee. "

ADJECTIVES

The adjective precedes the substantive it qualifies: *syō-nyū-pā bāčā*[2] " fat calf ", *ǰyŏl-sī-pā mī-čyō* " great man ", *ā-pā-p mē kī-kyŏm nĕp-ḍā bū* " my father that small house in lives ". This preceding position is undoubtedly due to Nepāli influence. Compare the remarks on the dual *-čī* under numerals below.

---

[1] Both the abbreviated form *-m* and the fuller *-mī* are found within Bālāli (v. *LSI.*, iii, 1, p. 350). Abbreviation of suffixes in this manner is quite common in these languages. Kūlung thus reduces its infinitive element to *-m* from an almost certainly original *-mā*, as in Limbu, Sāngpāng, Rūngchhēnbūng, etc. See *Acta Orientalia*, vol. xiii (1934), p. 43. For a different interpretation of this suffix *-kā-m*, v. *LSI.*, iii, 1, p. 368.

[2] N. **बाछा** *bāčā*.

NUMERALS

The first ten numerals have already been listed in the table under "Affinities". The numeral may either follow or precede its substantive: *tyū-pā-čyō kōṅ* "one servant" (compare the dual), or *kōṅ mī-čyō* "one man", *nī-čī mī-čyō* "two men". The older order is undoubtedly the first.

It remains only to add that in *kō-dyū-m* "ten" we appear to have "one (*kō* for *kōṅ*)[1] group of ten (*dyū-m*)", in which the construction exactly parallels Tibetan *gñis-bču* "twenty" (i.e. "two groups of ten"), *gsum-bču* "thirty" (i.e. "three groups of ten"), etc.; *dyū-m* itself we may suppose to represent the same root as T. *bču* (> *čū*) followed by a formerly vocalized suffix *-m*.

PRONOUNS

The personal pronouns, so far as they can be gathered from the present materials, are as follows:—

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.	Prefixed Form.
1st person	*gō*,[2] *ā-mā*	*gō-čī*	*gō-ī* (incl.). *gō-kū* (excl.)	*ā-*
2nd person	*ē-mā*, *gā-nā*	*gā-čī*	*gā-nī*	*ī-*
3rd person	*ū-mā*, *mē*, *mē-rām*	*mē-či-p*, *mē-nī-čī*	*mē-mĭ-m*	*ū-*

---

[1] Compare Hodgson's *koṅ-dyū-m*.

[2] This is almost certainly a lineal descendant of Tibetan *k'o*(*-bo*, *-mo*). For the sonant *g* corresponding to an aspirate *k'* in Tibetan, cf. the writer's *Outlines of Tibeto-Burman Linguistic Morphology*, pp. 109–110. The compound forms of related languages also in very many cases contain this same element compounded with another representing Tibetan *ṅa*, as in e.g. Bālāli, Sāngpāng (*LSI.*), Lōhōrōng, Lāmbichhōng *kā-ṅā*, and other similar forms. Consequently the writer's transcriptions *kāṅ* in Sāngpāng (*Acta Orientalia*, xii, pp. 76, etc.) and *kōṅ* in Kūlung (id., xiii, pp. 41, etc.) should be corrected to *kā-ṅ* and *kō-ṅ* respectively. When standing in this order the two elements reproduce the Tibetan pleonastic *k'o-bo ṅa*. In reversed position, which is also quite common, *ṅā* becomes *āṅ-*, *aṅ-*, *ĭṅ-*, or *ūṅ-*, as in e.g. Dūmi *āṅ-ṅū*, Rūngchhēnbūng *aṅ-kā*, Limba *ĭṅ-gā*, Chouraśya *ūṅ-gū*.

A prefixed form can also be preceded by a fuller pronoun: *ā-mā ā̊-dē* "(of) me my share", *ē-mā ī-lā* "(of) thee thy word", *ū-mā ū-k̔āū-lŭṅ* "(of) him his wealth". The third personal form *mē* is properly a demonstrative (see below). In addition to the forms listed above there is also *k̔ō-lē* "his", "that", probably another demonstrative pronoun.

The demonstrative pronouns proper are *ā* "this" and *mē* "that". They precede their substantive: *ā ē-mā . . . ī-čyō* "this (of) thee . . . thy son", *mē ǰyŏl-sī-pā mī-čyō* "that great man".

The interrogative pronoun is *syū*, as in *mē-rām syū-kā-m-ḍā-m brĕn-nā?* "from whom did you buy that?"

Verbs

In the following sections the best method of approach is undoubtedly through the various elements comprising the varying verb forms, rather than by means of an enumeration of these forms person by person. This is the more true as we can then at once begin to understand the significance of the various elements involved, the origins and meanings of which are in many cases sufficiently clear.

As in nearly all these languages, anything resembling a rigid and closely followed conjugation is here lacking, a fact which may be verified by reference to the verbs in the story. The best illustrations of this are perhaps to be drawn from Limbu, and as the behaviour of the Limbu verb is in large measure also that of the verb in related languages, a few examples may be given from that source here. To begin with, the Limbu verb can take its choice in large measure whether it will indicate subject, or object, or will, on the other hand, merely imply general direction in the active transitive verb. If the last-named course is followed, a single verb form *hĭp-tū*, for instance, may function with the appropriate pronouns for "he struck me, thee, him, or himself", though where the object is placed in suffixed position (the second alternative above) we have such varying forms as e.g. *ĭṅ-gā hĭp-ā-sĭṅ*

"I strike myself", *ĭṅ-gā hĭp-nē* "I strike thee", *ĭṅ-gā hĭp-tŭ-ṅ* "I strike him", in this last member general objective direction only being again shown by -(*t*)*ŭ* (for -(*t*)*ū*). Again a dual in *-čī*: *ḱŭn-čī ḱĕn-ĭn hĭp-čī* "they two strike him", may also be expressed without the dual verb in *-čī*, but with the directive element *-ū* attached to it instead: *ḱŭn-čī ḱĕn-ĭn hĭp-sū*, and an inclusive dual in *-nē-čī*: *ăn-čī ḱĕn-ĭn hĭp-nē-čī* "we two (thou and I) strike him", may also be expressed as *ăn-čī ḱĕn-ĭn ā-hĭp-sū* with prefixed subject (*ā-*) and again the directive particle -(*s*)*ū*.

There is, in fact, great latitude in the use of the verbal equipment, a condition duplicated to some extent also in Thūlung, as we shall see in what follows.

THE VERB FROM THE CONJUGATIONS [1]

I. The Verb Substantive, *bū-mū* "to be"

(*a*) Singular.—The verb substantive in the present is *bū*, in the past *bā*. In the third person singular present indicative only does it stand alone: *mē-rām bū* "he is".

In the future tense this root is replaced by *dyŭ-m*,[2] which does not appear to ever occur without suffixes: *gō dyŭ-m -ṅū* "I shall be", *gā-nā dyŭ-m-nā* "thou wilt be", *mē-rām dyŭ-m-ē* "he will be". It appears from these that *-ṅū* may be a suffixed first person singular subject, *-nā* a similar element of the second person, and *-ē* one indicating the third person. In the first person singular of the present tense *-ṅū* occurs again: *gō bū-ṅū* "I am", while *-nā* of the second person is found both in the present and past: *gā-nā bū-nā* "thou art", *gā-nā bā-nā* "thou wast". The first person element is reduced to *-ṅ* in the singular of the past tense: *gō bā-ṅ-ḍō* "I was". In the third person singular of the past tense *-ē* of the future appears as *-ī*[1]: *mē-rām bā-ī-ḍā* "he was". The suffixes *-ḍō* and *-ḍā* we will consider later, when dealing with the plural where other elements of a similar nature also occur.

---

[1] What follows here is drawn from material on verb conjugations separate from the story. The forms offered by this latter will be considered in a subsequent section.

[2] The *-m* here appears to be a suffix. Compare Tibetan *ạgyur-ba*, the auxiliary of the future tense in the classical language. In the past we find the simple root *dyū*: (*saṅ-sa-wā*) *dyū-stā* (a famine) occurred, (*čŏk-čō*) *byū-dyū* he became (angry).

Thus far, then, we have gathered the following as far as suffixed particles are concerned.

	Independent Pronoun.	Subject Suffix to singular verb.
1st pers. sing. .	*gō*	*-ṅū, -ṅ*
2nd pers. sing. .	*gā-nā*	*-nā*
3rd pers. sing. .	*mē, mē-rām*	*-ē, -yē, -ī*

(*b*) Dual.—In this number the verb substantive appears without subject suffixes, being simply put in the dual *-čī*[2] in agreement with the preceding pronoun. In the case of the third person the fuller *nī-čī* is preferred with this latter. The forms are as follows :—

	Present.	Past.	Future.
1st pers. dual .	*gō-čī bū-čī* "we two are"	*gō-čī bā-čī* "we two were"	*gō-čī dyŭ-m-čī* "we two shall be"
2nd pers. dual .	*gā-čī bū-čī* "ye two are"	*gā-čī bā-čī* "ye two were"	*gā-čī dyŭ-m-čī* "ye two will be"
3rd pers. dual .	*mē nī-čī bū-čī* "they two are"	*mē nī-čī bā-čī* "they two were."	*mē nī-čī dyŭ-m-čī* "they two will be"

(*c*) Plural.—The characteristic feature here is a termination in *-ī*, preceded, except in some first personal forms, by some consonant other than *č* (which is peculiar to the dual) tending to show agreement with a similarly placed consonant in the preceding independent pronoun. Thus we have in the present tense *gā-nī bū-nī* " ye are ", *mē-mĭ-m bū-mī* " they are ". In the first of these *-nī* is the second element of the independent second person plural pronoun, while in the second case *-mī* appears to be an abbreviated form of the usual plural suffix *-mĭ-m*. Compare the dual *-čī* for *-čĭ-p*. The suffix *-nī* of the second person also occurs in the past and future tenses: *gā-nī bā-nī* " ye were ", and *gā-nī dyŭ-m-nī* " ye will be " There seems no doubt that this is a pronominal suffix. *-mī* of the third person also occurs again in the third person plural of the future tense: *mē-mĭ-m dyŭ-m-mī* " they will be ". In the past tense *-mī* is reduced to *-m* and followed by *-ḍī*: *mē-mĭ-m bā-m-ḍī* " they were ". In the case of the first person, the suffix appears either simply as *-ī*, i.e. the second element of the first person inclusive personal pronoun, or as *ī* preceded by some consonant other than *č*. Thus we have: *gō-ī bū-ī* " I and you are ", *gō-ī bā-ī-ḍī* " I and you were ", *gō-ī dyŭ-m-sī*[1] " I and you will be ".

---

[1] In the story this element appears as *-yē*. See below.

[2] It is notable here that the dual suffix drops the final *-p* of *-čī-p* as used with substantives. We shall later find the same behaviour of the plural *-mī-m*, which becomes *-mī* with verbs.

We can thus establish the following pronominal suffixes with the plural verb.

	Independent Pronoun.	Subject suffix to plural verb.
1st pers. plur. .	*gō-ī* (incl.)[2]	*-ī*
2nd pers. plur. .	*gā-nī*	*-nī*
3rd pers. plur. .	*mē-mĭ-m*	*-mī*,[3] *-m-*[3]

There then remain unaccounted for the suffixes *-ḍō* in *gō bā-ṅ-ḍō* " I was ", *-ḍā*[4] in *mē-rām bā-ī-ḍā* " he was ", *-ḍī* in *gō-ī bā-ī-ḍī* "we (incl.) were", *mē-mĭ-m bā-m-ḍī* "they were", and perhaps[1] *-sī* in *gō-ī dyŭ-m-sī* "we (incl.) shall be". Though these suffixes are not clear to me it seems not improbable that some of them are a species of auxiliary verb. If this is the case there arises here a question ever present in this language area, as to whether the pronominal elements also present (*-ṅ-*, *-ī-*, and *-m-*) are to be regarded as really suffixes to the main root immediately preceding them, or whether they are not actually subject prefixes to a final auxiliary—a point which is to my mind basic throughout the whole field of Himalayan philology so far as the so-called "pronominalized" languages are concerned. If they are actually prefixes to an auxiliary verb we are also confronted with the possibility that pronominal forms which are now clearly suffixed may once have been followed by some similar auxiliary verb form, which has in the course of time fallen away. If this is really the history of these forms, they could very well in the first place have belonged within the Tibeto-Burman family to which prefixed subjects are normal, and there would be called for a reconsideration of the belief that subject particles now suffixed have come in under Muṇḍa influence. Without stating any belief one way or the other, the writer is inclined to take rather seriously the evidence for prefixed position supplied in some quantity by other related languages. Thus, in Limbu one finds *kē-pĕk°-la kē-păt°* "thou art going", lit. "thy (*kē-*) going thou (*kē-*) doest", *mē-pĕk°-la mē-păt°* "they are going", lit. "their (*mē-*) going they (*mē-*) do", in Vāyu *ṕī ṅō-mī* "I am going", lit. "going I (*ṅō-*) am", in Yākhā *ḱĕm-mē ṅā-nā* "I am going", lit. "going I (*ṅā-*) am", *ḱĕm-mē ka-nā* "thou art going", lit. "going thou (*ka-*) art", and many more, in which the fuller forms are in use. This point, it seems, should be investigated with the behaviour of Kachin[2] in mind.

---

[1] This suffix may not be pronominal. See below.

[2] Unfortunately I have but little information as to a special verb form corresponding to the exclusive first person pronoun *gō-kū*. The speaker moved out of reach before this point could be established.

[3] Compare Kachin *-ma-* with plural verbs. See the writer's *Outlines of Tibeto-Burman Linguistic Morphology*, pp. 86–91. The Thūlung element seems to be the plural suffix.

[4] For this as a locative suffix, see below.

---

[1] See a previous note on this element.

[2] See *Morphology* as above quoted.

II. The Active Intransitive Verb, *la-mū* "to go"

(*a*) Singular.—In this class of verb many forms coincide in construction with those of the verb substantive. The root here under consideration seems to vary, becoming also *lō*,[1] or *lak*[2] for reasons which are not at the moment evident.

In the third person singular of the present and future tense the root appears alone in the form *lō* : *mē* (or *mē-rām*) *lō* "he goes" or "will go". In the corresponding first person *gō la-ṅū* "I go" or "shall go", and second person *gā-nā la-nā* "thou goest" or "wilt go", as also in the second person of the past tense *gā-nā lak-nā* "thou wentest", we meet again with *-ṅū* and *-nā* for the first and second persons respectively, as with the verb substantive.

Again here the element of the first person is reduced to *-ṅ* in the singular of the past tense : *gō la-ṅ-ḍō* "I went". In the third person singular of the past, however, a deviation occurs, and we have a new element *-stā* in : *mē-rām la-stā* "he went".

Thus from the singular of the active verb we have :—

	Independent Pronoun.	Subject Suffix to Singular Verb
1st pers. sing. .	*gō*	*-ṅū*, *-ṅ*
2nd pers. sing. .	*gā-nā*	*-nā*
3rd pers. sing. .	*mē-*, *mē-rām*	—

(*b*) Dual.—In this number the verb exhibits certain departures from the behaviour of the verb substantive, though following it in the main.

The simple construction with the dual *-čī* is followed in : *mē-čĭ-p la-čī* "they two go" or "will go", *gā-čī lak-čī* "ye two went" and *mē-čĭ-p lak-čī* "they two went".

Otherwise the forms are somewhat fuller and contain elements which cannot all at the moment be identified, though *bō* among their number appears to be the verb substantive *bū* with different vowel colouring. Of the remaining forms *gō-čī lak-čū-kū* " we two go " or " will go ", is probably exclusive[1] (" I and he "), the suffix *-kū* agreeing with the last element of *gō-kū* " I and they ", the exclusive plural given in the *Linguistic Survey* (iii, 1, p. 368). *-čū* appears to be *-čī*, the dual particle, with which some other element has coalesced. Otherwise vowel harmony might be assumed. Much the same form is taken for the first person of the past tense, where *gō-čī lak-čū-kō* " we two went ", is likewise probably exclusive (" I and he "), though the vowel colouring differs as with *bō* as against *bū*, already noted. To this last element we return again now in the second person of the present and future : *gā-čī lak-tō-bō-čī* " ye two go " or " will go ". *bō* here, as already noted, is probably the verb substantive *bū*, while *-tō-* may be compared to *tō*, the verb substantive form found in Sāngpāng.[2]

---

[1] It is possible that a vocalic element has merged with the root here (*lō* < *la-ū* or *la-ŏ* ?). We have already met with a third personal root *ū-* used as a prefix. The *LSI*. (iii, 1, p. 368) also gives a form *ŏ-kā-m* "his", which contains an element *ŏ-*.

[2] This element is said to sometimes assume a checked final : *lak*°. I have not, however, been able to establish this as the normal pronunciation.

(*c*) Plural. In the plural again the verb here in the main follows the verb substantive. Thus with terminations agreeing with this latter we have in the present tense *gā-nī la-nī* " you go " or " will go ", *mē-mĭ-m la-mī* " they go " or " will go ". The suffix *-nī* also occurs in the second person of the past tense : *gā-nī lak-nī* " you went ". We thus have here the same subject suffixes *-nī* for the second person, and *-mī* for the third, with which we are already familiar. From this point, however, divergences make their appearance.

It is probable that in the first person of the present and future tenses *gō-kū lak-sī* " we go " or " will go ", contains the same element with which we have met already in the future tense of the verb substantive. In the present instance it is employed with the exclusive pronoun, thus demonstrating that it may be used with either the inclusive or exclusive form. Possibly in the present instance the form is mixed.

---

[1] Compare the Limbu duals in *čī-gē*.

[2] See *Acta Orientalia*, vol. xii (1933), p. 77.

In the first person of the past tense we meet again with more what we should expect: *gō-kū lak-tō-kō* "we went", with both pronoun and verb fully exclusive. Compare this person in the dual.

In the one remaining plural form: *mē-mĭ-m la-m-ḍī* "they went", we meet once more with *-m-* of the third person, as in the plural of the verb substantive.

The elements indicating the subject in this verb are thus:—

	Independent Pronoun.	Subject Suffix to Plural Verb.
1st pers. plur. .	*gō-ī* ("I and you")	?
	gō-kū ("I and they")	*-kō*
2nd pers. plur.	*gā-nī*	*-nī*
3rd pers. plur. .	*mē-mĭ-m*	*-mī*,[1] *-m* [1]

For the element *-tō-* of *gō-kū lak-tō-kō* "we went", we may refer to the concluding remarks on the dual above, while *-ḍī-* in *mē-mĭ-m la-m-ḍī* "they went", we have previously met in the same person of the plural of the verb substantive.

III. The Active Transitive Verb, *yāl-mū* "to strike"

In this type of verb the deviations from the forms with which we have so far met become more pronounced. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that a direct object is being taken into consideration, though I am unable to see the significance of all the elements involved even with this in view.[2]

(*a*) Singular.—Only in the second person of the past tense do we find here a definite subjective element suffixed to the simple verb root: *gā-nā yāl-nā* "thou struckest". Otherwise this element is appended to more complicated forms, as in the future *gā-nā yāl-mō-k̄ām-nā* " thou wilt go ", in which the intervening elements are not clear to me.

---

[1] Probably the plural suffix. See the verb substantive above.

[2] As already stated, full material on some aspects of this dialect is not yet to hand, the speaker from whom the present notes were gathered leaving the district before my investigations were complete. Since with most of these languages, however, "subjective" forms of transitive verbs nearly always contain objective elements—without which, in fact, the verb cannot function—we probably have in the present materials at least a majority of all the elements of the truly "objective" verb forms. Of this I feel moderately certain from having dealt at full length with both the subjective and objective aspects of the verbs of other related languages, notably Limbu, where a consideration of the objective forms brought out practically nothing that an investigation of its "subjective" aspects had not already disclosed.

It is possible that we have an objective form indicating an object of the second person plural by *-nī* in *gō yāl-nī* " I strike (perh. really " I strike you " (plur.)), but no supporting instances occur in the present materials. In one case we meet with a suffix *-ū*: *gō yāl-ū* " I shall strike ", in which it is probable that we meet with the same element indicating general direction towards the object which is a conspicuous feature of Limbu.[1] The sense here is probably at base " I shall strike to, or at " (the object). Forms with this element, however, do not recur in the present materials, except possibly in the case of *mē-kā yāl-syū* " he struck ". This form, however, is not clear to me.

In *gō yāl-tō* " I struck ", we meet again with a suffix, probably an auxiliary by nature, which we have previously found in the dual of the intransitive verb, but the remaining forms are new to us and are difficult of explanation. In *mē-kā yāl-sā* " he strikes " or " will strike ", the nature of the suffix *-sā* is not clear, a remark which also applies to *-ṅī* in *gā-nā yāl-ṅī* " thou strikest ".

From the singular then we gather only the following with any degree of certainty :—

	Independent Pronoun.	Suffix to Singular Verb.	
		Subjective.	Objective.
1st pers. sing.	—	—	—
2nd pers. sing.	*gā-nā* (sing.)		
	gā-nī (plur.)	*-nā* (sing.)	*-nī* (plur.)
3rd pers. sing.	—	—	—
	—	—	*-ū* (non-pron).

(*b*) Dual.—With the single exception of the first person of the past tense : *gō-čī yāl-čō-kō* " we two struck ", the forms here are simple with suffixed *-čī*. In this one exceptional case it is moderately certain that we have an exclusive form in *-kō* (for *-kū*, as in *gō-kū* " I and they " (plur.)), built upon a dual in *-čī* which either by absorbing a vocalic element or by vowel harmony has assumed the form *-čō*. Compare *-čū* in the first person dual of the active intransitive verb.

---

[1] See *Acta Orientalia*, vol. xii (1933), p. 79. At other times the Thūlung verb is treated in similar wise as a locative concept, being thus directly linked to the object. See again below under the imperative. For -ū following transitive verbs in Bāhing, cf. *LSI.*, iii, 1, p. 331.

With this exception the dual forms are simple and regular, as follows :—

	Present.	Past.	Future.
1st pers. dual.	*gō-čī yāl-čī* " we two strike "	*gō-čī yāl-čō-kō* " we two struck "	*gō-čī yāl-čī* " we two will strike "
2nd pers. dual.	*gā-čī yāl-čī* " ye two strike "	*gā-čī yāl-čī* " ye two struck "	*gā-čī yāl-čī* " ye two will strike "
3rd pers. dual.	*mē nī-čī yāl-čī* " they two strike "	*mē nī-čī yāl-čī* " they two struck "	*mē nī-čī yāl-čī* " they two will strike "

(*c*) Plural.—Here we meet with the same suffixes *-ī*, *-nī*, *-mī*, indicating a subject of the first, second, and third person respectively, as we have already met in the plural of the verb substantive. The forms are : *gō-ī yāl-ī* " I and you strike " or " will strike ", *gā-nī yāl-nī* " you strike ", or " will strike ", also " you struck ", *mē-mĭ-m yāl-mī* " they strike " or " will strike ", also " they struck ". There then remains only the first person of the past tense : *gō-ī yāl-čō-kō*, a form on which we have already commented under the dual above.

In this number, then, the suffixes may be stated thus :—

	Independent Pronoun.	Suffix to Plural Verb.	
		Subjective.	Objective.
1st pers. plur.	*gō-ī* (" I and you ") *gō-kū* (" I and they ")	*-ī* *-kō*	
2nd pers. plur.	*gā-nī*	*-nī*	
3rd pers. plur.	*mē-mĭ-m*	*-mī*	

The Verb in the Story

In connected narrative the verb does not seem to follow the above pattern at all closely. Coincidences with the suffix usages given above, however, do occur. Thus in the singular we have in the first person *bū-ṅū* " I am ", *la-ṅū* " I will go ", *băṭ-pā bū-ṅ* " I (who) have remained " ; in the second person *bū-nā* " thou didst ", *bē-nā* " thou makest " ; and in the third person *bā-yē*[1]*-ḍā* " he was ", *bā-ī-ḍā* " he had " or " there were ", while in the plural there is in the first person *bī-ī* " we will be " and in the third *bā-m-ḍā* " they were ". The imperative at times exhibits similar suffixes, indicating here the person addressed, as in *sĕḍ-nī* " kill ye ".

The element in *-ū* of general direction towards the object[2] seems to occur in : *ē-mā ṅăṭ-ḍō pāp bē-ū-tō* " against thee sin (I) have committed ", *t́yū-rū-styū* " (he) sent (him to tend the pigs) ", *sya-wū* " (I) will say (to him) ", *bā ǰā-m pō-mū ḱāp-ḍū* " the pig's food to eat (he) wanted ", *byū-ḍū* " (he) asked (him)."

It is possible that in *-styū* we have a participial suffix (comparable to Tibetan *-ste*, *-te*), and that the clause at the end of which it stands should be treated accordingly. In that event we should have, e.g. *ū-pā-p-kā ḱō-lē ḱāū-lŭṅ . . . dyō-styū, ū-yāk-kē ū-čyō-kā . . . la-stā* " his father his wealth . . . having divided, his younger son . . . departed.

The imperative, in addition to sometimes employing objective suffixes, also may be put in the locative[3] or dative case, thus indicating the terminus of the act within the verbal block : *ṕa-sā-ḍā* " put (ye them) upon (him) ", *ū-brĕp-čō·ḍā . . . ḱū-sā-ḍā* " upon his finger . . . put (ye it) upon ". Compare the general directive forms in *-ū* above. The locative suffix *-ḍā* is also attached to " stationary." verbal states, as in *bā rĕp-ḍā* " while tending the pigs ".

---

[1] *-yē-* here for *-ī-* of the conjugations.

[2] Compare the locative suffix usage below where the verb is a " stationary " act so far as the object is concerned.

[3] See the writer's *Outlines of Tibeto-Burman Linguistic Morphology*, pp. 57–8 (§ 49).

A present participle or general continuative form assumes the suffix *-tō-ṅā*: *bĭk-tō-ṅā* " coming ", *bē-tō-ṅā* " making ", *ťyōr-sī bē-tō-ṅā bū* " (he) merry making is ".

The first of two verbs is treated either (1) as a conjunctive participle in *-mā*: *ťyō-styū-mā* . . . *čōk-čō byū-dyū* " hearing (this) . . . (he) became angry ", *kryŭm lyū-stā-mā* . . . *pō-mū k̆āp-ḍū* " being hungry . . . to eat (he) wished "; or (2) as a similar participle in *-sā-kā*: *ū-dē lak-sā-kā* . . . *la-stā* " his share taking . . . (he) departed ", *bak-sā-kā* . . . *la-ṅū* " arising . . . (I) will go ". It is possible that in the first of these constructions the idea of causation (" because of, on account of ", as often with Nepāli भयेर *b̔ayera*) is present.

The simple infinitive is formed with *-mū*: *pō-mū*, or *pyē-mū* " to eat ", *ryā-mū* " to write ", *ťĕn-mū* " to know ", *ōn-mū* " to run ", *lĕm-dyī-mū* " to walk ".

The negative standing before the verb is *mī*, as in *gō* . . . *mī bū-ṅū* " I . . . not am ", *mī čăp-syū-wā* " (he) not ate ".

A relative construction occurs (similar to that of Tibetan) with *-pā*: *sī-pā* " he who was dead " (lit. " the dead one "), *bāṭ-pā* " that which (I) possess " (lit. " the possessed one "), a formation which may be followed by the auxiliary verb: *gō* . . . *bāṭ-pā bū-ṅ* " I . . . who remain (with thee) " (lit. " I who am the staying one "), *rōk-pā bū* " he who has returned " (lit. " he who is the returning one ").

Chola Invasion of Bengal

By A. C. BANERJI

THE latter part of the tenth century of the Christian era gradually ushered in a new epoch in the history of India. In northern India the old kingdoms, which had dominated the political arena so long, made their exit, and new powers rose to take their place. The struggle between the Gurjaras and the Rāshṭrakuṭas ended fatally for both the contending parties. The great empire of Bhoja and Mahendrapāla had shrunk into the little principality of Kànauj. Its place was taken by the Chāndellas, the Haihayas, and the Chāhamānas, etc. The Pāla empire, too, in eastern India, had fallen on evil days. The land south of the Vindhyas was no exception from this. The Cholas of Tanjore who were to reach the height of their glory in the succeeding century, were gradually consolidating their position in the extreme south. While a new Chālukya dynasty claiming relationship with the older one eclipsed the supremacy of the Rāshṭrakuṭas in the Deccan. The history of the tenth and eleventh century A.D. is full of internecine warfare, which paved the way for Muslim conquest of India.

It has already been remarked that the Pāla empire, too, had come to grief. The incompetent successors of Dharmapāla and Devapāla were unable to keep together their costly conquests. A couple of inscriptions found in Bihar and Bengal prove that in the reign of Mahendrapāla the Gurjara empire extended up to northern Bengal.[1] An inscription dated in A.D. 954 claims that the Chandella king Yaśovarman defeated a king of Bengal. Another inscription dated in 888 (?) Saka Era, indicates that an alien race called the Kāmbojas were occupying certain parts of Bengal. But soon a national revival came headed by Mahīpāla I. In spite of this revival there are evidences to believe that even during this reign Bengal was not immune from foreign invasion. The first invasion was by a general of Rājendrachola I, and the other was by Gāṅgeyadeva of Tripuri. Apart from these two, there were also many minor aggressions. The purpose of this contribution is to examine the events connected with the first invasion, and to trace the route as far as possible.

---

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xlvii, pp. 109–11. *Pālas of Bengal*, p. 64. *A.R., A.S.I.*, 1925–6, p. 141.

Rājendrachola I, the son and successor of Rājarāja I, is known to have various *birudas* from his inscriptions; Gaṅgaikoṇḍachola, Vikramachola, Paṇḍitachola, Parakeśarivarman, etc. His various campaigns in the south and the overseas do not come under the scope of the present discussions; we are here concerned with his invasion of north-eastern India. The earlier part of his career was spent in consolidating his position in the south; and since records inscribed before the twelfth year of his reign do not mention his northern campaign, it is quite natural to conclude that it was not until the twelfth year of his reign that the Chola emperor's attention fell upon northern India.

Regarding this campaign a few points have to be borne in mind. The first is that the emperor did not himself lead the expedition, which was left in charge of a general. The second and most important point is that controversy exists about the identifications of various place-names and persons mentioned in the Chola records. Therefore it is our intention here to discuss the various views about the route followed and note whether all the identifications proposed are acceptable or not. Before we begin, one fact requires to be mentioned, because it has an important bearing on the route followed. A perusal of all the records makes it quite clear that, though most of them agree in mentioning all the names, discrepancy exists in the order of stating them. Thus Chennapatna, 82 and 83, mention the following countries: Sakkoragoṭṭam, Maduraimaṇḍalam, Nāmanaikkoṇai, Pañjapaḷḷī, Māśunideśam, Indira-iratan of the old race of the

Moon, Oṭṭa-vishayam, the five Kosalai-nāḍu, Tandabutti, Dakkana Lāḍam, Vaṅgāladeśam, Mayīpāla-Saṅgottal, Uttira Lāḍam. Nelamangala 7-A, Kolar, No. 44, and all other relevant Tamil records merely copy the inscription quoted above or vice versa. The Tirumalai Inscription of the thirteenth regnal year of the king also follows the same order. But this similarity or unanimity is not observed by the Tiruvalaṅgāḍu plates of the king. This grant is, with the exception of the Leyden plates, the largest and the heaviest of all land grants that have so far been discovered in any part of India. The plates are thirty-one in number, and they weigh about 8 maunds. The most important feature of these plates is that they are written in both Tamil and Sanskrit. The first nine plates and a part of the tenth are inscribed in Sanskrit characters, while the remainder of the tenth is written in comparatively modern Tamil. The plates 11 to 31 are also in Tamil, but they belong to the same period as the Sanskrit portion. The Tamil portion is dated in the sixth regnal year, but the Sanskrit portion, which mentions the conquest of Kaṭāha, etc., events which took place in the fifteenth or sixteenth year of the reign, seems to have been inscribed at a latter date.[1] This portion tells us that the king, after his victory over the Rāshṭrakūṭas, returned to his capital and ordered his commander to subdue the kings living on the banks of the Ganges. The general first defeated Indraratha of the Lunar race, next Raṇaśūra, and then Dharmapāla, and thus reached the banks of the Ganges. From there the general marched back to the banks of the Godāvarī. On his way back the general defeated Mahīpāla and, after his arrival at the camp of Rājendrachola, together they defeated the king of Oḍḍa.

From this it would be evident that some discrepancy exists between the Tamil records and the Tiruvalaṅgāḍu plates. Now let us take these place-names, and personal names, one by one :—

---

[1] *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. iii, part iii, pp. 424–5 ; vv. 109–120.

Sakkaragoṭṭam : This has been identified by Rai Bahadur Hiralal with Chakrakoṭya.[1]

Māśunideśam : Probably refers to the realm of the Nāgavaṁśi kings of Bastar. The other place-names have not yet been *satisfactorily* identified.

Indraratha : This king has not yet been identified with any known member of any Orissan dynasty. In the Chola records his family is described as belonging to the Lunar race. Very curiously, in the Udepur *praśasti* of the Paramāra king Udayāditya, mention is made of a king named Indraratha, defeated by Bhoja of the same family.[2] The known dates of Bhoja range from v.s. 1076 to 1103, that is about 1019 to 1046 A.C. Mr. D. B. Diskalkar, taking into account the popular tradition about the duration of Bhoja's reign, has concluded that his reign period probably extended from v.s. 1056 to 1111.[3] The known dates of Rājendrachola range from A.D. 1010 to 1042.[4] Therefore it is possible that this Indraratha is the identical king mentioned in the Chola records.

Tandabutti : This seems to be the Tamil form of the name Daṇḍabhukti. The identification of this place is controversial. The late *Mahāmahopādhyāya* H. P. Sastri held that the modern town of Bihar, in the province of the same name, was ancient Daṇḍabhukti. This view has been supported by Professor Aiyangar,[5] while the late Mr. R. D. Banerji expressed the opinion that the ancient province of Daṇḍabhukti is represented by the modern districts of Balasore in Orissa and Midnapore in Bengal. It shall be our function now to discuss both the theories in detail and thus arrive at a correct solution. Professor Aiyangar's suggestions may be summarized as follows :—

(1) That Takkana Lāḍam, that is the territory of Raṇaśūra, was, according to the Tiruvalaṅgāḍu plates, first captured before the Chola army reached Daṇḍabhukti.

---

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ix, p. 179.

[2] Ibid., vol. i, pp. 235–6.

[3] *Journal of Indian History*, vol. iv, p. 82.

[4] Ibid., vol. ii, p. 364.

[5] Ibid., vol. ii, pp. 330–8.

(2) The name itself suggests that, wherever it was situated, it was given to someone as a military fief.

(3) If we accept Mr. Banerji's identification, it would go against the course of Rājendra's campaign according to his records.

(4) Mm. H. P. Sastri identified Daṇḍabhukti with Bihar, because the Tibetans called it Otantapuri and it is designated Advand Bihar by Muslim historians. The reference in the *Rāma-charita*, where a feudatory of Rāmapāla, ruler of Daṇḍabhukti, is reported to have defeated Karṇakeśari, does not necessarily involve that Daṇḍabhukti was on the north-eastern frontier of Orissa.

(5) The identification of Bihar with Daṇḍabhukti would rest upon other considerations as well. The name itself indicates that it was a frontier outpost given over to a powerful feudatory for protection against foreign aggression. This fief, according to Professor Aiyangar, was held by a Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty.

As for the first point, it is true that the Tiruvalaṅgāḍu plates suggest that Raṇaśūra's territory (Takkaṇa Lāḍam) was taken before the general reached Daṇḍabhukti. But Professor Aiyangar probably committed an error in placing too much confidence on the Tiruvalaṅgāḍu plates. If a comparison is made between the various Tamil and Telugu records and the Tiruvalaṅgāḍu plates, we find that, while the former are unanimous in placing Tandabutti before Takkaṇa Lāḍam, it is only in the latter record that the position has been changed. This, considered together with the fact that the Sanskrit portion was written long after the twelfth and thirteenth regnal years of the king (evident from its contents), strengthens my suggestion that the men responsible for the composition of the charter may have confused the exact geographical position of the various place-names.

With the second point of Professor Aiyangar I agree, but this does not prove that Bihar was ancient Daṇḍabhukti. I fail fully to comprehend his third point. If the learned

Professor is under the misapprehension that no army could come from the Central Provinces through Orissa to Bengal, he is very much mistaken. The cultural affinities between these three provinces are too intimate to warrant any such conclusion. That the Midnapore area has always been a source of anxiety to the rulers of Bengal at different periods of Indian history is borne out by subsequent events. When Bengal came under Muslim rulers, the Hindu kings of Orissa had to be always on their guard against sudden raids organized by the independent Pāthān rulers of Bengal. Again, when Orissa was occupied by the Marāṭhas, their mobile cavalry almost always came through Balasore and Midnapore to ravage the plains of Bengal. Therefore it is not unnatural to assume that there were ways of communication through this area between the two neighbouring provinces; and along one such road the general of Rājendrachola may have led his forces.

It is true that the statement in the *Rāma-charita* that the feudal lord of Daṇḍabhukti, Jayasiṃha, defeated a *Keśari* king of Orissa does not necessarily involve that Daṇḍabhukti was on the eastern frontier of Orissa. But the identification of Daṇḍabhukti with Bihar is unacceptable for other weighty reasons. This brings us to the fifth point of Professor Aiyangar. The late Mm. H. P. Sastri suggested that Bihar was Daṇḍabhukti, because the Tibetan historian Tārānāth calls it Otantapuri, and the Muslim historians Advand Bihar. Without going into intricate questions of linguistics, I write out the following equations and let all judge which of the equations are more probable:—

(1) Daṇḍabhukti = Otantapuri = Advand Bihar.
(2) Uddaṇḍapura = Otantapuri = Advand Bihar.

Apart from this similarity of names, the late Mr. Banerji's suggestion that Bihar is ancient Uddaṇḍapura is supported by epigraphic evidence. The most important amongst these inscriptions is that on a Buddha image from Bihar now in the

Indian Museum. It tells us that *sthavira* Pūrṇadāsa, an inhabitant of the *vihāra* at Uddaṇḍapura, had dedicated the image in the second regnal year of King Śūrapāla. This inscription was first brought to our notice by Babu Nilmani Chakravarti in 1908. But unfortunately there were some misreadings in Professor Chakravarti's transcriptions. Amongst these was the word Uddaṇḍapura, which Professor Chakravarti read as *Uddaṇḍachudo*. These mistakes were corrected by Pandit Binodbihari Bidyabinod, formerly of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, in a Bengali article. But this important contribution has been totally ignored by Professor Aiyangar.[1] Therefore, in my humble opinion, there is a good case for identifying Bihar with ancient Uddaṇḍapura, and rejecting Messrs. Aiyangar and Sastri's suggestions.

Takkaṇa Lāḍam and Uttira Lāḍam : As Professor Aiyangar is himself inclined to believe, these two were neighbouring provinces. According to the Chola records, Raṇaśūra ruled over Takkaṇa (Dakshiṇa) Lāḍam, while the name of the ruler of Uttira (Uttara) Lāḍam is problematical. If the Tirumalai Rock inscription is to be believed, then the ruler's name was Mahīpāla.[2] But Professor Aiyangar is inclined to make him the ruler of Oḍḍa-vishaya. Now, since Vaṅga was ruled by Govindachandra, Takkaṇa Lāḍam by Raṇaśūra, we are quite justified in thinking that Uttira Lāḍam and Samataṭa (the two remaining geographical divisions of Bengal) were ruled by the shadow Pāla Emperors. A curious confirmation of the above suggestion has been supplied by Professor Aiyangar himself. Referring to the account of the campaign as given in the Tiruvalaṅgāḍu plates, he tells us : " For the present purpose the points to be noted in this account are (1) the conquest of the regions on the mouths of the Ganges and *perhaps* Orissa proper with defeat of Mahīpāla there ; (2) his joining forces with his master and defeating the king of

---

[1] *JPASB.* (N.S.), vol. iv, pp. 107–8 ; *Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā*, vol. xv, pp. 12–13.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ix, p. 232.

Orissa; (3) the despatch of a naval expedition after the battle for overseas conquests.'' As to his theory that Mahīpāla was a king of Orissa, he tells us that "In regard to number one the Tiruvalaṅgāḍu plates are explicit, the Tamil records, properly understood, would be equally clear; but hitherto the Tamil records have been somewhat misunderstood owing to the imperfections in the records themselves, and the misunderstanding has been fruitful of errors in respect of the identification of the Mahīpāla of this campaign. The Mahīpāla of the records were apparently read as *Mahīpāla of Sangukkottam.* This misunderstanding arose from the fact that the inscriptions actually contained the expression *Sangotta-mahīpāla.* The reading actually is in the Tirumalai inscription *Vaṅgāla - desamundodugadar - chongutton - Mahīpālanai.* The variant is given in footnote *Todu-galar-changuv-ottal.* It was this reading that led to the inference of a place called Sangukottam, of which Mahīpāla was the ruler. The same expression is given in inscription 7-*a*, Nelamangala Taluka, Bangalore district, as *Todu-kadar-sangottal-Mahīpālai.* It is apparent that in this particular reading the last letter is an error for *nai.* So it is likely that *l* at the end of the previous word is a misselection also. Turning to 84 of Chennapatna of the same district, we have *Todu-kadar-Sangamotta-Mahīpālanai,* which is apparently the correct reading. If we accept this reading the meaning of the whole expression would be that the person referred to is *Oṭṭa-Mahīpāla* of Sangama, which touches the sea. The first three words in Tamil would be *todu-kadal-changamam,* which means 'the river mouth which touches the sea'. This gives altogether a different significance to the whole expression. It means nothing more than that the particular Mahīpāla's territory was on the seashore beginning with the mouths of the Ganges. The word *Oṭṭa,* the Tamil for *Oḍḍa,* placed before Mahīpāla defines the position of the ruler more closely than even the geographical adjuncts preceding." [1]

---

[1] *Journal of Indian History,* vol. ii, pp. 343–4.

Now, as regards his first point, Professor Aiyangar tells us that Mahīpāla was defeated by the General when he conquered the territory between the Ganges and Orissa proper; for this the learned Professor relies on the Tiruvalaṅgāḍu plates. It is not possible for me to share this view, for reasons already stated. In addition to those there are good grounds for believing that the Tiruvalāngāḍu plates do not supply us with a faithful description of Rājendrachola's north-eastern campaign. Kolar No. 44, Tirumalai inscription, Nelamangala 7-*a*, and Nos. 83 and 84 of Chennapatna,[1] all these mention the conquest of Oḍḍavishaya together with Kosalai-nāḍu. It is only the Tiruvalaṅgāḍu plates which place the conquest of Orissa after that of Bengal. This grant also does not mention the conquests of Maduraimaṇḍalam, Sakkaragoṭṭam, Nāmanaikkonai, Pañjapallī, Māsunideśam, etc., before the Chola army entered into eastern India proper. All this clearly testifies to the unreliable nature of the contents of the record. Therefore we are led to disagree with the distinguished scholar in thinking that there is no sufficient evidence for taking Mahīpāla to be the ruler of Orissa.

If Mahīpāla was not the king of Orissa as suggested above, over what part of India did he rule? This question has been answered by Professor Aiyangar himself by his ingenious interpretation of the term *Sangottama*. On the strength of this we can easily conclude that the term refers to the confluence of the Ganges and the Bay of Bengal or *Samataṭa*, that is the modern Sunderban area of the districts of the twenty-four Parganas and Comilla. But the term certainly does not mean that he was sovereign of Orissa as well. It is quite possible that at some time during his long reign Mahīpāla became overlord of Orissa, but whether this event took place after or before the Chola invasion is still a moot point.

Before we end our discussion about the two Lāḍas their geographical position has to be taken into account. These two Lāḍas were at first identified with Laṭa by the late

---

[1] *Ep. Carnatica*, vol. ix, pp. 11, 30–1; vol. xi, pp. 148–150.

Professor Kielhorn; then with Virāṭa by the late Mr. Venkkaya; but it has been shown by others that these identifications are not tenable. In this respect one comment of Professor Aiyangar requires to be quoted. "We are indebted," he says, "to Mr. Banerji for the equation that *Lāḍa* was *Rāḍha* in Bengal, and the discovery (?) that a division in Bengal was known by the name Rāḍha, as else the inscriptions of Rājendra would have lost the character of an accurate historico-geographical disquisition. The *Lāḍas* of the Tamil records are, therefore, equivalents of the two divisions of ancient *Rāḍha*." [1] I am sure that the late scholar (Mr. Banerji) had never in his lifetime claimed any credit for this discovery. As a matter of fact, in his works he gives the credit to two other scholars, viz. Mr. Nagendranath Basu and Rai Bahadur (then Mr.) Ramaprasad Chanda. What the late Mr. Banerji did was to give his support to the theory of these two scholars. Apart from these two gentlemen, there is another scholar who also made the same identification; his name is Babu Manomohun Chakravarti.[2] But, most curiously, all these contributions are totally ignored by Professor Aiyangar, and the credit is given to another. Therefore we see that Lāḍa means Rāḍhā; Uttira standing for the northern division and Takkana for the southern. This division of Rāḍhā is supported by the information supplied by later inscriptions. Thus Mr. N. G. Majumdar tells us that "During the Pāla and the Sena period the country of Rāḍhā appears to have consisted of two parts, the northern and the southern. The northern half was called Uttara Rāḍhā and the southern half was Dakshiṇa Rāḍhā. The present record (the Naihati copper-plate of Vallālasena), as well as the Belava copper-plate of Bhojavarman, mentions the former, while the latter is referred to in Śrīdhara's *Nyāyakaṇḍalī*".[3]

---

[1] *Journal of Indian History*, pp. 329–330.

[2] *Bāṅgālār Itihāsa*, vol. i, p. 250, footnote; Chanda, *Gauḍarājamāla*, p. 40; Basu, *Vaṅger Jātīya Itihāsa*, Rājanya Kāṇḍa, p. 173.

[3] N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, part iii, pp. 20–1.

The next point that we have to decide is that what modern districts represent ancient Rāḍhā. The late Mr. Manomohun Chakravarti was of opinion that the country apparently then included Suhma, parts of Gauḍa proper and Tāmralipti, the Ganges, and the Bhāgīrathī branch forming its eastern boundary.[1] Professor S. K. Aiyangar, on the other hand, takes the Burdwan district as Northern Rāḍhā, and Dakshiṇa Rāḍhā must lie to its south.[2] It is true that Burdwan was a part of Rāḍhā, and even now it is designated under the same name. But the learned South Indian scholar is distinctly wrong when he regards it as northern Rāḍhā. If he had made any local inquiries he would have learnt that the people of the Murshidabad district living on the eastern bank of the *Bhāgīrathī* (Ganges) still call the country on the western bank Rāḍhā. The whole countryside abounds in ruins of ancient temples and settlements. Therefore in my humble opinion ancient Rāḍhā is represented by the modern districts of Murshidabad, Birbhum, Nadia, Burdwan, Hughly, and Howrah.

Vaṅga: From Rāḍhā Rājendra's general passed into *Vaṅga,* whose king Govindachandra was defeated by him. The first point that we have to decide is the position of the ancient division, because on this will depend the determination of the furthest point to which eastern India was penetrated by the Chola army. In my opinion the position has been made clear by the mention of *Vaṅgāladeśa* in certain Chola records instead of Vaṅga. The *Vaṅgāladeśa* may be taken to be synonymous with the modern *Bāṅgāla-deśa.* That Vaṅga denotes east Bengal is borne out by the celebrated Muslim historian *Minhāj-us-sirāj.* He tells us that after the capture of his capital by the Muslims Lakshmaṇasena (?) fled to *Bang* and ruled there for some time; and after his death was succeeded by his son and grandson respectively. With the death of the latter the dynasty came to an end.[3]

---

[1] *JPASB.* (N.S.), vol. iv, p. 286.

[2] *Journal of Indian History,* vol. ii, pp. 330–1.

[3] *Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī* (Raverty's translation), p. 558 and footnote.

Therefore we see that our identification of Vaṅga with eastern Bengal is based on safe grounds. We will now take into our consideration views expressed by previous writers on the subject. The late Mr. R. D. Banerji was of opinion that the victorious march of the Chola army ended on the banks of the Ganges; they did not cross the river; and this view has received the support of Professor Aiyangar.[1] I am unable to understand on what ground this conclusion was reached. The fact that neither *Puṇḍra* nor *Puṇḍravardhanabhukti* (North Bengal) is mentioned in the records proves that the Cholas were unable to, or did not, conquer that part of Bengal. Therefore the only way by which they could have reached eastern Bengal was by crossing the River Ganges. A glance at any map of Bengal will bear out my point.

SUMMARY

To conclude, we have seen in the foregoing passages that no reliance can be placed upon the Tiruvalaṅgāḍu plates as to the exact order of the countries conquered by the Chola general. On the other hand, the Tamil records are more dependable on account of their unanimity. Under the circumstances it is not possible for me to agree to the route of the Chola army as suggested by Professor Aiyangar in his article already referred to and the sketch map accompanying it. The southern army certainly did not reach Bengal through Ranchi, Gaya, Bihar, and Patna. We have also made an attempt to demonstrate that Daṇḍabhukti cannot be identified with Bihar; it is better to regard this place as the ancient Uddaṇḍapura. It has also been shown that the Chola army did cross the Ganges; the prevailing belief is untenable.

---

[1] *Bāṅgālār Itihāsa*, vol. i, pp. 246–252; *Journal of Indian History*, vol. ii, pp. 337–45.

Tokharian Elements in the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan

By T. BURROW, M.A., M.R.A.S.
Christ's College, Cambridge

THE language of the Kharoṣṭhī documents recovered from Chinese Turkestan by Sir Aurel Stein is in the main Prakrit, but contains a considerable amount of non-Indian material. Of this there are a number of Iranian words (under a score). The rest consists of about 1,000 proper names and about 150 words. The latter consist of titles, names of agricultural products, articles of dress, etc., for which no doubt there was no Indian term that exactly corresponded. We may take this as representing the native language of the Shan-Shan kingdom, as opposed to the Indian Prakrit which was used as the official language. Most of the documents come from the Niya site, which was an outpost of the kingdom bordering on Khotan. For the rest there are a few from Endere (= Sāca) and about forty from the Lou Lan area (666–707). Since the names in these latter are of the same type and often the same names, we may conclude that the population and their language was uniform throughout the whole kingdom.

The material is sufficiently large to make definite statements about the phonetic structure of the language, and this turns out to be remarkably like the two dialects of Tokharian. The chief points in common are :—

(1) Absence of voiced stops (*g*, *d*, *b*). A survey of the proper names shows that while there are great numbers beginning with *k*, *c*, *t*, *p*, there are practically none at all beginning with *g*, *j*, *d*, *b*. Of the few exceptions the form with the unvoiced consonant is usually found side by side, e.g. *Giraka* and *Kiraka*, *Jimoya* and *Cimoya*, *Dhameca* and *Tameca*, *Bośarsa* and *Pośarsa*, *Buṃni* (place-name) and *Puṃniyade*.

These exceptions are due to the fact that they tended to unvoice the Indian voiced stops in pronunciation and consequently could write *g*, etc., when they meant *k*, etc. Examples of this tendency in Indian words are *kilane* for *gilana* " ill ", *Civarac̄h̄i* = *Jīvarac̄h̄i*, *tivya* for *divya*, *tivas̱a* for *divas̱a*, *poǵa* = *bhoga*, etc. In the same way Sanskrit words borrowed into Tokharian are unvoiced, e.g. *pāk* = *bhāga*, etc.

Medially the same rule prevails except in the case of intervocalic *k*, which becomes *ǵ* as in the Prakrit; e.g. *Kuǵe*, *Oǵaca*, *Caǵu*, *Tatiǵa*. Similarly in consonant groups (probably resulting from the loss of a vowel), e.g. *Apǵe*, *Cǵito* (cf. the fuller form *Ciǵita*), *Tǵaca* (printed *ṅǵaca*, cf. the fuller form *Taǵaca*). *-nk-* and *-rk-* seem to have become *ṃg* and *-rg-*, as in the North-Western Prakrit and in Śaka, e.g. *tsaṃghina* (an official), *Aṃgoka* (also *Aṃkvaǵa*), *Oṃgilca*, *Saṃghuti*, *agiltsa* (epithet of camels. The *anusvāra* is omitted as quite often. It is a variant of the more common *aṃklatsa*). Compare the similar treatment of Indian words. *upaśaṃghidavo* = *upaśaṅk-*, *saṃghalida* = *saṃkal-*.

After *r*: *Argiceya*, *Cargayodae*, *Kargate*, *Tsurgeya* (also *Tsurkeya*). The development is the same in Khotanī Saka, e.g. *birgga* = Av. *vəhrka* " wolf ".

Other exceptions are merely apparent. It is practically impossible as a rule to distinguish between the *akṣaras* for *bh* and *ts*, so that where *bh* is printed in native names probably *ts* should be read, e.g. *Tsuǵeli* instead of *Bhuǵeli*, *Maltsuta* instead of *Malbhuta*, *Tseǵeci* and *Tseǵeyami* for *Bheǵeci* and *Bheǵeśami*, *putǵetsa* for *puṅǵebha* (epithet of camels, compare the similar suffix in *aṃklatsa*, also an epithet of a camel).

The *ḍha* which appears in native names is represented by an *akṣara* quite different from the real *ḍha* which occurs in Indian words (cf. pl. xiv, Nos. 71 and 72). It is not certain what its real value is, but considering that otherwise the native language has neither voiced stops nor aspirates, it pretty certainly was not = *ḍha*.

(2) A second obvious characteristic which it shares with Tokharian is its lack of aspirated consonants and of *h*. Here again the fact is evident from a survey of the proper names. The apparent exceptions, *bh* and *ḍh*, have been explained above. Others are due obviously to confusion of spelling, e.g. *Dhameca* beside *Tameca*. Similarly, no doubt, in *Aṣidhaneya*, *Mudhautsa*. *H* appears at the beginning of a native name only in *Huviṣae*.

There follows a tendency to drop the aspiration of Indian words *śigra*, *agacati*, *pratama*, *buma*, etc. *H* is dropped, e.g. in *danagrana*, *asta* " hand ", *ac̄h̄ati* besides *hac̄h̄ati* (= *siyati* and *bhaviṣyati*).

There are a few examples of *kh* which are probably not native. Thus *Khoṣa*, 362, is a man of Khotan. The word *khi* is probably derived from Greek χοῦς through Iranian (*ū* seems to have become *ī* in Saka in conjunction with a guttural fricative ; Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 20).

(3) Spirants like χ, ϑ, *f* are absent in both languages. *ph̄* (= *f*) is rare, occurring for instance in Iranian names like *Tiraṕhara*. In *Buddhaph̄arma* (655) = *Buddhavarma*, the Indian *v* has been unvoiced as the other consonants *g*, *d*, etc. *Kh* was probably a spirant because it never alternates with *k* in words like *khi* (contrasted with the *kh* in Indian words, e.g. *nikhaliṣyati* " will remove ", for which *nikaliṣyati* is also written). It was certainly not a characteristic of the native language (see above).

(4) There are no cerebrals in Tokharian. In the native names of the documents they are very rare. *Caḍ́ota* (= the Niya Site) is almost isolated, which suggests that it may be an imported name. Other examples are probably due to confusion. Thus *tr* and *ḍ* and *ṭ* are very much alike and liable to be confused in careless writing, so that *Paṭaya* (33) and *Paḍ̄aya* (185) are no doubt misread for the more common *Patraya*. Also *Kuḍ́eya* beside *Kutreya*. Similarly the same name in printed both *Lustu* and *Luṭhu*. Bearing in mind the characteristics of the language, there is no doubt that *Lustu*

is to be chosen as the correct form. The same may be the case in *Laṭhanaṃmi* (name of a place). That *ḍh* in native names is not a correct transliteration has already been pointed out.

(5) There is no *v* in Tokharian, only a *w* : *v* occurs only in Sanskrit loanwords, *viparyās viṣai* (= *viṣaya*), etc. In the native names there is a characteristic modification of *v*, i.e. *v́*, which is shown to have been = *w* by its being used in Indian words like *hetuv́ena* and *tanuv́aga* as a transitional sound between *u* and a following vowel. Examples are *V́apika*, *V́arpa*, *V́uǵaca*, *V́ua*, *v́asu* (a title), etc. There is considerable confusion between the two letters—*vasu* beside *v́asu*, etc. Also *v́* instead of *v* in Indian words—*viṃñav́eti*, *v́aṃti* (= *upānte*). This was probably because they tended to substitute their own *w* for Indian *v* in pronunciation.

(6) *l* is softened to *ly* before *i*. The *akṣara* which is transliterated *lṕ* ought rather to be read as *ly* or *lý*. It was not exactly the same as the group *ly*, but a modification of the *l* in that direction caused by the following *i*. It corresponds exactly to the Tokharian *ly*, which is not treated as a double consonant in that language. The reasons for adopting this change of reading are : (1) In 605. *Kalṕanadham̄a* is written for *Kalyānadharma*. (2) *lṕi* frequently alternates with *li* both in Sanskrit and native words, e.g. *lṕihida* 575 = *lihida*, *vyalṕi* is the feminine of *vyāla* ' wild '. In native names compare *Piṣalṕiyaṃmi* 122 with *Piṣaliyaṃmi* 291, *Lṕivarasma* with *Livarajhma*, *Lipe* 754 with the usual *Lṕipe*(*ya*). (3) Apart from these few examples the group *li*- is quite foreign to native names, while *lṕi* is quite frequent, *Lṕipeya*, *Lpimsu*, etc. The reason that *li*- does not occur is obviously that it has developed into *lýi* (*lṕi*).

Further support for this is derived from the fact that *i* tended to be pronounced *yi*- in other positions. Initially, for instance, e.g. *yiyo* 348, 416 = *iyam*, *yima* = *ime* 237. There are no native names beginning with *i*-. It had obviously developed into *yi*-, so that we get *Yipiya*, *Yitaka*, *Yimila*, *Yili*, out of **ipi*, etc.

For the similar process in Tokharian, where *l*, *n*, *t*, etc., are softened into *ly*, *ñ*, *c*, etc., cf. *Toch. Gramm.*, § 433.

Probably the same thing happened in the case of *n* and *t*, here as well as in Tokharian, although the evidence is not so clear as in the case of *l*. There are no native names beginning with *ti*-, though quite a number begin with *ci*-. In the light of the facts above we may conclude that *ti* became *tyi* and then *ci* (just as in Tokharian). Similarly in the case of *ñi*, which occurs frequently, *ñimeya*, *Acuñiya*, *Apñiya*, *Kuñita*, *Kṅñila*, *Mañiǵeya*, *Señima*. This latter change does not seem to have affected Indian words except perhaps in *nihaṃñitavo* from *ni-han* or *ni-khan*.

(7) The consonant *ts* is common in both languages—*tsaṃgina*, *Tsina*, *Tsuǵeta*, *Tratsoku*, etc.

(8) The tendency to omit vowels on a large scale resulting in a great variety of conjunct consonants. We find names like *Pǵi*, *Pǵo*, *Tǵaca* (printed *ṅǵaca*), beside *Piǵi*, *Puǵo*, *Taǵaca*, *crom̃a* (an agricultural commodity) beside *curom̃a* and *cirom̃a*, *Mañiǵeya* and *Mañǵeya*, *Takra* and *Taǵira*, etc. Similarly in Indian names *Yokṣena* and *Butsena* for *Yogasena* and *Buddhasena*. Finally *cotaṃ* = *codana*, 425, *gamaṃ* = *gamana*, 425: compare Tokh. *ṣāmaṃ* = *śramana*.

(9) No attempt is made to represent the reduced vowel *ä*, which is common in Tokharian. It is confused with *i*, e.g. in *kilme* " district " = Tokh. A *kälyme*. In the proper name *Patirke* with a variant *Patriǵe* there is the same alternation between *ri* and *ir* as between *är* and *rä* in Tokharian.

SUFFIXES

The majority of the common suffixes in the native names and words recur in Tokharian, e.g.:—

(1) -*e*: *paḱe* " package " (?), *lote* ' ransom, bride-price ". Proper names such as *Kuǵe*, *Kuteya*, *Caṃpeya*, *Ñimeya*, *Moǵe*, *V̇arpe*, *Lṕipe*(*ya*). In these forms -*eya* is merely written for -*e*; cf. *nic̄eya* side by side with *nic̄e* = *niścaya*.

(2) -*o*: *piro* (= ?), *Cato*, *Camo*, *Tsoṃgo*, *Puǵo*, *Yono*, *Lṕimo*.

(3) *-tsa* (cf. *Tocharische Grammatik*, § 30): *kitsayitsa* (a title), *putǵetsa* (so read for *puṅǵebha*) and *aṃklatsa* (epithets of camels), *Karaṃtsa, Catsotsaae, Pāǵanātsa, Ramṣotsa.*

(4) *-ina* = Tokh. *-iṃ* (*Toch. Gramm.*, § 42): *cuv́alayina* (a title), *cilaṃḍhina* " shared ", *paṃcaraina* (epithet of *aṃna* " corn "), *tsaṃghina* and *koyimaṃḍhina* (both apparently officials connected with crops), *Tuṃgayina, Kroraina* (name of the capital).

(5) *-e(ṃ)ci, -i(ṃ)ci* = Tokh. *-ñci* (*Toch. Gramm.*, § 42). Usually in deriving adjectives from place-names: *Kroraiṃci, Caḍodeṃci, Saciṃci, Calmataṃci, Tsakeṃci, Tseǵeci, Yav́e av́aneṃci, Navoteṃciye, Ninaṃci.* Also with ordinary nouns: *klaseṃci* (a kind of official in charge of camels, etc., belonging to the army), *kilme(ṃ)ci* " belonging to the district (*kilme*) of ", *paṃthaci* (from *paṃtha* " way "), *simici* " connected with boundaries ".

(6) *-i* (cf. *Toch. Gramm.*, § 31): it is derived in Indian words from Skt. *-ya* and *-ika*; e.g. *saṃvatsari* = *sāṃvatsarika.* But its use is much extended compared with ordinary Sanskrit and Prakrit, at the expense of the Tatpuruṣa compound (though that is still very frequent). Thus they say *ghriti paśu* instead of *ghritapaśu.* Further, *masuv́i ṣothaṃga*, 272, " The *ṣothaṃga* connected with wine (*masu*) ", *uvaśaṃghi śrava* (*upaśaṅkāśrava*), *rayadvari mahatvana* " officials belonging to the king's court ". In Tokharian an Indian Tatpuruṣa compound is usually translated by a derivative adjective followed by a noun.

(7) The feminine suffix *-s*: an *s* occurs frequently in native proper names, e.g. *Smaǵasae*, more usually *-is*, *Apisae, Kuñis̱ae, Cimisae, Lṕimisoae.* That the suffix *-is* was specially feminine is shown by the existence of masculine names from the same base with a different suffix; e.g. *Arsina* and *Arsisae*, *Apika*, *Apita*, and *Apisae*, *Kuñita* and *Kuñisae.* (The final *-ae* is, of course, Indian.) Admittedly there are masc. names in *-is̱a* too, e.g. *Pǵis̱a.*

The material furnishes information only about the phonetics and suffix-formation, naturally not about the grammar. But there are two plural suffixes which are possibly Tokharian.

(1) The plural *paḱeyu* from *paḱe* (" parcel " ?) looks like the Tokh. A plurals in *-u—cmolu* from *cmol* " birth ", *kälymeyu* from *kälyme* (= Skt. *diś*).

(2) The plurals in *-aṃca* (cf. F. W. Thomas, *JRAS*. 1927, p. 544) may perhaps be compared with the common plural suffix *-āñ* in Tokh. A. A palatal consonant might have dropped off at the end; cf. *pāñ* = " five " and *Toch. Gramm.*, § 85, p. 53. Examples are *aśpaṃca* 387, 681, *śaḍ́aṃca* 85, *dajhaṃca* 133, *paṭaṃca* 660, *bhumaṃca* 366, 713, *uṭaṃca* 681, *mahatvaṃca* 696.

There do not seem to be many words which are obviously Tokharian. Comparison is rendered difficult by the fact that the meaning of most of the native words is uncertain as well as by the fragmentary nature of the material on both sides. But a few comparisons can be made.

Kitsayitsa is a title. It may mean " elder " and be connected with Tokh. B *ktsaitsañe* " age ".

aṃklatsa is an epithet of a camel and may = Tokh. A and B *aknatsa* " ignorant ", meaning an untrained camel. *aknatsa* is probably out of **anknatsa* originally (cf. *Toch. Gramm.*, § 381, and S. Lévi, *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Lit.*, p. 377). The dropping of the first *n* in Tokh. A and B is presumably due to dissimilation. In the *aṃklatsa* of the documents we have a different kind of dissimilation at work. If this identification is correct we would have a different dialect of Tokh. in the Shan-Shan kingdom from the B dialect of *Kucā* and the A dialect of Karašar.

oǵana (some agricultural product) may be connected with Tokh. A *oko* " fruit ", *okar* " plant " (from *ok*(*s*) " to grow ").

maḱa, another agricultural commodity, is reminiscent of Tokh. *malke* " milk ". The value of *ḱ* is not certain. It may = *kk*, i.e. *makka*.

kilme " district " is no doubt = Toch. A *kälyme* " direction, district ". The word *kilme* deserves to be treated in somewhat more detail :—

Kilme

More common is the derivative adjective *kilme(ṃ)ci*. This is not a place-name, as it has hitherto been taken to be (e.g. in the Index), but a word meaning " district ". That it is not a place-name is shown by its being used in conjunction with many different place-names, e.g. 279, *yav́e-av́anaṃmi kilmeci* ; 297, *Yiruṃḍhina av́anaṃmi kilmeci* ; 639, *ogu Ajhurakaṣa kilmeṃci Caḍotiye* " people of Caḍ́ota belonging to the district of the *ogu* Ajhuraka " ; 16 (in conjunction with *Peta-av́ana*).

The *av́ana's* seem to have been small country towns with a certain stretch of land belonging to them. In 25 *Peta-nagaraṃmi* appears as a substitute for *Peta av́anaṃmi*. That agricultural land formed part of an *av́ana* appears from 124, *Peta av́aneṃci bhumana prace* " concerning the lands of Peta av́ana " ; 496, *Catiṣa devi av́anaṃmi . . . bhuma kurora catumilimi Aṃtu av́aneṃci bhumaṃmi anusaṃti* (= *anusandhi*) " In the *av́ana* of Queen Catiṣa there is some *kurora* land taking four *milimas* (of seed), adjoining the land of Aṃtu av́ana". Officials were put over these, and that was their *kilme* " district " ; 16, *maya maharayena peta av́ana Caṃkura Arjunaṣa picavida* " By me the great king Peta av́ana was handed over to the *caṃkura* Arjuna ".

The word *kilmeṃci* is always used in conjunction with an *av́ana* (see above) or with the name of the man who is in charge of the district : 482, *Śakā garahati yatha edaṣa kilmeyoṃmi Molṕina bhuma ladhaye* " Śakā complains that in his district Molṕina has received some land " ; 437, *Caḍoteṃci maṃnuśa caṃkura Kapǵeya ni kilmeci koṃpala* " A man of Caḍ́ota belonging to the district of Kapǵeya, (called) Koṃpala ".

Often letters are sent by officials asking that their *kilmeciye* should be looked after by the official into whose district they have gone : 271, *evaṃca yo asmahu atra Caḍotaṃmi kilmeciye* *tahi s̱arvabhavena jheniǵa* [*hu*]*aṃti*, *ahuno iśa eti kilmeciye tahi puna jheniǵa ditemi* " Thus, those people who belong to my district here in Caḍ́ota are by all means the objects of your care, now I have put under your care (also) these people from my district " ; 585, *asmabhi kilmeci avaśa jheniǵa hotu tanu saṃña* (= *tanusañjña-*) *janidavo* " The (man) from our district must certainly be under your care, he must be looked upon as if he were your own ".

Naturally we are on very uncertain ground comparing proper names with Tokharian words, but some identifications are tempting ; e.g. *Caṃpe* with the Tokh. verb *tämp*, *cämp* " to be powerful " ; *Laroae* with Tokh. B *lare* " dear " (A *ylār*) ; *Moǵalā Moǵaca* with A *mok* " old ", *mokats* " strong " ; *Pośarsa* might mean " *sarvajña* ", cf. Tokh. B *po* " all ", A and B *kärs*, *śars* " to know ".

We may conclude then tentatively that the population of the Shan-Shan kingdom in the third century A.D. were a branch of the Tokharians probably speaking a different dialect from the two which are preserved for us in much later documents from Kučā and Karašar. If this is so it takes back the history of the Tokharian language 500 years earlier than the existing texts.

Note on the word palṕi

The facts about the native language described above provide a clue for the explanation of the very common word *palṕi*. It quite clearly means " tax ", which, of course, was paid in kind. As pointed out above, it should be read *palýi*. This is just the form the Sanskrit *bali* " tax " would take when pronounced by the natives (cf. *poǵa* and *vyalṕi* above). Usually this treatment is sporadic. The reason that *palṕi* invariably appears in this form must be that it had been borrowed into the popular language and was no longer felt as a Sanskrit word.

233.

A propos the Legend of Nāropā[1]

By GIUSEPPE TUCCI

NĀROPĀ, with Padmasambhava, Mi, la ras pa, and Tsoṅ k'a pa, is one of the most famous Buddhist teachers in Tibet. He may certainly be considered as one of the most conspicuous factors of Tibetan Buddhism, since he was the spiritual father of Marpa, who is acknowledged as the *guru* of Milaraspa and the founder of the bKa' rgyud pa sect. This school later split up into several sub-sects, widely spread even now in Tibet, and through Karma Bakshi allied itself with the rÑiṅ ma pas; but its first teacher or *ādiguru* is said to have been rDo rjẹ ạc'aṅ, or Vajradhara, whose doctrines were secretly transmitted to Tilopā and by this *siddha* to Nāropā, who was to exercise through his pupil a great spiritual influence all over Tibet.

Very little was known up to now about this great ascetic, practically nothing more than the legendary accounts of his life contained in the *bKa' babs bdun ldan* by Tāranātha and the lives of the eighty-four Siddhas, both translated by Grünwedel.[2]

Many of his works have been rendered into Tibetan by his pupil Marpa, and are to be found in the *bsTan ạgyur*, the only book from his pen still preserved in Sanskrit being the *Sekoddeśaṭīkā*,[3] a treatise concerned with the tantric initiation and its rituals according to the Kālacakra and the Vimalaprabhā system. This text has been discovered by me in Nepal, and is being edited and translated by my pupil, Dr. M. Carelli. But his most famous work in Tibet is a booklet called *Nā ro pāi c'os drug* ("The Six Laws of Nāropā"), which is a kind of manual of the Yoga praxis for the *sGom c'en*, viz. the ascetics, specially, but not only those of the bKa' rgyud pa sect.[1] This book, which is fundamentally for the study of Tibetan mysticism and sheds a great light upon the psycho-analytical science of the East, is being translated by me and will shortly be published.

---

[1] *Die Legenden des Nāropā*, des Hauptvertreters des Nekromanten- und Hexentums von. A. Grünwedel; Leipzig (Harrassowitz), 1933.

[2] *Tāranātha's Edelsteinmine*, Bibliotheca Buddhica, XVIII. *Die Geschichten der vierundachtzig Zauberer*, Bässler Archiv, v, 4, 5,

[3] A commentary upon the *Sekoddeśa* preserved in the bKa' ạgyur, v. Beckh's *Catalogue*, p. 72.

Scant attention has been paid up to now to the teachings of the Siddhas and to their interpretation of the tantric doctrines; and these are not always very clear, because they are chiefly *sādhana-śāstras*, viz. methods of spiritual experiences partly unknown to us; still they may be looked upon as one of the greatest attempts ever known to translate into terms of life and psychological reality mere intellectual formulæ. Moreover, it is, in my opinion, just in the Tantras that the fundamental difference between the Indian and the Western point of view of life is to be sought. It has therefore been for me a matter for great satisfaction to see that a veteran of our studies has once more realized the importance of the Siddha-school and has added to his previous labours the translation of the biography of the famous Nāropā,[2] a book which, apart from its literary value, has the great advantage of bringing us into direct contact with that psychology which permeates tantric experiences and still dominates the Tibetan mind, and which, moreover, may well have been common to the Mahāyāna communities in India, of whose spiritual influence Tibetan culture is the outcome. Professor Grünwedel has based his translation upon a manuscript which was found in the Monastery of Hemis, a famous *dGon pa* in Ladakh founded by a ạBrug pa saint, sTag ts'aṅ ras pa by name, whose *sprul sku* incarnates himself there even now and is also well known to me As a matter of fact, the text of the biography translated by Grünwedel is merely a manuscript redaction of a most popular *rnam t'ar* of Nāropā, the full title being: *Mk'as grub mñam med dpal ldan nāro pai rnam par t'ar dri med legs bšad bde c'en ạbrug sgra.* The author was dBaṅ ạp'yug rgyal mts'an, who wrote it in bSam gliṅ in rDsa ri. Of course, this is not the only biography of our Siddha: another and shorter *rnam t'ar* is included in the *ạP'ags yul grub pai dbaṅ p'yug dpal Telo Nāro gñis daṅ | dgyes mdsad Mar pa lotsā | rje btsun bŽad rDo rje bcas kyi rnam t'ar mdor bsdus daṅ | mk'as grub Dvags po lha rjei rnam t'ar sñan pai ba dan ạdsam gliṅ mt'a' gru k'yab pai rgyan bcas*, and a third one is the *mK'as mc'og nāro paṅ c'en gyi rnam t'ar.* It is a special section of a very bulky work called: *bKa' rgyud pai gser ạp'reṅ*, which is, as its title indicates, a series of biographies of the greatest masters of the sect.

---

[1] In fact, one of the best commentaries upon the "six laws" is that by Tsoṅ k'a pa.

[2] I think that the correct spelling of the name is Nāropā and not Nāropa; *pā* is the Prakritic form of *pāda*.

It is needless to add that a good deal of information concerning our saint is also to be found in the *Deb t'er sṅon po* and in the various *C'os ạbyuṅ*, especially in the *C'os ạbyuṅ* of Padma dkar po.

It is well known that Tibetan manuscripts are very often marred by many mistakes due to copyists imperfectly acquainted with the rules of orthography, who very often misread the original manuscripts. So it was to be expected that even the manuscript with which we are at present concerned was not altogether free from clerical errors; sometimes these could have been easily corrected by the editor, but sometimes they were such as to alter the meaning and to mislead him in his interpretation of the text. I subjoin here a few instances:—

p. 32, ll. 1–2 of the Tibetan text: *bstan la ạdebs* should be *gtan ạbebs.*

p. 33, l. 12: *skyes mc'og paṅ c'en nā ro pa.*

p. 35, l. 7: The verse is defective; it should be: *t'a mal pa yi gzugs su gnas.*

Ibid., l. 15: *mc'og tu gyur pa mi mjed ạjig rten gyi k'ams ạdi yin la | dei naṅ nas kyaṅ bcom pa daṅ ldan pai gliṅ bži pa ạdi yin | gliṅ bži las kyaṅ | gliṅ mc'og tu gyur pa.*

p. 36, l. 7: Not *sa la*, but *sā la*, viz. the śāla tree.

p. 37, l. 13: Instead of *bsñuṅ* read *smyuṅ bar*.

Ibid., last line: For *p'o ñi*, etc., read *p'o ña cig gi mts'ams sbyor*.

p. 41, l. 5: For *rbe* read *sbe*; *rtsis naṅ* should be *rtsis daṅ*.

Ibid., l. 14: read *bstan pai sgor*.

p. 45, l. 3: For *byas pai kyad* read *byas pas kyaṅ*.

p. 46, l. 16: *rgyal po gtsaṅ po yaṅ* should be *rgyal po zas gtsaṅ yab*.

p. 48, ll. 1 and 17: Instead of *gtsaṅ sbra* and *ạdra* read *gtsaṅ spra* (cf. p. 50, l. 1, *gtsaṅ spra*).

p. 49, l. 21: For *c'u sdod* read *c'u snod*.

p. 50, l. 13: After *ni gu bya ba yin* add *miṅ po na gu bya ba yin*.

p. 53, l. 6: For *gñis la* read *gñis lo*.

p. 54, ll. 15 and 16: *ạbed ạbrel* should be *ạbad ạbral*.

p. 59, l. 21: For *mts'on* read *mts'og*.

p. 86, l. 6: For *rtsa bas gros* read *brtse bai gros*.

Ibid., l. 13: This should be *bla ma ma brñed*.

p. 87, ll. 15–16: After *gnas* read *gsaṅ sṅags yid bžin nor bu yi | gdams ṅag snod du ạgyur to | mk'a' ạgro ma yi gsaṅ bai gnas | rgyud pa yid bžin nor bu bzuṅ*.

p. 87, last line: *byas pa lta bui*.

p. 89, l. 17: For *bden ạgags* read *bden ạdsin ạgags*.

p. 101, l. 3: This must be: *bsdus pa la yab lhan gcig skyes pa daṅ yum lhan gcig skyes mai sgrub t'abs*.

But I do not insist further upon this point: it is quite clear that the text, as it is, needs a revision.

As to the translation, I frankly confess that I cannot accept the renderings of Professor Grünwedel; apart from the many points in which he seems to have misunderstood the text, I object to the idea which he has of this literature and which is responsible very often for his translation. Magic, of course, is blended with the Tantras; and many Tantras have complete sections dedicated to magic, and even to black magic. But in the Tantras there are also many other things which cannot be considered as magic; after all, the life of Nāropā itself is a good instance of this; what he is looking for, are not *siddhis* but the *siddhi*; that is, that supreme spiritual realization which will enable him to step over *saṃsāra* and to obtain the full possession of the ultimate reality. The *Siddha* is not a magician; even in Hinduism a *siddhapuruṣa* is the "Perfect One", the Indian ideal of perfection, as opposed to that of the European saint. The *Siddha* may have, as a rule even has, *siddhis*, but these are mere signs of his having attained the supreme realization. We must not forget that in the Tantras of the higher class, as those which have inspired the school of the bKa' rgyud pa, everything is symbolical: they used old expressions or religious forms as symbols of these spiritual experiences, which they taught men to realize. If we would understand by a comparison the atmosphere which pervades the Tantras, we must have recourse to the mystery-sects or to the gnostic schools of Hellenistic times, which also used time-honoured symbols or mythological expressions to signify quite different spiritual realities, which were the outcome of the religious consciousness of their time. There is no trace of necromancy in all this. If we interpret the Vajrayāna, by which Tantras have been inspired, as magic, we fail to understand the mystic significance of this Buddhist Yoga, which, apart from its weak points, is certainly one of the most important creations of the Hindu mind, upon which we must not pass judgment without grasping its real meaning, beyond its outer appearance and its verbal expressions, which may be even misleading. The exegetical literature preserved in Tibetan or due to Tibetan mystics will show this fact beyond any doubt. These, I think, are the *realia* for which we must account if we would understand the Tantras.

Let us give some instances of the interpretation of the text by Grünwedel; they are only a few, but there is hardly a page where his renderings could not, according to me, be improved.

p. 34, l. 16 :—

“ Ich bin ein Buddha, in meinem Geiste vollendet,
mein Wort ist das heilige Dharma,
ich bin die Gemeinde der Mönche (saṅgha) erhabener Körperlichkeit,”

Here, of course, reference is made to the triple essence of Nāropā as being *sku*, *gsuṅ*, *t'ugs* “ body ”, “ word ”, “ mind ”, viz. the three constituents, according to the Vajrayāna, of every personality, and in their *vajra*-aspect of the Buddhas. “ My mind is the perfect Buddha, my word is the supreme Law, my body is the holy Church.”

p. 37, l. 19 : Aber es klappte nicht mit der Existenzform ; da, als so ein Stillstand war durch Disharmonie bezüglich einer Schwangerschaft in einem männlichen Jahre, wurde gesagt. . . .

“ When the astrological connections did not agree, they said to the emissary (*mts'ams sbyor* = *praṇidhi*) [sent as a] messenger. . . .”

p. 38, l. 4 : “ Der Geist hat die Zuflucht gefunden, ohne Trug ist das höchste Wesen ; gedeiht dann die Stimmung zur höchsten Erkenntnis (bodhi) infolge der Anlage, die einem Wesen entspricht, das mit guter Absicht begabt ist, so tritt, wenn der Wunsch besteht unter Herbeirufen des höchsten Gutes, der Schutzgötter (iṣṭadeva), der Hexen (ḍākinīs) und religionshüter (dharmapāla) eine Fülle von Spenden zu geben.”

It is clearer to translate as follows : “ Having taken refuge in the *triratna* (a necessary introduction to every ceremony, *triśaraṇagamana*, *skyabs ạgro*), since the three jewels never deceive, being in this way possessed of a pure mind, one must, out of it, resolve to obtain the supreme illumination (*cittotpāda*) ; then he must prepare abundant offerings in the ceremony of evocation (*āvāhana*) of the Guru, the *triratna*, the protecting God and the Ḍākinī.”

p. 47. When Nāropā is invited by his parents to marry, after many a refusal he yields, provided they find for him a girl possessed of certain requisites. The stanza in which he expresses this purpose is so rendered by Grünwedel :—

" Die Gnade der drei göttlichen erhabenen Güter hat mich erfasst. Bei der Eigenart des Begriffes Vater und Mutter der sechs Wesens-klassen wird Eins zu Zwei, bei Vater und Mutter kann also Wahrheit nicht sein. Ich ein solcher Zauberer, wie meine Berufung verlangt, spreche den Wunsch aus, da ich imstande skrupelloser Reinheit bin : möge mir ein Wort gegeben werden, ob ich makellose Tīrthikas eines Geschlechtes für die grosse Karriere (mahāyāna) finden kann, also, wenn es ein solches Mädchen gibt, wird das Wort meiner Eltern nicht gebrochen."

The translation should, I think, be as follows : " Though, being seized by the mercy of the *triratna*, I think that all creatures of the six kinds of existence are my parents (lit. : have the nature of my parents) (and that therefore) it is wrong (to believe) that one or two only are my own parents : (I), the ascetic, according to the command (received) am searching for such [a girl]. Inform me if you find (a girl) (possessed of the following marks) : she must be simple,[1] pure,[2] belonging to a non-Buddhist family,[3] immaculate [4] (*vimalā*), in the lineage of the Great Vehicle." [5] These marks are, as a matter of fact, explained in the course of the narration. Those who are acquainted with the Tantras will easily recognize the usual marks of the *caṇḍālī* or *mudrā* used in some esoteric rituals.

p. 59, l. 16. " Als er nun seinem Begehren nach dem Wunschedelstein (cintāmaṇi), der den Zauber enthält, Abschluss geben wollte, denn er war nun mit der zweiten Spezialität mit der Lehre der Donnerkeilschule (vajrayāna) der Geheimformeln (guhyamantra) beschäftigt und damit ein Zeichen sei dass ihn Bhaṭṭārikā Vajrayoginī zu dem ehrwürdigen Ti-lo-pa führe, damit er die Zauberkraft der Waffe ausübe und durch das, was sein Herz bedeute, die Lehre steigere. . . ."

---

[1] Tibetan text, p. 49, l. 17.

[2] Ibid., p. 50, l. 1.

[3] Ibid., p. 50, l. 14.

[4] Ibid., p. 50, l. 13.

[5] Ibid., p. 50, l. 20.

"Secondly (referring to 'first' *daṅ po ni* of p. 41, l. 19) to say it in detail, as regards (*ni* instead of *na*) the way by which he, being devoted to the teachings of the Vajrayāna consisting of the secret *mantras*, cut off all doubts concerning that gem which is the tantric teaching [it is told that] through the will of Bhaṭṭārikā Vajrayoginī he received a sign which led him into the presence of Ārya Tilopā so that he might apply himself to the supreme perfection and develop the teaching of the essential meaning."

p. 65, l. 4: "Mache hier die Bannung zu dem dir erwünschten Ziel."

"Bring to fulfilment our desire."

p. 66, l. 5: "Wir entbehren des kundigen Arztes, der uns die Wahrheit bringt über die Finsternis des Nichtwissens (avidyā), darum o Bhagavat Abhayakīrti verweile zu unserem Heile."

"On account of the bewilderment of ignorance we are deprived of the clever doctor of the law."

p. 66, l. 10: "Der Geborene löst sterbend jede Verbindung, seine Form (dharmatā), bei der so, das was sich angehäuft hat, schwindet."

"Whatever is born dies, every compound is bound to be dissolved."

p. 68, l. 10: "Die siebente Letter (seine Śakti) des Saṃvara hatte nun zweihunderttausend Ehrenbezeugungen erhalten."

"He had uttered two hundred thousand times the mantra of six letters of Saṃvara." Reference is here made to the *japa* of the *saptākṣara-mantra* sacred to Saṃvara.

p. 69, l. 9: "Ich habe dir selbst den Segen gegeben, da du den ehrwürdigen Ti-lo-pa erhalten musst, sonst einen ehrwürdigen Lehrer nicht erhältst. Wo ist dein Buddha zu finden?"

" . . . Without finding the noble master where could you get the Buddha ? "

p. 74 l. 17 : " Wenn du nicht mit dem Schwerte einer der Geburt nicht mehr unterworfenen Eigenart, und zwar aus einer Stimmung heraus, die jeder Sympathie fremd ist, den fortlaufenden Faden des Kreislaufs (saṃsāra) durchschlägst, wie könnte dir zuteil werden, den Lehrer zu finden ? "

" If you do not cut off with that sword which is the (doctrine of) the Absolute Unborn the continuity of saṃsāra, whose essence is non-perception. . . ."

p. 82, l. 5 : " Wirf das da ins Feuer " und nahm dabei von seiner Gewandschulter eine Laus, als vollgehäuftes Mass zur Liebe. Obwohl damit gesagt sein sollte. . . ."

" He took from the bosom of the beggar a handful of lice (read *spar mo* instead of *sprar mo*) and told him to throw them into the fire."

p. 84, l. 20 : " Von jetzt ab musst du losgelöst sein von der Prüfung des Errungenen in einem Geiste, der das Innere hält und nur Anteil nimmt an dem kommenden äusseren Bereich."

" Now you must be freed from any discrimination as regards the attachment to the external objects to be perceived (*grāhya*) and to mind as the internal perceiver (*grāhaka*)."

p. 86, l. 3 : " Ich folgte der Prophezeiung der Hexe (ḍākinī), warf von mir die Leitung der Mönchsgemeinde, die auf der Grundlage meiner Predigt stand."

" . . . I have forsaken the church which is the root of the teaching."

p. 92, l. 11 : " Ich verstehe jetzt, dass es nötig ist, mit dem reinen Wasser der Anleitungen den Nachwuchs des Nestes der Erbsünde, eines anderen Ichs, zu reinigen."

" I have understood that it is necessary to remove the heat (*tsa gduṅ*) of the moral impurities of oneself and of others with the cooling water of mystic instructions."

p. 95, l. 15 : " So gewährte er ihm elf Zeichen der Zaubermacht des Gefässes, elf der Geheimnisse, elf des Erfassens der Erkenntnis (prajñājñāna), den Segen des Reifenlassens vollendeter Macht und alles restlos, was im allgemeinen zum Geheimzauber (guhyamantra) gehört."

In this passage reference is made to the four higher *abhiṣekas* or initiations, *dbaṅ skur*, or simply *dbaṅ*, which can only be imparted to a pupil who has already received the seven inferior ones: while the first seven *abhiṣekas* are intended only for the *laukikasiddhi*, i.e. powers useful in this life, the remaining four have a mystic significance and their aim is to bring the neophyte into contact with higher planes of experience. In the esoteric school the initiation does not need the help of any ritual, but is imparted through symbols (*brda*) which are eleven, just as the *abhiṣekas* are eleven.

p. 95, l. 18: "Wenn jemand das, was durch die Macht des Gefässes in Erscheinung tritt als Täuschung erkannte, dem erklären sich alle Erscheinungen als auf die Devas bezüglich, das Selbsterfassen des Geistes magischer Geheimkraft als Leere (śūnyatā), die Leere der Geheimkraft des vollen Erkennens (prajñā) als Seligkeit."

Here the spiritual process is described which takes place during the three baptisms, or initiations. "Through the *kumbhābhiṣeka*, having recognized that all appearances are like a magic play, one explains every possible appearance as [projections of] gods or [visions of] mind. Through the *guhyābhiṣeka* one recognizes that mind, which is the field of one's own experience, is nothing but the void (*śūnya*) itself. Through the *prajñā-jñānābhiṣeka* one recognizes this void as bliss (*sukha*, *mahā-sukha*). "Through the fourth [*abhiṣeka*] one recognizes this bliss as devoid of any expansion." All these things are explained in detail by Nāropā in the Sekoddeṣaṭīkā.

I am afraid that the long discussion which follows and is concerned with the *abhiṣekas* and their esoteric meaning has not also been properly understood by Grünwedel. From p. 106 up to p. 113 the revelation of the six laws is narrated viz. *gtum mo*, *sgyu lus*, *rmi lam*, *'od gsal*, *p'o ba*, *groṅ ajug*.

For *smin lam* one must, of course, read *rmi lam* "dream", which has a great significance in the mystical process; *gtum mo* is not Caṇḍikā, but the practice which develops the internal heat, etc. I need hardly insist any longer upon the necessity of revising this translation in the light of a deeper knowledge of the *realia* of Mahāyāna mysticism under discussion.

There are also other points on which I do not agree with Professor Grünwedel; so, for instance, when he seeks to find traces of Manichæism in our book or in the ideas it expresses. There are, I am convinced, traces of Manichæism and possibly of Nestorianism in some old *rÑiṅ ma pa* books, to which I hope to draw shortly the attention of my colleagues; but I think that Professor Grünwedel has here failed to prove his assumption. How is it possible to be convinced by his assertion that the Lotus-sect is Manichæan? There were in the Buddhist Tantras various methods of mystic realizations which were chiefly based upon the variety of human beings. These methods were called the *vajra*, *ratna*, *khaḍga*, *padma* and *cakra* methods; even the iconography of the symbolism of *maṇḍalas* was different according to the particular method followed, as we can easily perceive in the literature connected with the Tattvasaṅgraha-tantra or the Paramādi-tantra.

Another division of tantric rituals based upon the difference of the people to be initiated is also found in Ts'oṅ ka pa's commentary upon the Guhyasamāja,[1] where it is stated that individuals are of five kinds: *utpala*, *white lotus*, *padma*, *candana*, *ratna*. Each individual is only fit for the initiation of the corresponding class. This division is, of course, strictly connected with the *pañcakula* or doctrine of five families common in the Tantras, which expresses the fivefold emanation and partition of cosmic phenomena from the primeval

[1] *rGyud t'ams cad kyi rgyal po dpal gSaṅ ba ạdus pai rgya c'er bšad pa sgron ma gsal bai tšig don ji bžin ạbyed pai mc'an gyi yaṅ ạgrel* (vol. i of the collected works of Tsoṅ k'a pa, fol. 13).

consciousness. Anyhow the lotus-class is peculiarly mahāyāna.

To sum up my views: it is quite possible that Mahāyāna Buddhism and Lamaism have been, to a certain extent, influenced by Manichæan doctrines; but this fact must be proved, and the way to be followed is not that shown by Professor Grünwedel.

239.

The Gāndhāra grāma

BY A. H. FOX STRANGWAYS

PRAVARTATE svargaloke grāmo 'sau na mahītale. That scale exists in heaven, not on earth.

It was this sentence in the *Sañgītadarpaṇa* (i, 72) that determined me thirty years ago to visit India. Not that I hoped exactly to solve the problem, but the music must be interesting, I thought, which had learnt so much that it had quite forgotten.

Perhaps one should begin by explaining why a mere scale —a thing that has no music in it—is important. All scales are not. India invents dozens every year, which disappear; either they were not worth while, or they were found to be an ingenious form of something else that is useful. But the three grāmas (gamuts) the sā-grāma, ma-grāma, and gā-grāma, have an immense prestige. It has always been felt that somehow they are the epitome of Indian melody.

A *grāma* is a gamut, not a scale: it is a succession of notes, at specified distances, which may be started anywhere, whereas a scale has a definite starting-point. The interval is the unit, not the note, and that is strange to us, who think in notes (*φθόγγοι*) not in intervals (*svara*). It is one of the points in which Greek and Indian theory do *not* coincide. "We must speak a little more accurately," said Aristoxenus, "about interval, unless we want to be in the plight of Lasos and certain followers of Epigonos who thought that a note had breadth." But the breadth of a note is just what strikes the Indian mind, its "distance" from its neighbour. The early Indian knew three intervals, and distinguished them by the symbols 4, 3, and 2, using these, in fact, as very rough logarithms, the actual numbers being 4·08, 3·64, and 2·24.

We may keep his symbols, but must be very sure what he meant by them.

"4" is the major tone = $\frac{9}{8}$ = 204 cents.
"3" is the minor tone = $\frac{10}{9}$ = 182 cents.
"2" is the semitone = $\frac{16}{15}$ = 112 cents.

Consequently add, multiplying fractions or adding cents,

4 + 4 + 3 + 2 = a fifth ($\frac{3}{2}$).
4 + 3 + 2 = a fourth ($\frac{4}{3}$).
4 + 3 = a major third ($\frac{5}{4}$).
4 + 2 = a minor third ($\frac{6}{5}$).

and

$$\left.\begin{matrix}4 + 4\\ 3 + 3\\ 2 + 2\end{matrix}\right\}\text{ are various kinds of dissonance.}$$

These symbols (4, 3, 2) stood for his *svaras*. The differences between them he called *śrutis*; and we must translate these back into their fractions (or centages) in order to understand them. There were three *śrutis*, in the first instance :—

"4" – "3" = 22 cents ($\frac{9}{8} \times \frac{5}{10} = \frac{81}{80}$).
"3" – "2" = 70 cents ($\frac{10}{9} \times \frac{15}{16} = \frac{25}{24}$).
"4" – "2" = 92 cents ($\frac{9}{8} \times \frac{15}{16} = \frac{135}{128}$).

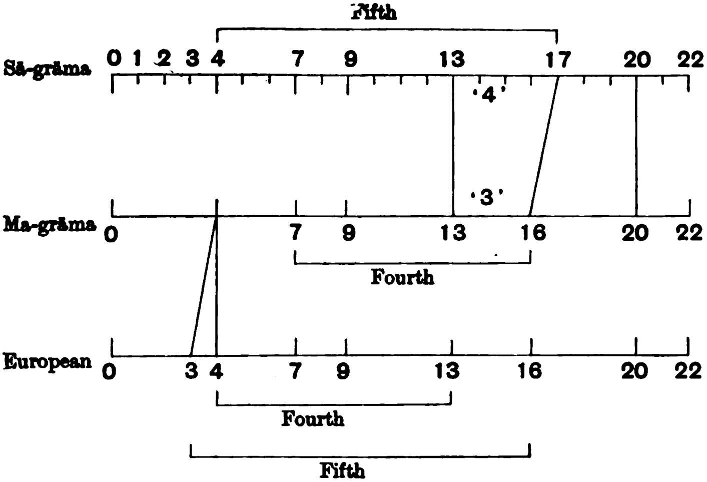
The first of these Bharata, in the early centuries A.D., called the "standard" (*pramāṇa*) *śruti*, and it was by that that the Sāgrāma differed from the Magrāma. The others are evolved by taking scales (*mūrchana*) from different starting-points in the two gamuts.

The difference of view of the Greek (with his *κιθάρα* and *αὐλός*, principally) and the Indian (with his *vīṇā*, usually fretted) is very natural. The Greek, with his ear to the concords of the sounds, based his system on the tetrachord (the perfect fourth) and its divisions. The Indian, with his eye on the string lengths determined by his ear, attended chiefly to the distances between the frets. He described his two gamuts thus :—

Sā-grāma 4 3 2 4 4 3 2
X
Ma-grāma 4 3 2 4 3 4 2

The effect of this interchange of *śrutis* in the fifth and sixth places was to bring the sixth *note*, which lies between them, down one *śruti* by a shift of fret, as this diagram shows.

No. 17 becomes 16; what was "4" from No. 13 is now "3" from it, and what was a fifth from No. 4 is now a fourth from No. 7. Our European scale has the same gamut as the Ma-grāma, and we have the same difficulty; though we negotiate it in a different place, and within the same scale, not in two different ones. We negotiate it by taking a note that does duty both for No. 3 and for No. 4. The note is out of tune with both of them, but we have taught ourselves gradually not to notice that by the harmony we are able to use in consequence, which partly distracts our attention from the falsity, and partly compensates for it in the leverage that modulation supplies to melody.



This "standard" *śruti* occurs not only as between Nos. 16 and 17, but in seven places in the octave, according to which of the seven notes is the tonic—namely, as between 0, 1; 3, 4; 7, 8; 9, 10; 12, 13; 16, 17; and 18, 19. In fact it occurs, in the accepted three octaves of the voice, twenty-one times. And in that connection we may consider a passage in the *Ṛkprātiśākhya* (13, 17).

trīni mandram madhymamuttamam ca sthānānyāhuḥ saptayamāni vācaḥ
anantaraścātra yamo 'viśeshaḥ sapta svarā ye yamāste-pṛthagvā.

"The learned say that there are three places for the voice, the low, the middle, and the high, each with seven twin-notes.

"In these three places one twin is not to be distinguished without another. The seven *svaras* are the twins, or, the twins are different from the *svaras*."

And it is true of the pairs we have found in the scales that one twin cannot be heard definitely except in contrast with the other, because the standard *śruti* is too small to make an interval in melody. Also, that the seven *svaras* (Sa, Ri, Ga, etc.) are all of them twins, that is that they occur in double form; and yet that you cannot properly speak of a note as "being" a twin, or a pair of notes.

This passage, then, seems to put the two *grāmas*, with their sevenfold standard *śruti*, as we know them in Bharata, back to the fourth century B.C. at least. What this implies is that tertian harmony was already realized in India at that date. For the standard *śruti* is the difference between the ditone—the two major tones that pass muster as the major third in early times—and the true major third ($\frac{81}{64}$ and $\frac{80}{64}$). We remember, too, that Archytas of Tarentum, to whom the discovery in Greece of the major third is attributed, lived about 400 B.C.

There are at least three views about the aspect of music in early India which it would be interesting to examine, if space would permit. (1) There is the theory of Messrs. Hornbostel and Lachmann, in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Musikwissenschaft* No. 4, that the *vīṇā* is the Indianized form of the Chinese *k'in*, abolishing one of its notes as dissonant, altering one optionally (in the way we have seen) and adding two more. (2) There is Dr. B. Breloer's ingenious piecing together (in *Die Grundelemente der altindischen Musik*, 1922, now out of print), from some hints of Bharata, of a fundamental pentatonic scale which preceded his system, and which is still to be seen there as an *ὄνειδος σπαργάνων*. And (3), Mr. Clements's view (*Introduction to the Study of Indian Music*, 1913) that the original tuning of the Sagrāma was on A, in what we should describe as a minor-scale, and his interesting suggestion that in the change to the major scale on C, which is six *śrutis* higher, we may see the origin of the word *ṣaḍja*. This the books are never tired of telling us means " born of six ", but, not knowing *what* six, ransack their stores of mythical numbers, and decide on " the six parts " of the body—as if those had anything to do with it !

And there are other views that claim respect. Diverse as they all are, they may all be true, as moments in the longest musical history in the world. They remind us of the forgotten temples one comes suddenly upon in the jungle, which no one thinks of repairing, because the merit in the next world would go not to him but to the original builder ; and it will be simpler and wiser, therefore, to build a new temple, which in its turn will suffer decay.

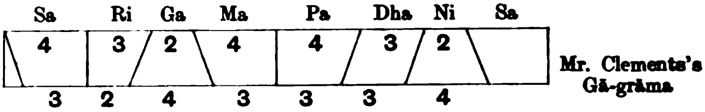
Such a new temple is the Gāndhāra grāma, of which we set out to speak. It was built, as far as we know, by Śārṅgadeva, the author of the *Saṅgīta Ratnākara* (thirteenth century), and Dāmodara, the author of the *Saṅgīta Darpaṇa* (seventeenth century), worshipped in it with that faith which dispenses with reason. The words of Śarṅgadeva, which Dāmodara copies verbatim, are :—

" If *gā* occupies one *śruti* of *ri* and *ma* each, *dha* one *śruti* of *pa*, and *ni* one of *dha* and one of *sa*, that the seer Nārada calls the gāndhāra grāma." (The MS. of Nārada's *Sangīta-makaranda* was unearthed on the banks of the Kistna, fifteen years ago.)

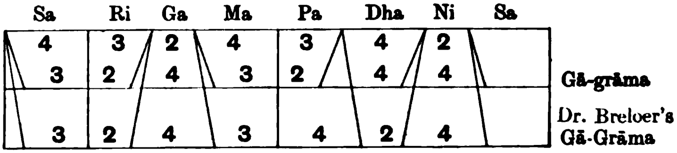
What Sārṅgadeva has not said is whether these were alterations of the Sā-grāma or of the Ma-grāma. Mr. Clements tried the Sā-grāma, and got as the result the gamut 3 2 4 3 3 3 4 ;

but (apart from the fact that these figures, when translated into cents, add up to more than the octave, 1200) if 3 + 3 is a dissonance, 3 + 3 + 3 is a worse one. The Ma-grāma gives 3 2 4 3 2 4 4; but this is only the Sā-grāma over again, beginning on a different note. Dr. Breloer, taking it from the Ma-grāma, imagined that *pa* occupied one *śruti* of *dha*, instead of the other way round, and, on the principle that a vote counts two on a division, that gave him 3 2 4 3 4 2 4, and therewith, as he thought, the gipsy scale (Māyamālava-gaula)—at least, with a little coaxing at difficult corners. Most of the other books that have come out in India or abroad either ignore the problem or get it out wrong.

Sā-grāma



Ma-grāma



There is some witchery in all this. Bharata knew nothing of the Gā-grāma, and the *Ratnākara* is the only effective mention of it. The half-dozen books that are available of those written at the time of the Mahommedan invasion, when a fairly general attempt seems to have been made to give a working account of Hindu music, are silent about it. Ahobala in his *Parijāta* (eighteenth century) evidently gave it up in despair (see 1, 104), and Rajah S. M. Tagore followed his account. It was born, then (and died), in the twelfth century, and since then has been enjoying its nirvana in Svargaloka. But it can hardly be said to have earned that. For whereas the other *grāmas* produced *jātīs* and *grāmarāgas* and *rāgas*—

they are successive names for the same thing, an octave-scale (*mūrchana*) with a drone—the Gā-grāma produced none; and, indeed, being a mere *mūrchana* of the Sā-grāma, it could not produce any new ones. It is a very good *mūrchana*—commonly known in Bhairavi rāg—and known equally in north and south; but it is no *grāma*. It seems probable that *Ignotus Quidam* hit one day upon this fretting for Bhairavi on his *vīṇā*, and decided to give it the prestige of calling it a *grāma*; and so there it stands forlorn in the jungle of Indian musical history. It is the use of this word, *grāma*, that has caused all the puzzlement. The scale itself, 3 2 4 3 2 4 4, is not at all puzzling.

We spoke of Indian musical history as a jungle. So it is, and so it will be until the thinking minds of that country attack it seriously and critically, and cease to waste time over pious beliefs and mathematical tricks, to repeat *ślokas*, often out of their proper connection, instead of to examine problems. Some say—chiefly those who use the equally tempered harmonium—that the *grāmas* are dead. They may be, as a practical issue, but the principle of them is very much alive, so long as it is Indian music that Indians want and not that of some other nationality. That harmonium is a deliberate invitation to the rising generation to substitute the easy for the difficult, and thereby to destroy all that is distinctive. They may accept or decline the invitation. If they accept, they will enter on the European path, in which harmony is no longer a mere constituent of scale, as at present in India, but a manipulation of consonance and dissonance as a vital element of composition. If they decline, they will adopt the difficult but glorious course of preserving their *rāgas* intact by raising the standard of singing, playing, and teaching throughout the land; it will be as difficult as teaching a whole population to read and write Sanskrit, and as glorious as any of the many Preservation Trusts for scenery, ancient buildings, arts and crafts, or language. The adhesion of Europe to the harmonic system of music began a thousand years ago. No one can say whether it is a good or a bad thing: it suits Europeans, it may not suit Indians. The process has been very gradual, now hurrying, now delaying, never ceasing; progress has always come by making the best of the conditions of the moment.

How it may be with treatises on music written in the various vernaculars, I cannot say; but those written in English, when they resist the temptation of the attractive but irrelevant, tend either to ride off on generalities or to sink in a welter of facts. Two books, however, have lately appeared which show signs of a more serious temper. One is Venkatarama Sastri's edition of the *Svaramela-kalānidhi* (Annamalai, 1932) with translation, which is clear and practical and faithful to the original. The other is B. Swarup's *Theory of Indian Music* (Agra, 1933), which aims at showing not only what the principles of music are, but how they came to exist and why they should be followed. He is right in saying that an altogether different treatment of the subject is required from that found in the existing books; an instance of his method is well seen in the concise account of *tāla* and *laya* (time and tempo); the treatment of *rāga* needs a more accurate notation, but it is on the right lines; the discussion of "harmony" will be more illuminating when instances of the actual practice are produced. But when the difficulty of discussing a technical matter in a language not one's own is considered, these two books have a real value for outside inquirers.

251.

A Note on the Allahabad Pillar of Aśoka

BY C. S. KRISHNASWAMY RAO SAHIB AND AMALANANDA GHOSH

(PLATES VI AND VII.)

IT is a fact that hardly requires repetition that one of the edicts on the pillar of Aśoka standing inside Akbar's fort at Allahabad is addressed to the Mahāmātras of Kauśāmbī (modern Kosam on the bank of the Jamna, about thirty miles from Allahabad [1]) whence it was removed to Allahabad by some king.[2] Cunningham suggested that Firūz Shāh, who is known to have removed two other Aśokan columns to Delhi from Meerut (Mīrath) and Topra, was the author also of this removal from Kosam to Allahabad.[3] On this Hultzsch makes the following remarks: "But while Delhi was the capital of Firōz Shāh, Allahabad was founded, or rather re-founded two centuries after him by Akbar. This ruler may have removed from Kōsam the Allahabad pillar, on which the inscriptions of his favourite Bīrbal and of his son Jahāngīr are engraved. In this case the pillar would have been still standing at Kōsam when the inscription of Samudragupta was incised on it." [4] The divergence between the views of these two scholars makes the subject worthy of a fresh study.

If we exclude the possibility of Aśoka himself setting up the pillar at Allahabad, the other emperors who could have removed it are Jahāngīr (whose "vain-glorious inscription" occupies a prominent position in the pillar), Akbar (who built the fort at Allahabad), Firūz Shāh (who removed two Aśokan pillars to Delhi and another unknown one to Hissar), and Samudra-Gupta (whose inscription on the pillar is the only record of his exploits). No other king could have any possible interest in the pillar. Private agency is also precluded, for the removal of these vast monoliths from one place to another, a task "of which any engineer might well be proud",[1] required in old days the co-ordinated effort of so many labourers and beasts of burden as were certainly beyond the means of any private individual. We have only one historical description of the removal of one such pillar. Shams-i-Shīrāz 'Afīf, the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, says that it required the services of a carriage with forty-two wheels, 8,400 coolies, a large number of boats which would carry 5,000 and 7,000 maunds of grain, besides a huge amount of cotton and many other accessories.[2]

---

[1] *JRAS.*, 1927, pp. 689 ff.

[2] D. R. Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, 2nd edition, p. 382; R. K. Mookerji, *Aśoka*, p. 86.

[3] Cunningham, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. i, pp. 38–9.

[4] Hultzsch, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. i, p. xx.

Let us consider the claims of the four emperors one by one. Jahāngīr's claims may be dismissed very easily, if we look to the following record inscribed on the Allahabad pillar by Rājā Bīrbal, the courtier of Akbar[3]:—

1. Saṁvat 1632, śāke 1493, Mārga badi Pañcamī
2. Somavāra Gaṅgādāsasuta Mahārāja Bīrabara Srī-
3. Tīrtharāja-Prayāga ke jātrā saphala lekhitam.

"In Saṁvat 1632, Śaka 1493, on the fifth day of the dark half of Mārga (November–December), Mahārāja Bīrbal, son of Gaṅgādāsa, undertook a successful[4] trip to Prayāga, the chief of the holy places. (This is hereby) recorded."

The years given in the two different eras come to A.D. 1575 and 1571 respectively; one of them must be wrong. But the fact stands out that even in A.D. 1575 or 1571 the pillar was standing at Allahabad and not at Kauśāmbī. It is clear that Jahāngīr could not have been responsible for the shifting of the pillar.

Regarding Akbar, the negative evidences are many.

---

[1] Marshall, *A Guide to Sanchi*, p. 93.

[2] Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, vol. iii, p. 351.

[3] Cunningham, loc. cit., p. 39.

[4] Strangely, the word *saphala* "meritorious", "fruitful," has been taken to denote the name of the inscriber.

Abu-l Faẕl's *Akbarnāma*, a narrative of the reign of Akbar abounding in the minutest detail, is silent about the pillar. Had Akbar really had anything to do with its removal, we would expect to find in the narrative a description of the elaborate arrangements necessary for the purpose, and pages of panegyrics and reflections on the divine wisdom of His Majesty, as evidenced by the care of ancient relics, rivalling that of Firūz Shāh. Nor would Badaonī have missed this opportunity of flinging another jibe at the heretical tendency of Akbar in the interest taken in heathen monuments. Apart from these considerations, no mention is made of the incident by other Muḥammadan historians like Niẓāmuddīn and Ferishta.

These facts sufficiently authorize us to reject the hypothesis of Akbar's transporting the pillar, but we have other evidences pointing to the same conclusion. Akbar first visited Allahabad in A.H. 982 or A.D. 1574 when he was proceeding to Bengal to subdue a rebellion.[1] Badaonī is ill-informed when he says that the foundation of the Allahabad fort was laid at this period,[2] for the time was certainly not favourable for this. Neither Niẓāmuddīn nor Abu-l Faẕl mentions this fact. On the contrary, the latter places the event much later. "For a long time his (Akbar's) desire was to found a great city at the town of Piyāg, where the rivers Ganges and Jumna join. . . . On the first Āẕar, 991, he reached the wished-for spot, and next day in an auspicious hour he laid the foundation of the city and planned out four forts.[3] According to Abu-l Faẕl, therefore, the foundation of the fort was laid in A.H. 991, i.e. A.D. 1583. If at all, Akbar would have brought the pillar to Allahabad after 1583, for before that date he would not have taken pains to remove it from one lonely place to another. This possibility is precluded by the fact that the pillar was standing at Allahabad in A.D. 1575, even if we assume the later date of Birbal's inscription to be correct. Moreover, he would not have allowed ordinary people to scribble on it after re-erection; but we find an inscription on the pillar dated Saṁvat 1640 or A.D. 1583.[1]

---

[1] *Akbar-nāma* of Abu-l Fazl, tr. Beveridge, vol. iii, pp. 122 ff.; *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* of Niẓāmuddīn, Elliot and Dowson, vol. v, p. 372.

[2] *Muntakhab-ut-tawarīkh* of Badaonī, tr. Lowe, vol. ii, p. 176.

[3] *Akbar-nāma*, vol. iii, pp. 616–17.

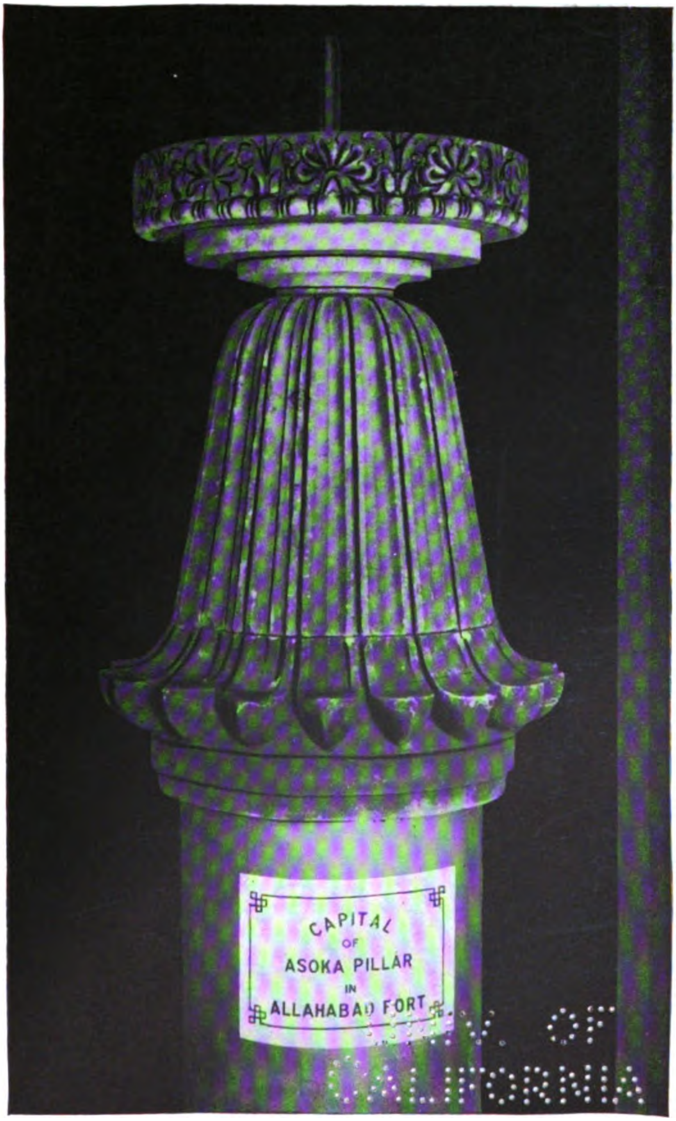
Abu-l Faẓl falsely glorifies his master when he says that the fort was finished in a short time. The following passage from John Finch, an English traveller, who visited Allāhabad in A.D. 1611, is relevant to the point: "Divers Potan (Paṭhān) Kings have sought to build here (at Allāhabad) a Castle, but none could doe it, till Acabar layd the foundation and proceeded with the Worke. It stands on a Point or Angle having the River Gemini on the South-side falling into the Ganges. It hath beene fortie yeeres a building, and is not yet finished, neither is like to bee in a long time. The Acabar for many yeeres had attending this worke by report twentie thousand persons, and as yet there continue working thereon some five thousand of all sorts. It will be one of the most famous buildings of the World. . . . You enter thorow two faire gates into a faire Court, in which stands a Piller of stone fiftie Cubits above ground (so deeply placed within ground that no end can be found) which by circumstances of the Indians, *seemeth to have beene placed by Alexander or some other great Conquerour, who could not passe further for Ganges.*"[2]

The italicized portion above is important for our purpose. Had it been a fact, Finch would have heard stories of the erection of the pillar by Akbar from the workmen still engaged in the construction of the fort. Far from it, he suggests that the pillar stood there from times almost immemorial. This statement is all the more valuable when we note that Finch speaks of other pillars quite correctly: "Without Dely (Delhi) is the remainder of an auncient Mole or hunting house, built by Sultan Berusa (Firūz Shāh) a great Indian

---

[1] Cunningham, loc. cit., quoted below.

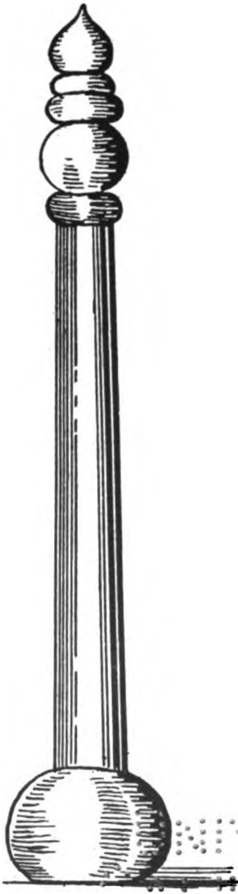
[2] *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. iv, p. 67 (italics ours).


CAPITAL
OF
ASOKA PILLAR
IN
ALLAHABAD FORT

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

THE CAPITAL OF THE ALLAHABAD PILLAR.

[To face p. 700.



ALLAHABAD PILLAR AS SEEN BY TIEFFENTHALER.

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

6–7 Page 7 ✓

Monarch, with much curiositie of stone-worke: with and above the rest, is to be seene a stone Pillar, which passing through three stories, is higher then all twenty foure foot, having at the top a Globe, and a halfe Moone over it."[1] In the face of these facts, it is impossible to hold that the pillar was carried to Allahabad by Akbar.

To turn now to Firūz Shāh. Here again, our negative evidences are numerous. Shams-i-Shīrāz 'Afīf, a contemporary historian, mentions only two columns removed by Firūz Shāh to Delhi: one was erected in the place (k͟hushk) at Firūzābād near the Masjid-i-Jām'a and was called the *Minār-i-zarīn* or column of gold, and the other in the Hunting Palace (*k͟hushk-i-shikār*) with great labour and skill.[2] We have also a record of Firūz Shāh erecting a monolith at Hissar Firūza, a fortress which he himself founded.[3] The object of Firūz in erecting all these pillars was the same, viz. to decorate the buildings made or renovated by himself. Thus, if he was responsible for the removal of the pillar to Allahabad, we would expect to find at Allahabad a fortress constructed by him. But there does not seem to have existed any fortification at the place before the time of Akbar. Such a careful observer as Bābur would certainly have noticed the fortification, if one had existed at his time. But his description of Allahabad is plain and colourless: "We reached the meeting of the waters of Gang and Jūn at the Evening Prayer, had the boat drawn to the Pīāg side and got to camp at 1 watch, 4 *garis*." [4] No historian, contemporary or otherwise, suggests that Firūz Shāh had anything to do with the site now known as Allahabad. Though Niẓāmuddīn says that Firūz founded thirty cities [5] (the figure being raised by

---

[1] Ibid., p. 48.

[2] Elliot and Dowson, vol. iii, pp. 350–1.

[3] Ibid., p. 354; Badaoni, tr. Ranking, vol. i, p. 327; *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1838, pp. 429–430; *Cambridge History of India*, vol. iii, plate xxxviii.

[4] *Memoirs*, tr. Mrs. Beveridge, vol. iii, p. 655.

[5] *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, tr. B. De, p. 260.

Ferishta to two hundred [1]), authoritative lists give only seven cities, and Allahabad does not figure in the list.[2] One fails to understand why he should take the trouble of removing the pillar from Kauśāmbī and setting it up at a place with which he had no concern at all. It would be the height of indiscretion to ascribe the deed to Firūz Shāh, simply because he removed two other pillars to Delhi.

The scribblings on the pillars, which are large in number, afford a further clue to the past history of the pillar. Cunningham, who examined them thoroughly, found seven dates ranging from Saṁvat 1464 to 1495 or A.D. 1407 to 1438; twelve dates ranging from Saṁvat 1501 to 1584 or A.D. 1444 to 1527; three ranging from Saṁvat 1632 to 1640 or A.D. 1575 to 1583; and three of Saṁvat 1864 or A.D. 1807.[3] Even in the copies of the edicts of Aśoka published in Hultzsch's edition,[4] we find among others the following dates: 1397 or A.D. 1340 (between lines 2 and 3 of Edict I), 1387 or A.D. 1330 (between lines 3 and 4 of Edict I), 1382 or A.D. 1325 (between lines 1 and 2 of Edict II), and 1375 or A.D. 1319 (between lines 2 and 3 of Edict IV). It may be noted that all these dates are prior to the accession of Firūz Shāh, which took place in A.D. 1351. On the strength of Bīrbal's inscription quoted above, we may presume that the inscriptions which give these dates were recorded to commemorate the baths of the devoted at the confluence. If this be a fact, it completely demolishes the hypothesis of Firūz Shāh's setting up the pillar at Allahabad. It may be argued that the pillar was scribbled on while it was standing at Kauśāmbī. This, however, cannot stand to reason, as many of the scribblings give the month and date as well, and more often than not, they give the month of Māgha (January–February), a month that is specially prescribed in the Hindu scriptures for *kalpa-vāsa* or temporary residence near the confluence. It is surprising that Cunningham did not notice these facts and wrongly ascribed to Firūz Shāh a deed which he had never accomplished, and that error has been repeated by all the modern scholars. It is unfortunate that the scribblings on the pillar have not been considered worthy of attention. They ought to be re-studied from the original and will certainly yield more definite material for the study of the history of the pillar.

---

[1] Briggs, *Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, vol. i, p. 465.

[2] Elliot and Dowson, vol. iii, p. 354.

[3] Cunningham, loc. cit.

[4] Hultzsch, loc. cit., plates facing pp. 156 and 158.

We are thus left to the possibility of Aśoka himself setting up the pillar at Allahabad or Samudra-Gupta removing it from Kauśāmbī. Though nothing definite can be said about either of the monarchs, it may be emphasized that there is no *prima facie* difficulty in thinking that the pillar is *in situ*. The Edict which is addressed to the Mahāmātras of Kauśāmbī may in reality be only a copy of the original edict published at Kauśāmbī. It is easy to understand why Aśoka chose Allahabad as a proper place for inscribing his pillar edicts: the confluence of the Ganges and the Jamna is mentioned as a holy place even in such early texts as the *Mahābhārata*,[1] the *Ṛgveda-Pariśiṣṭa*,[2] and the *Majjhima-Nikāya*,[3] and must have then, as now, attracted a large number of pilgrims.

If this be true, then we are to interpret the words *ayam ucchritaḥ stambhaḥ*, line 30 of Samudra-Guptas's Inscription, as "this pillar was erected", not "this high pillar" as has been done by Fleet, and it appears that the pillar was resting on the ground when Samudra-Gupta re-erected it. From a few letters on the pillar it appears that the pillar was not standing in a vertical position immediately before the time of Samudra-Gupta. The letters read as *gaṇikākasya* are early Gupta in character. They are incised vertically on the pillar: as Princep says, "It would have been exceedingly inconvenient if not impossible to have cut the name up and down at right angles to the other writings when the pillar was erect." [1]

---

[1] *Mahābhārata*, Bombay edition, iii, 85, 69 ff. *et passim.*

[2] Scheftelowitz, *Die Apokryphen des Ṛgveda*, p. 171.

[3] *Majjhima Nikāya*, P.T.S., vol. i, p. 39.

If Samudra-Gupta re-erected the fallen pillar, the reason for this seems to have been the coming *aśvamedha*. Andrzej Gawrónski points out that the inscription of Samudra-Gupta should be dated in the interval between Samudra-Gupta's return from the southern expedition and the celebration of the sacrifice.[2] Prayāga might have appealed to the Emperor as the proper place for the *aśvamedha*, as tradition records many sacrifices at this place.[3] The object of incising here the *praśasti* which Hariṣeṇa composed seems to be the desire of the Emperor to give wide publicity to his achievements, as according to the custom of the *aśvamedha*, conquered kings followed the Suzerain to the place of the sacrifice.

One objection against the pillar having been at Allahabad since the days of Aśoka or Samudra-Gupta is that neither Fa-Hien nor Hiuen-Tsang mentions its existence at Allahabad. But it must be noted side by side that neither of them mentions any pillar even at Kauśāmbī (though one is still standing there). The list of pillars given by the Chinese pilgrims is by no means exhaustive; for example Hiuen-Tsang mentions only one pillar with a lion capital at Sāṅkāśya [4]; whereas, in all probability, there was another one there with an elephant capital.[5] There might have been other reasons which prevented Hiuen-Tsang from mentioning the Allahabad pillar: with the appropriation of it by Samudra-Gupta, it ceased to be a Buddhist monument, and the orthodox pilgrim felt no interest in it.

We may conclude with a few words about the capital of the pillar. Joseph Tieffenthaler, who visited Allahabad about the middle of the eighteenth century, says that the pillar was crowned by a globe, surmounted by a cone.[1] He also gives an illustration of the Allahabad pillar,[2] reproduced here for ready reference. The Allahabad Municipal Museum has recently acquired from inside the Fort area a piece of sculptured stone, an inverted lotus surmounted by an abacus of decent execution.[3] This is no doubt the capital that was set up on the pillar after its re-erection by Captain Edward Smith, of the Engineers, in 1838. Cunningham must have seen the capital at its proper place when he visited the Fort in 1862–3, for he describes it in the following words: "The pillar was again set up in 1838 by Captain Edward Smith, of the Engineers, to whom the design of the present capital is entirely due. . . . But the new capital designed by Captain Smith is, in my opinion, a signal failure. . . . The animal at the top is small and recumbent, and altogether the design is insignificant. Indeed, it looks to me not unlike a stuffed poodle stuck on the top of an inverted flower-pot."[4]

---

[1] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. vi, pt. ii, p. 968; for a copy of the inscription, see ibid., plate lvi, No. 10.

[2] Quoted in V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th edition, p. 298, n. 3.

[3] For example, *Mahābhārata*, i, 55, 1. The *Prayāga-Māhātmya* in the *Padma-Purāṇa* (ed. Ānandāśrama), i, 43, 46, mentions a spot called Daśāśvamedha at Prayāga.

[4] Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. i, p. 203.

[5] Hirananda Sastri in *Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume*, part 1, p. 231.

The animal, so far as we are aware, has not yet been recovered. The inverted lotus, however, is of extremely crude workmanship. But the same cannot be said of the abacus, which has been thus described by Cunningham: "The circular abacus, however, still remains with its graceful scroll of alternate lotus and honeysuckle, resting on a beaded astragalus of Greek origin."[5] Here, therefore, he seems to think that the abacus is really Aśokan; but in his Reports of the Archæological Survey of India, quoted above, he suggests that like the lotus and the animal, the abacus also was the execution of Captain Smith. It is risky to pronounce a definite judgment on this point, but we may only note that the stone of the abacus is different from that of the lotus. The beads carved on the former may also point to its Aśokan origin. For Tavernier, in describing a pillar (presumably belonging to Aśoka) at Benares, says: "It terminates in a pyramid, and has a great ball on the point, and below the ball it is encircled by large beads."[1]

---

[1] "Le sommet est orné d'un globe de pierre surmonté d'un cone," *Description Historique et Geographique de l'Inde*, 1791, Tome I, p. 224.

[2] Ibid., facing p. 223.

[3] See the enclosed photograph, for which we are indebted to Mr. B. M. Vyas, Executive Officer, Allahabad Municipal Board, and the organizer of the Allahabad Municipal Museum.

[4] Cunningham, *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. i, p. 300.

[5] Cunningham, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. i, p. 37.

---

[1] Ball, *Travels of Tavernier*, vol. i, p. 119. The pillar referred to is probably the *Lāṭ Bhairo*, which was destroyed in the communal riot of 1809. (*District Gazetteer of the United Provinces*, vol. xxvi, p. 208; also Führer, *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions of the North-West Province and Oudh*, p. 206.)

232.

The Cas-chrom v. the Lei-ssŭ

A study of the primitive forms of Plough in Scotland and ancient China

By L. C. HOPKINS

(PLATE VIII)

THE four unfamiliar syllables in the title of this paper seemed as originally written so like the heading of some important appeal from one of the less known Colonies to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, that a more informative sub-title appeared advisable.

In fact, however, we are merely concerned with certain primitive forms of Plough. One of these is only recently obsolete (if indeed it is even now absolutely disused in some remote spots in Northern or North-western Scotland); the other is extant only as a pictographic ghost occasionally visible among the legendary spectres on Bronze or Bone antiquities from China, since it has long been superseded by the ordinary ox-drawn plough called *li* 犂.

When in the year 1927, in the *Journal* of the Society, I had occasion to discuss the character 耒 *lei*, which I then argued represented not a plough, but the thrust-hoe, I laid down " the proposition that nothing can be termed a plough that is not hauled from in front (whether by oxen, yaks, horses, or even men) ", but I little suspected that there were then both at Aberdeen and Oxford examples of an implement of tillage that directly disproved my thesis. Nor could I foresee that in three years time a like rebuff was awaiting me on the Chinese side, in the pages of a review not then in existence, *Academia Sinica*. But so it was.

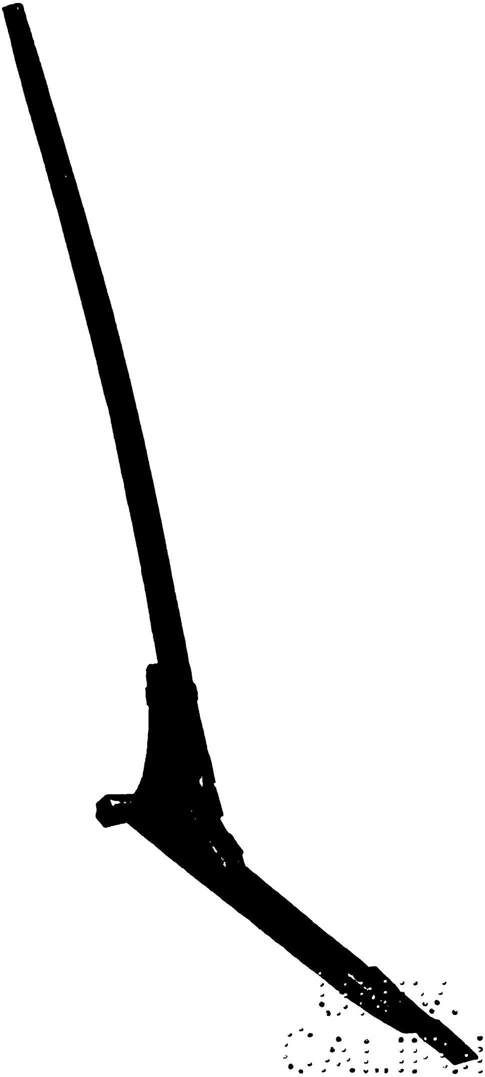
The Gaelic *cas-chrom*, or foot-plough, first swam into my ken (if this remarkable flower of speech may pass) from a large picture in *The Times* of 11th April, 1933, headed " In the Isle of Skye: the old Hand-plough ". Below, was the note, "The primitive wooden hand-plough known as the Cas Crom was at one time in general use all over the Highlands of Scotland, but it is now scarcely ever seen except in Skye and the Outer Hebrides." The *cas-chrom* itself is well shown, and close by is figured a crofter in the act of "ploughing", with his right foot thrusting against the foot-rest. On the 29th April there followed a letter from Mr. G. M. Fraser, the librarian of the Aberdeen Public Library, on the same topic, and to him I am, in the first instance, indebted for directing me to the quarter, whence later I was able to obtain the excellent photograph of a *cas-chrom* in the Anthropological Museum of Marischal College, Aberdeen, shown in Plate VIII, together with a cutting from the Museum Catalogue describing it. I am greatly indebted to Professor R. W. Reid, the Curator of the Museum, for these facilities.

The exhibit in the Museum Catalogue is thus described: "*Cas-chrom*, foot-plough, in wood and iron. Main or only agricultural implement used by crofters in highlands of Scotland, serving at once as spade and plough. Island of Skye."

Glad as I was to receive Professor Reid's clear photograph, I still remained in some doubt whether the implement, lacking as it does both coulter and mould-board, had properly earned the title of plough. It was not clear to me, not having seen one in operation, how it could form a furrow-slice, or even throw up the loosened soil at all. At best, it seemed merely an incipient plough.

It was not until I recently rediscovered a letter of January, 1931, from my friend, Mr. Henry Balfour, Curator of the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford, that my doubts were set at rest. In his letter Mr. Balfour writes that there are in the Museum one or two examples of the *Cas-chrom*, and he was good enough to illustrate his explanation by a drawing of one seen from the side, a tracing of which I have added immediately below. With the figure Mr. Balfour adds the note, "There is the 'Cas chrom' used in the Hebrides and

PLATE VIII.



[*To face p.* 708.

extreme N. of Scotland, which is like this, all of wood excepting the share which is iron. It is driven into the ground with the foot (using the foot-rest) and the handle is then levered down, the ' heel ' forming a fulcrum, and a furrow is torn out, as it were."

Such is the *Cas-chrom*, which perhaps was not always reinforced with an iron share. It must have a very ancient origin for it seems to infer an age when beasts of draught were not at the disposal of the primitive cultivator.

But now, leaving Scotland, and from the lone shieling of the misty island, parted by mountains and a waste of seas (though they be of sand), we come at length to Far Eastern Asia and the home of the *lei-ssŭ*, the strange and obsolete counterpart of the *cas-chrom*.

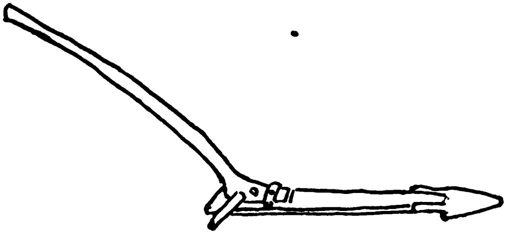


FIG. 1.

Here, in the second volume of *Academia Sinica*, the distinguished Chinese *Bulletin of the National Research Institute of History and Philology*, published in Peiping, appeared in 1930, a remarkable paper, " On Some Agricultural Implements of the Ancient Chinese," by Mr. Hsü Chung-shu, 徐 中 舒. The writer is one of a group of modernist Chinese scholars who hold aloft the banner with the strange device *Excelsior*. They are probing deeply and in a cool and critical spirit into the obscurities of their origins and immense history, and are examining afresh the problems of their language and their national thought.

And what to a Western student of such subjects had at first, owing to its novelty, an interest qualified by a certain astringency of criticism, was the unusual character of the language in which these researches and essays were addressed to the reader. To the older generation of their compatriots to which the term *literati* was commonly applied, this language, I imagine, must have seemed an abhorrent jargon. It is indeed a language and idiom of mixed origins. Of it we may not inaptly say that the voice is a Far Eastern Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of an Occidental Esau, hardened to the requirements of an alien syntax and arrangement of sentences and clauses, and at home with the apparatus of idioms, phrases, and newly minted words, transported from a speech familiar to these modern students, and in whose literary structure they *appear* to be able to think, even when retaining the outward semblance of the Chinese script.

But to one Western student at least this ambigenous literature—to use a term more urbane than is hybrid—presents a more gracious aspect than it can exhibit to a Chinese scholar of the old order. There are various helpful innovations for which he should be grateful, since they tend to save much time and labour.

Although Mr. Hsü gives as the English form of his caption the words, " On Some Agricultural Implements of the Ancient Chinese," the more concise version of the Chinese title, 耒 耜 攷, *Lei ssŭ k'ao*, " An inquiry into the Lei-ssŭ," is a closer description, for the main part of his task concerns the primitive Chinese Plough *or Ploughs*. The author's examination of his material is lengthy and elaborate. It is profusely illustrated, and as profusely supported by citations from Chinese literature. It will be obvious that I can only deal in the most summary way with an essay that merits exposition and comment on a far more extensive scale than the space available to me here permits.

The author divides his subject under seven heads, as follows : (1) The Lei as it appears in the written character; (2) the form and make of the Lei ; (3) the Ssŭ and its form and make as it appears in the written character; (4) the region where the *lei* and *ssŭ* were in general use; (5) confusion in the use of the terms *lei* and *ssŭ*; (6) manner of ploughing in ancient times; (7) rise of the method of ploughing with oxen and the survival of the *lei-ssŭ* system.

THE *Lei-ssŭ*

But it is time to go forward, and put our hands to this ancient and obsolete plough, and to learn what was the nature and the real origin of this implement of tillage, as disclosed by the researches of Mr. Hsü Chung-shu.

No actual example has come down to us. Being of wood, it must soon have decayed and disintegrated. All we have to depend on is a "restoration" by a commentator on the text of the *K'ao Kung Chi*, 考 工 記, itself a later document than the *Chou Li* in which it was incorporated, the authenticity of which work is again not above suspicion. However, this restoration is based on particular measurements supplied by the *K'ao Kung Chi*, and as figured by Mr. Hsü Chung-shu, I reproduce the restoration below, for whatever it may be worth.

Now if such an implement as that described and here illustrated was ever in use, it is obvious that it must have closely resembled the Cas-chrom already shown in Fig. 1. According to the accepted explanations hitherto given, this "plough" consisted of a curved wooden handle called *lei* 耒, and a metal share called *ssŭ* 耜, fitted to the lower part of the handle, at a certain angle. Further, as will be seen, the author of the special comment on the *K'ao Kung Chi* has figured an additional element at the junction of the handle and the share, which is named a *nou* 耨 (also, it is added, known as *tz'ŭ* 庛, or foot). This additional element certainly appears to me to be intended to serve as a moulding-board.

But does this disyllabic term *lei-ssŭ* really stand for a *single* implement used in tilling the soil at any time between the high antiquity of the Shang-Yin dynasty and the opening of the Han period in 206 B.C.?

It seems curious, but after spending much time in the search, I have been unable anywhere in Mr. Hsü's pages to come upon any explicit statement showing what his opinion is upon that point. Considering his views as to the double origin of the *lei-ssŭ*, and to the confusion that surrounds the terms used for ancient Chinese agricultural implements, this omission is strange indeed.

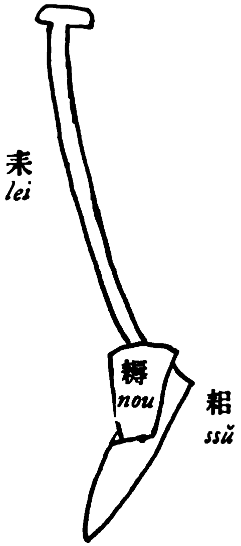


FIG. 2.

For myself, I think there must have been such a time. I do not see otherwise how the words 負 耒 耜 *fu lei ssŭ*, for example, rendered in Giles Dictionary, by "carrying their plough-handles and shares on their backs", could have been written. How could a labourer carry the main part of his plough on his back, and, separately, and in that case, in what way, carry the share also on his back? Obviously the phrase implies a single though composite burden. Be that as it may, the point is only of secondary importance after all, and I will pass on to give a summary account of Mr. Hsü's views of early Chinese agriculture, which have a wider scope than quite appears from the title of his paper, while his theory of the double origin of the archaic Chinese plough is perhaps the most striking feature.

Chinese tribal groups, Mr. Hsü postulates, had at first to contend with wild beasts, and to struggle with hostile tribes. Their daily life was a condition of warfare. Hence weapons were their most essential need. Accordingly, implements of tillage of metal appeared later than weapons. From the evidence of the Honan finds and of the oldest Bronzes, the author thinks, characters containing the character 耒 *lei*, plough, would seem to stand for implements of wood. For the plough certain bifurcated branches of trees, cut into the fashion of a tuning-fork, were used as the most natural and best adapted instrument. When in a later stage of development metal was introduced, a double bladed spade came into use.

But besides the *lei* there was another related but distinct implement employed in agriculture—the 耜 *ssŭ*. This word is now always translated as "share" in English, or "soc" in French. But in its first shape it was a digging-stick of wood, apparently having a slightly bent handle, and at its lower end trimmed or bevelled to a sharp edge capable of cutting into the earth, but not wide enough to throw up the loose soil. For this reason they came to add a rounded flat wooden blade at the lower end, and when the utility of metal became more appreciated, into the front part of the flat blade was inserted a more or less semicircular metal share. Thus from these two different implements was developed, from the *lei* the spade, and from the *ssŭ* the true plough 耕 犂 *kêng li.*

This *lei* was the customary implement of the people of Yin, and after the fall of that dynasty, was taken over by the various States of the eastern regions; while the *ssŭ* was the common means of tillage in the Western lands, 西 土 *hsi t'u,* and after the trek to the East, 東 遷, still remained in use along the country watered by the Rivers Ch'ien and Wei, 汧 and 渭, viz. in parts of Kansu and Shensi.

We need not to-day follow any further this essay, valuable though the remaining pages are, but confine our attention to the text and illustrations relating to the character 耒 *lei*.

The studies following the discovery of the Honan Bone relics in 1899 have supplemented what could be learnt from the oldest Bronzes, and I shall adopt Mr. Hsü's order in my selection of these.

On the Bones we do not find the *lei* standing alone. It occurs only in combination, in examples of *perhaps* one single character, but possibly of two. This character our author considers to be 耤 *hsi*, to plough, and very likely he is right, but I hope to give reasons elsewhere why I think it really stands for 耕 *kêng*, also meaning to plough. Mr. Hsü cites five instances of this compound, of which I select three (copying two of these from my own versions as slightly more accurate).[1] The third is of special interest, because it aptly though very clumsily tries to depict the action of the ploughman in raising one foot to tread on the foot-rest of the plough, incidentally also explaining the Gaelic name cas-chrom, which means *bent-foot,—Ex oriente lux,* when least expected!

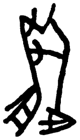


FIG. 3.

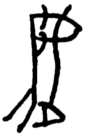


FIG. 4.

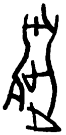


FIG. 5.

Despite the linear economy and childish drawing we can discern a headless human figure grasping some object having a long handle and some sort of blade. And from Bronzes we shall get confirmation from three examples cited by Mr. Hsü. The first two are new to me, but the third has long been familiar, and I copy it direct from p. 14 of the *Yin Wên Ts'un* collection in the *I Shu Ts'ung Pien*,[1] vol. 9.

---

[1] The first and third of Hsü's are the 9th and 10th of Plate VII, in Part VIII of my "Pictographic Reconnaissances", in *JRAS.*, October, 1927. The fifth of Hsü's does not appear in my Plate, and I have copied it direct from Lo Chên-yü's work, *Hou Pien*, 下, p. 28 (not 38 as printed by Hsü).

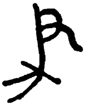


Fig. 6.

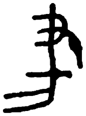


Fig. 7.

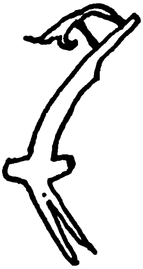


Fig. 8.

The first two are linear and diagrammatic, but show the terminal double blade, as well as the foot-rest. The ploughman's hand is carefully expressed. So it is in Fig. 8, the sole character on its Bronze, and an effort in portraiture of still-life not to be decried.

But far more accurate as a drawing, and of greater suggestive interest as a symbol, whether as interpreted by our author, or in a more terrestrial spirit by myself, is the remarkable compound cited by Mr. Hsü, with which I shall bring this paper to an end. This compound consists of the old form of 册 *ts'ê*, honorific record, flanked on the right and left, by a pair of *lei*, ploughs. Thus drawn these have a verisimilitude the previous figures cannot claim. Now what is this striking combination, that is, to what modern character does it correspond? Hitherto, there has been no answer. It has been left to Mr. Hsü Chung-shu to find one and a most ingenious and attractive solution it is. He suspects it stands for the modern character 爵 *chio*, when representing that syllable in the expression 爵 秩 *chio chih*, noble rank,

[1] 殷文存 in the 蓺術叢編.

but not when meaning only a wine goblet, a separate character having in ancient times been reserved for each of the two distinct senses of the word.

But Hsü's explanation of the significance of the group, the honorific record between two pairs of ploughs, is that all is symbolic. The passage from the inscription he cites specifies four persons present at an inaugural investiture, the sovereign, his secretary, the personage Wang about to be ennobled, and a minister designated Tsai P'eng Fu. Our author sees in the two pairs of ploughs, the two groups of persons taking part in this ceremony, the sovereign and his secretary in one, facing the recipient of nobility and the minister attendant in the other.

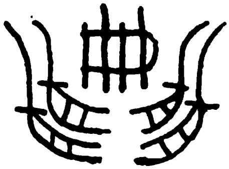


FIG. 9.

This aëry flight of Mr. Hsü's fancy is, I confess, rather more than, burdened with the two pairs of ploughs, I can follow from the earth with safety. Symbolism no doubt there is, but surely it is of a more direct and terrestrial quality, and through the homely and appropriate figure of the ploughs, points to the apanage 食 地 *shih ti*, or landed estate, by the cultivation of which the grantee and his successors could maintain themselves in comfort and dignity.

275.

(*To be continued.*)

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

AN IMPORTANT INTERPRETATION IN THE *RĀMA-CARITA-MĀNASA* REGARDING ITS DATE

The verses that give the date of composition of the poem are the 34th and 35th *dohās* of the Bālakāṇḍa in Rāmadāsa Gaur's edition, and may be translated as follows :—

"Having so removed all doubts,
And having placed on my head the pollen-dust of my master's lotus-feet,
I again pray to all with joined palms
That I may not be blamed as I make this Tale. 4
Having now respectfully bowed my head to Śiva,
I describe the spotless story of Rāma's deeds.
In the *Sambata* 1631,
I make this Tale, having placed my head at the feet of Hari. 8
On the 9th day of Madhumāsa—that being Tuesday—
I published this Tale at Avadhapurī.
On the day on which Śrutis sing Rāma's birth
There assemble all the holy shrines : 12
Asuras, *nāgas*, birds, men, *munis* and gods
Come and serve Raghunāyaka :
Wise men celebrate the great birth-festival
And sing the lovely fame of Rāma : 16
Many crowds of good folk bathe
In the holy waters of the Sarajū
And repeat the name of Rāma, having recalled in their hearts
His beautiful dark figure. 20
The sight of, the touch of, a dip into, and draught of its waters
Take away all the sins, so say the *Vēdas* and *Purāṇas* ;
Endless is the glory of the sacred river
And cannot be described by the pure-reasoned Śāradā. 24
The beautiful city, which guarantees a place in the Abode of Rāma,

Is famous in all regions for its world-purifying quality :
The four types of creatures in the world, that are innumerable,
Are released from the bonds of rebirth by their death in Avadha. 28
Deeming the City beautiful in all respects,
The bestower of all kinds of completion, and the mine of welfare,
I began the making of the spotless Tale,
By hearing which perish desire, pride, and falsehood. 32
The *Rāma-Carita-Mānasa* is its name ;
By hearing it with ears open one gets repose :
The elephant of mind, which is scorched in the fire of desires,
Feels relieved if he come to this lake. 36
The *Rāma-Carita-Mānasa*, the beloved of *munis*,
Was constructed by Śaṃbhu, being beautiful and pure,
Competent completely to crush the three kinds of evils, sufferings, and poverty,
And to destroy the evil ways of Kali, and all sins. 40
Having constructed it Mahēśa kept it in his mind (*mānasa*),
And, finding a suitable occasion, he related it to Umā.
It is therefore that ' the *Rāma-Carita-Mānasa* ',
The name, was announced by Hara after a search of his heart, and with a feeling of joy. 44
I recite the same relief-giving and beautiful Tale ;
Hear it, good men, respectfully and attentively.
What kind of *Mānasa* it is, how it came to be,
And why it is popular all over the world, 48
Now I will tell these,
Having recalled Umā and Vṛṣakētu to my mind ". 50

Now, if we closely look into the lines of the text we shall note that all the three main verbs occurring in the first eight lines, each having *kathā*, i.e. tale or its synonym *guna-gāthā* for its object, are in the present tense, and clearly suggest the beginning of the work :—

karata kathā = while I make this Tale ;
baranauñ bisada Rāma guna-gāthā = I describe the spotless story of Rāma's deeds ;
karauñ kathā = I make the Tale.

On the other hand, we find that the two main verbs occurring in the next twenty-four lines, i.e. from the 9th to 32nd, both inclusive, one having *kathā* and the other having its synonym *carita* for its object, are in the definite past tense, and clearly suggest a work which was finished long before.

yaha carita prakāsā = published this Tale.
bimala kathā kara kīnha arambhā = began the doing of the spotless Tale.

But again in the remaining few lines we find that the main verb *kahauñ*, having *kathā* for its object, is in the present tense, and very clearly suggests the beginning of the work :—

kahauñ kathā soi = I recite the same Tale ;

and the work resumes its normal course.

Again, the relatives that occur in the 10th and 11th lines, seemingly employed to denote the day and the place of the composition, are remote relatives :—

jehi dina = " On the day on which " very clearly suggests a long past day. Had the line been written on the said *Rāma-naumī*, some such word as *āju*, i.e. " to-day ", should have been employed ;

tahāñ = " there ", again, points definitely to the fact that these lines were interpolated at some place other than Avadhapurī.

Then, the verb *cali āvahiñ* = " assemble ", occurring in the 12th line of the quotation, referring to its subject *tīrtha*, i.e. holy shrines, again suggests that these lines were not written on the said *Rāma-naumī*, for otherwise the poet should have used words suggesting that the shrines had assembled there for the occasion.

These facts leave no room for doubt, and lead us straight to the conclusion that the 9th to 32nd lines, both inclusive, were interpolated long after the poem was finished, and also at a place other than Avadhapurī.

We may do well to remember in this connection the fact that all over India the days for the celebration of the festival vary according as the observers are Smārtas or Vaiṣṇavas. According to the Vaiṣṇava calculations the *Rāma-naumī* of the year 1631 V.E. should have been celebrated on Wednesday, and not on Tuesday, while according to the Smārta calculations it should have been celebrated on Tuesday. Having taken it for granted that the 9th line was written on the said *Rāma-naumī*, and also at Avadhapurī, they have, in the past, concluded that the poet was a Smārta Vaiṣṇava. But, in view of the facts given above, it seems necessary that in future we should not rely upon the 9th line when determining the faith of Tulasīdās, for it is quite possible that by the time that the poet inserted the 9th to 32nd lines—if it was he who inserted them—Wednesday should have been replaced in his memory by Tuesday as the day on which he had celebrated the festival at Avadhapurī. However, the composition of the *Rāma-Carita-Mānasa* being the most important event in the life of the poet and in the history of Medieval Indian literature, I hope the attention of scholars will be drawn to these lines.

234. MATA PRASAD GUPTA.

THE PUNCH-MARKED COINS: A SURVIVAL OF THE INDUS CIVILIZATION

In this JOURNAL, *ante*, pp. 307 f., in an article with the above title, Dr. C. L. Fábri draws attention to the affinity that seemingly exists between symbols found on the Mohenjo-daro and Harappā seals and those on certain punch-marked coins. As the impression might be conveyed by this paper that Dr. Fábri was the first to be struck by this correspondence, it is only fair to note that two Indian scholars had previously called public attention to this similarity, citing several of the identical examples now given by Dr. Fábri. Dr. Pran Nath noticed the resemblance between the signs five years ago, and made a special study of the punch-marked coins in the British Museum in this connection; he referred to the question on more than one occasion, and published specific examples in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. vii (1931), Supplement, pp. 11 f. Mr. Durga Prasad also, in pamphlets and lectures and in the thesis submitted to the Numismatic Society of India, which won the gold medal of the Society in 1933 (at Baroda), had dealt with the question.

Whether the similarity is real or only apparent is another matter; but the names of those who had anticipated the thesis now presented might well have been mentioned.

The most notable contribution towards the pre-history of the punch-marked coins has been made by Mr. K. N. Dikshit, who demonstrated last December at Allahabad to the members of the Numismatic Society and the United Provinces Historical Society that certain metal pieces recovered during the excavations at Mohenjo-daro agreed in shape and in weight-system with the punch-marked copper coins. The excavated pieces seemed to form quite a group (as distinguished from stray or chance pieces).

280. K. P. JAYASWAL.

LONDON,
14th June, 1935.

CURIOUS OMISSIONS IN PALI CANONICAL LISTS

Indologists have at this time of day come to know how prominent is the part played by numbered categories in the Pali Canon. The whole of the Fourth Nikāya, the *Anguttara*, is composed of such. The two last Suttantas of the First Nikāya: the "Sangīti" and the "Das-uttara", are composed of such. Five Suttas of the Second Collection: "Bahuvedaniya, Chabbisodhana, Bahudhātuka, Mahācattarīsaka, Pañcattaya," have numerical title and treatment. The Third Nikāya alone, the *Saṃyutta*, has not conformed to this method. In the case of the *Anguttara*- and

Dīgha-Nikayas the subjects are not only grouped under numbers, they are taken in arithmetical progression: the Ones, Twos, Threes, etc. (That the *Anguttara* progression should cease at the Elevens, as though it were a cricketing chronicle, has not yet been inquired into, if I may except myself (in my re-written *Home University Library Buddhism*, 1934).) The lists are apparently out to exclude nothing which will have been of doctrinal importance to the compilers, whenever and wherever that compilation took place.

Now if we are to be guided in our conclusions by writers in general, Buddhist and European, as to what is, and has been from the start of doctrinal importance and centrality, we shall ascribe these features to four credal formulas: the Three Refuges, the Three Marks, the Four Ariyan Truths, and the Way as Eightfold. And we should therefore confidently look to find all of these not only included in their due numerical place in all those three series of lists, but given priority of place. They would be there; they would come first. I might add that we should, under the Ones, look to find nirvana. Do we find these expectations borne out?

We do not. We find that inclusion of all of these as titular items is either partially or wholly absent. Nirvana is among the latter. I append a table of such results as I have found:

Doctrine	Anguttara	Dīgha
Buddha, Dhamma, Saṅgha	Tika-nipāta: pp. 123, 226 (not as a titular triad!)	Saṅgīti, nil. Dasuttara, nil.
Anicca, dukkha anattā	Tika-nipāta: p. 286 (*almost at the end*!)	Saṅgīti, nil. Dasuttara, nil.
Dukkha, samudaya, nirodha, magga	Catukka-nipāta, nil	Saṅgīti, (as "knowledges", not "truths". Dasuttara, *last item but one.*
Aṭṭhangika-magga	Aṭṭhaka-nipāta, nil	Saṅgīti, nil. Dasuttara, No. ii.

With regard to the last item, I have already pointed out (*Manual*, 1932) that in the Saṅgīti we get the "eight" *aṅgas*, but not as attributes of a *Magga*. They are a list of eight "fitnesses" (*samattā*). Further, that in a Tika-nipāta Sutta (*Anguttara*, I, p. 296) we find a number of lists, those subsequently called *bodhippakkhiyā dhammā*, being as it were tried on in turn as forming a Middle Course. And I surmized, that some term, then qualifying the Way in the First Utterance was being let drop because of its depreciated value. This word was *bhava*, depreciated from its lofty meaning of spiritual growth, in *bhava-magga*, or *bhava-paṭipadā*, to mean "lives" and "worlds", both *bhavā*, and surviving only in the later *bhava-cakka*, or wheel of becoming, or of lives.

With regard to all the lists above, I am not here saying, that they are not scattered about in all four Nikāyas. They are; it is only that, as items, as it would be thought, of the first importance, their occurrence where they should one and all have come, aye, and been given first rank, is curiously intermittent and the reverse of what we should find, had they always occupied that doctrinal centrality of which Hīnayānists and writers on Buddhism are for ever telling us. Their treatment in these three sets of categories has not yet been weighed with historical criticism as it should be. It points to an age when their position in the cult of the Buddhism of India and of Southern Asia was not what it has since come to be. The revising compiling standardizing gentlemen of the Patna Sangha were, as to their main dogmas, in a relatively fluid state of mind. And as they progressed with the long business of arranging important teachings in numbered lists, a super-recognition of certain of these was evolving. Thus, whereas the Eights omit listing as item an eightfold way, when we come to the Tens we find a Way of many points, but it was then only possible to lengthen matters and call it *tenfold*.

In such matters I am as yet in a minority of one—an *eka-nipātā*. But I appeal again to writers on these things—votaries we much leave to a more distant future—to look closer into evidential material now available, and to see Buddhism less as a readymade, if bifurcated, cult, and more as a growth with a long history.

Had I not been concerned solely to upset original centrality in just these doctrines, I might have included the body-mind pentad called *khandha*'s. But although these are persistently called original teaching, they are not claimed as central. Yet I will here add, that the Fives of the Auguttara do not include them (the one reference to them is at the end of a gloss-like passage at the end of a Sutta, No. 22, and merely incidental), but both Dīgha Suttantas include them in the Fives and give them front rank. In this I see possibility of compilation later than that of the Anguttara.

254. C. A. F. Rhys Davids.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Second Preliminary Report upon the Excavations at Tel Umar, Iraq, conducted by the University of Michigan, etc. By Leroy Waterman. 10¾ × 8, pp. xii + 78, pls. 26, figs. 12. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1933. $1·50.

This report, plainly written and amply illustrated, is concerned with the work done by the Cleveland Museum of Art's Expedition in the season 1931–2 at the site of the Hellenistic and Parthian city of Seleucia on the Tigris. The earliest remains at present in view are those represented by Level IV, which was of the Seleucid period, and subsequent occupations take the history of the town up to the time of Trajan's invasion. One of the furthest outposts of Hellenism eastward, Seleucia did not long succeed in maintaining the traditions of its founders, and the report of Mr. N. E. Manasseh upon the architectural features of a block of buildings excavated shows clearly the supersession of the Hellenistic plan by that which was to be characteristic of later Oriental architecture; the change was accomplished by the middle of the first century A.D. Mr. S. Yeivin describes the burials in the various levels, the main features of which were the custom of burying under the floors of rooms, the use of clay coffins in the earlier levels, which disappeared in the later, and the existence of large vaulted tombs in which some interesting finds were made. Two small hoards of jewellery of the first–second centuries A.D. are described by Mr. R. J. Braidwood, and Professor Waterman concludes with the account of a small preliminary examination of the principal mound, known as Tel Umar, the results of which are at present inconclusive.

947. C. J. Gadd.

Le Dialecte monguor parlé par les Mongols du Kansou Occidental: IIIᵉ Partie. Dictionnaire Monguor-Français. By A. de Smedt and A. Mostaert. 10¼ × 7½, pp. xiv + 521. Pei-p'ing: Imprimerie de l'Université Catholique, 1933. Sales Agents: The French Bookstore, Peiping, China.

With this valuable book Pères de Smedt and Mostaert bring to an end their studies of the extraordinarily interesting dialect spoken by the sedentary Mongols in Western Kansu. The first part, on the phonetics, appeared in vol. xxv (1930) of *Anthropos*, and the second part, on the grammar, in the supplement to vol. vii of *Asia Major.*

The dictionary confirms the impressions already formed of the importance of this dialect. Its speakers seem to have broken off from the main Mongol stock, just as the Moghols of Afghanistan did, at a very early date, and their dialect therefore preserves a number of words which otherwise survive only in the P'ags-pa inscriptions, the early Mongol-Arabic and Mongol-Chinese vocabularies, and the *Yüan ch'ao pi shih.*

A. 52. G. L. M. Clauson.

Die India. By Alfons Väth. Geschichte der führenden Völker. Band 28. 9 × 6, pp. viii + 295, pls. 8, maps 2. Freiburg in Breisgau: Herder & Co., 1934.

This book by the Rev. Father Alfons Väth, a well-known scholar belonging to the Society of Jesus, certainly gives us a careful and well documented survey of the history of India from the oldest times up to the period, the figure-head of which seems to be Mr. Gandhi. No doubt such a series of topics could not be treated by one single author in a way that would not lay parts of it open to criticism. Lack of space prevents us from entering upon details; let it, however, be confessed that the present writer feels some slight doubts concerning certain parties of the description of India's prehistoric and proto-historic (i.e. Vedic) periods.

The book seems to be singularly free from misprints and smaller mistakes, though on p. 281 " Montserrate " should perhaps not pass unobserved. The bibliography contains what is immediately needed, and the plates are very good if exception be taken to the picture of Akbar (pl. vi). We allow ourselves to congratulate the Reverend Father on his altogether useful and well-written work.

A. 343. †JARL CHARPENTIER.

THE PAGEANT OF CHINESE HISTORY. By ELIZABETH SEEGER. pp. 386. London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1934. 8*s*. 6*d*.

After reading Professor Latourette's history of the Chinese, *The Pageant of Chinese History* seems to be a strange mixture. One comes across chapters headed " A Divided Empire, Buddhism, The Grand Canal ", or " Gods and Ceremonies, Festivals, Wars with Europe ". The preface, however, explains that this book grew out of a sketch of Chinese history made at the Dalton Schools for children aged 12. It cannot, therefore, be considered as a learned treatise. The author rather likens her volume to a decoy bird which might attract others. Certainly the idea that Eastern History should be taught in Western schools is a good one. The children may then grow up with the knowledge that Chinese and Japanese are really people living on this planet and are important members of the human race.

The Pageant of Chinese History might be described as an interesting account of China's History for beginners. Grown-ups as well as children would profit by reading it. The writer says she has taken the Chinese point of view as far as possible. Whether this can be done without an extensive knowledge of the people, their language and literature, is a moot point. We read that the Chinese boys and girls—

> As they grow up learn all that the West has to give them and all that is wise and beautiful in their own history and religion.

If this is the Chinese point of view it is not quite correct.

The book is well illustrated by Bernard Watkins. If we have not forgotten our own school days we should want to know the meaning of the symbols on p. 50, i.e. 忠 孝 節 義; all the letterpress says is that they are "some Chinese characters written with a brush". The same criticism applies to the five shop signs on page 310. If they were numbered and described they would be much more intriguing. The design on the dust-cover is most attractive, and the maps inside the covers interesting.

A. 287. J. H. PRATT.

THE ASSYRIAN AND HEBREW HYMNS OF PRAISE. By CHARLES GORDON CUMMING. Columbia University Oriental Studies, Vol. XII. 9½ × 7, pp. 170. New York: Columbia University Press, 1934. 15*s*. net.

The author of this book starts with the assumption that when the Israelites entered Canaan they found there a flourishing civilization. This they took over and assimilated. That civilization had grown up under the direct influence of the Assyrians, since the Assyrians had held moral sway over the country for many centuries. On the strength of this idea the author compares a number of hymns found in the Psalter with other hymns or prayers found scattered in the Assyrian literature. He divides the Hebrew hymns of praise into a number of groups, e.g. sanctuary hymns, nature hymns, etc. One group is designated as eschatalogical hymns, a description against which one must demur. There is nothing in them which carries us beyond this world and the kingdom of God in the present. The author then finds parallels among the Assyrian hymns. A close examination, however, shows that this parallelism is only apparent. There is scarcely a single Assyrian hymn that could be compared in its entirety with a psalm. There are only isolated notes, short extracts from a larger whole, which could be so considered, nor do they, in fact, represent the religious consciousness of the whole Assyrian nation. On the other hand, one cannot deny a close affinity in outward form and style, in manner of composition, in the use of refrains, and in other characteristic features in these hymns of praise. The author himself, in drawing his conclusions, fully realizes the profound difference between the crude religious ideas found in the Assyrian hymns and the high spiritual tone of the psalter. Valuable as is this study within its narrower limits, it loses some of its cogency by the fact that discoveries which are being made and grow apace tend very much to modify our ideas concerning the extent of Assyrian influence upon the pre-Israelite civilization of Canaan.

A. 199. M. GASTER.

THE BOOK OF SHETAROTH (FORMULARY) OF R. HAI GAON (SUPPLEMENT TO TARBIZ. I, III). By S. ASSAF. 10 × 7, pp. ii + 75, pls. 2. Jerusalem: Hebrew University Press Assoc. 1930.

The edition of this Book of Documents is based on a Leningrad MS., which was first discovered by Harkavy and brought to the notice of Talmudic lore in 1897. Guided by some misleading scribbling in a later hand he ascribed the work to Hai ben David, a Gaon, who flourished about 890–7, exactly a millennium before the discovery of his work was made. The real author or compiler, however, was Hai ben Sherira, who lived just a hundred years later. This is shown by A. S. Wertheimer, who found a second manuscript of this work, which is at present in the Bodleian Library. There is a fragment of a third manuscript in the collection Adler, now in the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York, but it was not consulted by the editor. This fragment offers some variants, which are worth while considering, as will be shown later.

The texts are of importance from various points of view. Philology and History are enriched by some valuable details hidden in these formularies. There survive in them many peculiarities of the Old Aramaic official language current in the Geonic chancellories, courts, and offices. It would be a most profitable task and a worthy undertaking to compare the language of these documents on the one hand with the style of the ancient Aramaic papyri of Elephantine and on the other hand with similar documents preserved in cuneiform scripts coming from Babylon. Greek, Arabic, and Coptic papyri from Egypt written in Roman times and under Moslem rule would offer a number of noteworthy similarities. The historian would then have a chance of gleaning some information for the better understanding of the social and economic position, and the religious and family life of the Jews during the period, for which these formularies were copied.

One illustration will suffice. Document No. VII, p. 27, contains a formulary for the acquisition of a slave, not a rare event among Jews in the East or in the West in spite of the numerous regulations and decrees against it. This document throws light on the origin and race of these slaves bought by Jews and kept in their households. Five nationalities are enumerated, namely Hindus, Slavs, Byzantines or Romans, Lybians, and Zangaah (most probably slaves from Zanzibar). The editor has succeeded in providing a clear and readable text, by no means an easy task. Fragment Adler No. 2860, III, which I examined many years ago, has some variants, which may be given in this connection. The heading of No. XVI is in the fragment פולגאתא division and not פולגנא, as in the edition under review. MSS. Leningrad and Oxford read "athu" and "amru", whilst Adler has "athun" and "amrun" instead. Another variance may be observed between the Hebrew form in No. XXI, get חירותְך in the MSS. used by the editor, and the Aramaic form תירוכיך in the fragment. The editor supplies full notes and examples from Talmudic, Geonic, and later Rabbinic sources to illustrate the language and the contents of these texts.

A few remarks may here follow as a token of gratitude, and not as an attempt to criticize this useful publication. To p. 5 about the position of scribes and secretaries one could add the observation made by the present writer in *J.Q.R.*, n. s., viii, 1917, pp. 6 ff., that some of the Geonim acted in the beginning of their academic or Geonic career as Soferim or scribes. The scholar Isaac ben Samuel ha-Sefaradi, who is mentioned on p. 10, is now better known to us as a Talmudic scholar who corresponded with the Jewish communities in Yemen.[1] The same Catalogue reports a number of Marriage Contracts and forms a valuable addition to the bibliography on this subject given by Assaf on p. 13, n. 1. Among them there is especially to be noted one which testifies the often expressed view of the unchangeability of the Near or Far East. The Gaon records that the old Talmudic custom of showing in the document the double or triple value of the actual obligation undertaken by the bridegroom, although at a payment of only a half or a third of the full charge, was still in vogue in spite of the lapse of centuries. Document no. 761, Catalogue p. 394 teaches us that the Jews in Bagdad at the end of the nineteenth century still perpetuated this usage, which served to honour the bride or her people by inscribing in the document a larger sum than that actually paid. The documents in the Appendix fully explain the contents of the formularies.

768. A. MARMORSTEIN.

HAṬHA-YOGA-PRADĪPIKĀ OF SVĀTMĀRĀMA SVĀMIN. Text and English Translation by YOGĪ SRĪNIVĀSA IYANGĀR, B.A. (Theosophical Publishing House Oriental Series, No. 15.) Adyar-Madras, India, 1933.

This is a new edition of the Haṭha-yoga-pradīpikā with the commentary by Brahmānanda. In addition there is an English translation of the Dīpikā and comments by the translator after Brahmānanda.

---

[1] v. MS. Sassoon No. 1062, Catalogue p. 1082.

The chief aim of this new edition and translation is, as the preface expressly remarks, to provide a handbook on the Haṭha-Yoga for a larger public, because an understanding of the Rāja-Yoga (Samādhi = psychological Yoga) can only be reached by way of the Haṭha-Yoga (physiological Yoga). It is claimed that it is better to have carried out these preliminary physiological exercises in past incarnations already, for it is only by means of performing them with the highest degree of perfection that the body is prepared for the task of freeing itself from its waste matter and, thus purified, arriving at psychic harmony with the highest goal of worship, whether with the impersonal Brahma or with a personal representative of the Divine.

For this reason three of the four books of the Dīpikā treat of the physical preparation: the first book of the different Āsanas (forms of postures), the second and third books of diet, breathing exercises and the training of the activity of the inner power-centres (mudras, cakras). Not till then is one ripe for the fourth, the Samādhi.

It is a very exact handbook on breathing exercises and the regulating of other forms of internal circulation to strengthen and relax the whole body. But nevertheless it is emphatically asserted that without a teacher (Guru) there is no available access to the Yoga, and even then none without danger—a warning perhaps for the West not to believe that exercises intended for another climate, for a different mode of life and probably for inherited capacities which give the right predisposition can easily be imitated, possibly even without a suitable teacher.

For the uninitiated the most astonishing thing about the precepts of the Dīpikā is that they do not insist on absolute asceticism. No sojourn in places which cause disgust or discomfort is recommended, nor are prescriptions given for ascetic diet (*vide* iii, 80 f.). Yoga consists, in the true sense of the word, in "*yukta*", i.e. *mita-āhāra* (not extreme (*ati*) in gluttony nor in abstinence). Yoga, even the strict

Haṭha-Yoga, is not the same as absolute asceticism. In the text there are passages (e.g. ii, 54 and iii, 43) which suggest that sexual asceticism, too, is not strictly required. It is true that the commentator attempts to give to these utterances, which can hardly be overlooked, a metaphorical sense. The chapter on the use of the sexual feelings (as a source of vital power) and their transformation is omitted in the translation (iii, 84–103).

The literal meaning of the word "Yoga", derived from the root "yuj", is striving after *unity* in the sense of balance, equipoise, stability, not only of bodily deportment but also of the functions of breathing and further of the psychological attitude. Body and—through it—mind must be in the yoke (yoke = Yoga). This psychological *concentration*—circling round a fixed centre—leads to metaphysical balance, to the union with the highest Brahma or another object of the Bhakti (bhaj = participation).

Thus the Yoga, as indeed the metaphysics of India as a whole (cf. the Upanishads), is built up on physics. Not by denial but by *recognition* of physics and its single, isolated facts, does one evoke something which goes beyond physics: the demand for a unity which lies behind these single facts, or for a balance of their functions which lies within them all. The Ṛta idea of the Ṛg-Veda is the first *immanent* idea of *transcendence* which has been carried out. In a similar way reincarnation and transmigration are ideas leading beyond physics and finding an outlet again in physics. (Life after death = a second physics; hereafter = another here!)

We are grateful for this new edition and translation of the Haṭha-Yoga text, even if we doubt the possibility of transplanting these methods to the West as practice. It makes a most valuable contribution to the general outlook of India, especially by the exposition of reciprocal permeation of body and soul which the West has never carried out with such consistency. This characteristic peculiarity might, perhaps, have been more strongly emphasized in the translation.

The translator has been too intent on giving Western abstract terms and thus sometimes effaces the Indian ones. Indian philosophical-religious terminology ought to remain near to life in accordance with the Indian view of the world, which is in fact mirrored in the plastic Indian language. The Sanskrit terms are near to life in the first place because the noun is generally formed from and inseparably connected with the dynamic verbal root, while contradictory prepositions deflect the meaning of the so-called (definite) terms in the one direction or the other[1]; near to life in the second place, because, for instance, here the terms Yoga and Vinyāsa, which the West only interprets as *psychological* technical terms, are in the first book of the Dīpikā designations of postures of the *body*, used without any abstract or psychological signification (cf. Dīpikā, i, 19–23). Yoga and Vinyāsa = the physical contact of bodily parts, e.g. hands on knee, has as immediate result a psychological effect. Functions of the body and of the mind are in India never strictly kept apart, not even in the so-called dualistic Sānkhya system.

A. 170. BETTY HEIMANN.

THE ACCURACY OF THE BIBLE. By A. S. YAHUDA. 9 × 6, pp. xxxvii + 226, ills. 73. London: W. Heinemann, 1934. 10*s*. 6*d*.

The author states that he has set out "to demonstrate in a popular way", and in this undertaking he has to a great degree succeeded, for he has produced a readable and entertaining book. The sustained attack, however, which the author makes on other scholars is unfortunate, for he must surely know that other scholars are conversant with all the material which he provides.

There is much in this work which is inconclusive as the following details show.

---

[1] In the near future I hope to publish a longer treatise ("Birth of Terms") on the non-isolation and non-definability, i.e. non-limitation, of Indian terms as a consequence of the Indian general outlook.

The term Miṣrayim (p. 20) he claims is an original creation of the Hebrews to reproduce *tꜣwy* = " The Two Lands ". He writes, " The striking feature of this name is its dual form." The evidence which is available forbids any definite conclusion being drawn as to the form of the word. The Jewish Encyclopædia (vol. v, p. 58) and Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible (vol. i, p. 652) decide against the dual form, while the Oxford Lexicon (B.D.B.) gives both dual and locative. The Hebrew expressions אֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם and כָּל־אֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם do not imply Egyptian influence. The Egyptians employed the terms *tꜣ n kmt* and *tꜣ mrỉ* for " Egypt " as well as *tꜣwy*, but forms such as the Hebrew suggests, viz. *tꜣ tꜣwy* = " The land of the twin land " or *tꜣ nb n tꜣwy* = " The whole land of the twin land ", are extremely unlikely. *tꜣwy* was sufficiently clear for the Egyptians. Moreover, the term *mi.iṣ.rum* occurs as a variation in Tel.el Amarna letter No. 147^{69} (Knudtzon). " Miṣrayim " as a dual form is therefore doubtful.

The terms *Mu sheh* = " Child of the Nile " are put forward as a " plausible and adequate " derivation of the name Moses (p. 66). There are, of course, other suggested derivations, some of which indicate that the name has no connection with the familiar oriental rescue story. The details (p. 68) regarding gods in shrines may be entertaining, but absolutely inconclusive.

In the story of Moses (p. 96) it is stated that " Elohim " is used in order to convey *not the idea of " God "*, but the Egyptian title *ntr* = god (in the singular). Moses is to be like Pharaoh, a *ntr*, " a god," and Aaron " his mouth ". Curiously enough, in the earlier volume " The Language of the Pentateuch " the exactly opposite argument is used. Referring to the story of Joseph (p. 16) he writes, " Highly characteristic in this connection is the exclusive use of Elohim in the plural in consonance with the Egyptian plural *ntrw*. The narrator is thoroughly aware that Joseph, the Hebrew, speaks to the Egyptians in their language and their own manner so that the plural use of Elohim is an exact reproduction of the Egyptian *ntrw* (gods), etc."

One cannot have it both ways. Either Elohim conveys the idea of *ntr* = god or *ntrw* = gods, and the term cannot be forced to prove opposite conclusions.

The statement (p. 57) that the Agrarian reforms instituted by the monarchs of the New Kingdom were a return to a former arrangement made by Joseph, but interrupted by the Hyksos rulers, is, of course, entirely unsupported.

The second part of the book provides interesting reading and may be summed up by the writer's own words on page 191: "Those parts of Genesis, which originated in Babylonia, or had a close connection with Babylonian myths, have later been substantially transformed by the introduction of Egyptian elements grafted on to the Babylonian original." In this most scholars will be in agreement with the author, but none of the evidence which he supplies furnishes information in any way with regard to the date or authorship of the work. His portrayal of the Nile flood worked into the "Flood Story" is, however, remarkably interesting.

The misfortune is that the author does not really understand his documents. As an example we quote from page 117: "Only when the Bible is involved do the critics and their adepts from among the Egyptologists and Assyriologists take their own very hypothetical theories as foundations, and in using adverse arguments, they mainly contribute to discredit the Biblical statements, and deprive them of their true meaning." Now it should be quite clear that when an Egyptologist is dealing with an Egyptian inscription or papyrus he is often dealing with an original, whereas with Biblical texts he is dealing with material which has passed through the memories of many men and the hands of many scribes over a very long period. *The two documents, therefore, can never really be considered side by side.* They occupy totally different planes. If a Hebrew document of the same age as an Egyptian inscription could be produced, matters would be entirely different. This the author does not appear to grasp, hence his misunderstanding of other scholars.

The book, which is well illustrated, is obviously intended for the " layman ", but it is recommended that it should be used with caution.

A. 347. JOHN ROBERT TOWERS.

THE HERITAGE OF SOLOMON. By JOHN GARSTANG. 9×6, pp. xv + 439, ills. 5, maps 4. London: Williams and Norgate, 1934. 20*s*.

Dr. Garstang was invited to write this work by the trustees of Mr. Herbert Spencer as a contribution to the series entitled *Descriptive Sociology*. It is really therefore an account of the sociology of Ancient Palestine covering a wider field than the title might suggest, and in writing it the author has availed himself fully of that first-hand knowledge of the history, geography, and archæology of Palestine and the adjacent countries which he is known to possess. A worthy successor to *The Foundations of Bible History* (*Joshua*: *Judges*), the book will probably be found of even more general interest.

A quite special feature of the book is the emphasis laid upon Bedouin influence. The Bedouin elements interspersed throughout the code of Israel provide, as Dr. Garstang says, a study of special interest. The allusions in the Old Testament to blood feud and revenge disclose, we are told, the survival of this Bedouin custom in its primitive severity, without the possibility of compromise. In the sphere of political organization Dr. Garstang notes that the survival of Bedouin democracy is illustrated in the Old Testament in various ways throughout the whole evolution of the kingship. Indeed, one of the mistakes made by King Solomon was, he suggests, his total disregard for the democratic principles upon which the nation had come into being.

A. 317. MAURICE A. CANNEY.

JAPAN. By RENÉ GROUSSET. The Civilizations of the East, Vol. IV. 9 × 8, pp. 301 + xl, ills. 211. Translated from the French by CATHERINE ALISON PHILLIPS. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1934. 25*s*.

This work is one of a series of four, published under the general title of *The Civilizations of the East.* Theoretically each volume is complete in itself; but in the case of that now under review the references to its predecessors on China and India are sufficiently frequent to make it desirable, if not necessary, for the reader to have access to those two works as well.

The title of the series seems a little misleading. The term "civilization" covers all the various fields of a country's evolution—social, political, religious, artistic, and literary; but although the author fills in succinctly and vividly the historical background, it is with the art of Japan, and that mainly pictorial, that he is occupied. With this reservation the book itself is excellent—clear, concise, and full of useful information, a valuable addition to the many works which have already been written on this subject. At the end there is also a brief review of the relation between Thibetan art and that of Bengal.

The author draws an illuminating and very interesting analogy between the genius and temperament of Japan and that of ancient Greece; but it is an anology which can easily be over emphasized, and it need hardly be said that it breaks down completely in the domain of the intellect, where Greece stands on a much higher plane than Japan.

The illustrations, many of which are reproductions of specimens in the Odin and Vever collections, are excellent; but it is a pity that it was not found possible to arrange them more conveniently. It is irritating to find a reference to an illustration on one page and to have to turn back for forty or fifty to find the illustration itself.

A. 326. H. G. PARLETT.

Khanadan-i Nawbakhti. By Abbas Iqbal. 9½ × 7, pp. 297, and a genealogical table. Tihran: Majlis Press, 1311 A.H.S. (1933).

The sub-title of the present work indicates its character. It declares that the work contains an account of the various members of the Nawbakhtī family, a list of their works, an account of the scientific, literary, and political achievements of each, a short history of the Islamic sects and of the Shī'a religion, a history of the early Shī'a *mutakallimūn* and of the various divisions into which the Shī'a are split, together with an alphabetical list of the names of these divisions with short statements concerning the doctrines of each.

The underlying motive of the work is an attempt to explain the Persian contribution to Islam and the part played by one of the more distinguished families of Iran which has not hitherto received the attention which it deserves. Of this family the best known member was Abu Sahl b. Nawbakht who is mentioned by 'Arīb as having been a person of importance at the trial of al-Ḥallāj and who is described by the *Fihrist* as one of the theologians of the Shī'a. The author gives an account of various other members of the Nawbakhtī family, whose achievements were not confined to those of Abu Sahl alone, and in the course of his work is led to deal with the place of Persia generally in Islam. "It has always been said," the author declares, "that Īrānī and Shī'ī are synonymous and that the Shī'ī, i.e. the Īrānī, is the enemy of the Faith. At any rate the Turks since early Safawi days have said it, and it is therefore of the greatest service to show how the Nawbakhtīs defended the independent position of Iran and attempted to disprove the charge that it stands outside the community of the Faith."

The book is filled with material of which the greater part is not easily obtainable elsewhere and is extremely interesting as showing the history of Islam from the point of view of the Persian, who regards his Shī'ism as the true and orthodox position and Sunnism, although held by the majority, as being based on error. The author puts the Nawbakhtīs on a level with the Barmecides for their long tradition of public office and says, in describing their achievements on behalf of their faith, " Since the religious principles of 'Alid Shī'ism for which they stood tallied with the traditions of the Sasanian era which they had in their hearts, they became the followers and defenders of Imāmism. The reason for this is that the religion of the Imāmī sect is opposed to tyranny and is based upon the priority of the claims of those who were clearly called to the headship of Islam by God and the Prophet."

This passage may indicate that the marks of special pleading are not absent from the work, which must to that extent be used with caution, but it nevertheless displays great learning and for reference will prove itself of outstanding value.

A. 143. R. LEVY.

POLEMICS ON THE ORIGIN OF THE FATIMI CALIPHS. By PRINCE P. H. MAMOUR. 8½ × 5½, pp. 230. London: Luzac and Co., 1934. 15*s*.

The improvement in the political circumstances of religious minorities in the East in recent years is making it increasingly possible for them to cast off the taint of " heresy " and assert their right to be considered as at least of equal standing with the " orthodox " majority. In the present work the author restates the claim of the descendants of the Prophet to be regarded as his legitimate " successors " and re-examines the evidence with regard to the legitimacy of the Fatimi Caliphs. The dispute is an ancient one, dating at least from the year 402/1011, when there was a public proclamation in Baghdad to the effect that the 'Alids of Egypt were not descendants of the Prophet. There was an obvious political motive for that, but Ibn al-Athir (under the year 296 in the *Kāmil*) examined the evidence independently and in giving an account of the disputed ancestry of 'Ubayd-Allah, founder of the dynasty, says that he himself made inquiries of some of the leading 'Alawis, some of whom said that the genealogy proving descent from the Prophet was genuine, while others denied it.

Unfortunately there are no contemporary records to work upon and the earliest notice of a dispute would appear to be the statement of Ibn al-Athir under the year 402.[1] Fresh material is too recent in date to help the investigation very decisively, and although one may regard the author's attempt with sympathy, his re-examination of the available sources cannot lead us very far, and the case must continue to be regarded as " not proven ", though ably argued.

A. 271. R. Levy.

BUDDHISTS AND GLACIERS OF WESTERN TIBET. By GIOTTO DAINELLI. 10 × 6½, pp. xiii + 304, pls. 32, map 1. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1933. 18*s*.

After his return from De Filippi's Italian Expedition to the Himalaya, Kaṛakoram, and Eastern Turkestan (1913–14) the author decided, in the year 1930, to organize his expedition to the Glacier Siachen in order to accomplish a greater elaboration of the geological results obtained previously.

This volume constitutes only the narrative part of the voyage, so interesting and above all useful for anyone who has not had the pleasure of visiting the magnificent regions of Western Tibet. The local descriptions of Prof. Dainelli offer, in their complete literary arrangement, a vivid picture of individual life in which is portrayed the strange psychology of this people. But I must also commend the work for the very human characterization of the Tibetan religious manifestation. His descriptions of people are indeed most vivid in portraying national types.

A. 15. E. G. Carpani.

---

[1] The author uses Abu'l Fidā, Nuwairī, Maqrīzī, and others, all later than Ibn al-Athīr.

THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN. By Sir HAROLD MACMICHAEL. 9 × 5¾, pp. 288, map 1. London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1934. 15*s*.

This timely volume is essentially a record of the administrative and economic progress of the Sudan during the thirty-five years which have elapsed since the establishment of the Anglo-Egyptian condominium. The ethnological and historical background are treated with lucid brevity in three introductory chapters: the rest are devoted to a survey of the problems in politics, administration, and economic development which have engaged the attention of the Sudan government during the period under review.

No one is better qualified to give such an account than Sir Harold MacMichael whose long and distinguished association with the Sudan government has brought him into the closest contact with the subjects of which he writes; as a historian, moreover, he has devoted to the barren past of his territory a store of erudition and critical judgment, to which his two volumes on the history of the Arabs in the Sudan bear witness. We therefore expect from him not only an authoritative statement of facts, based on first-hand knowledge, but a scholarly outlook and a critical attitude towards fundamental problems of government. In both respects the reader will find his expectations fully realized.

The book will be indispensable to all who are brought into contact with any aspect of the modern Sudan, whether it be in the matter of the political controversy with Egypt, or the growing of cotton for the mills of Lancashire, or the guarding of an illogical and difficult frontier, or the political and educational guidance of a population which includes primitive Nilotic negroids and an Arab *intelligentsia* of the modern type, as well as every intermediate stage. As a study in administration, moreover, it deserves the earnest attention of readers, who may have no direct interest in the Sudan, in which connection we would especially refer to the discussion of the experiment in " native administration " and the chapter on "education and its results" which deal in a spirit of discerning insight with problems of more than local interest.

The Sudan in the course of its connection with Great Britain has had a "good press", and by virtue of the association with such names as Gordon and Kitchener, Khartoum and Omdurman have a reality for the man in the street, which is not shared by Katsina and Sokoto; but although the country has become the resort of pleasure-seeking tourists as well as an important link in imperial air-traffic, accurate knowledge of its condition and its problems has not been easily accessible: the publication of Sir Harold MacMichael's volume should go far towards remedying this defect.

A. 328. S. HILLELSON.

ANCIENT SIAMESE GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION. By H. G. QUARITCH WALES. 8½ × 5½, pp. viii + 263. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1934.

The history of Siam as an independent state begins in the thirteenth century and the author explains in his preface that the term "ancient" is used in a relative sense. After an introductory chapter, the work traces the evolution of the institutions of Government in Siam, from a paternal feudalism to an absolute despotism with a complex administrative system, in a series of chapters entitled the Monarchy, Classes of the People, the Central Administration, Provincial Administration, the Army, Legislation, Administration of Justice, Revenue and Expenditure, and the Church, ending with a brief Conclusion. Appended to these chapters are a list of kings, a bibliography, and an index. In the several chapters of which the headings have been mentioned there is much detailed information on all these various subjects and the author deals with them critically. Inevitably there are many technical terms (of Indian, Siamese, Mon, or Khmer origin), and the book, while full of interesting matter, demands careful reading. It is based on a number of sources, Siamese and foreign, and also on the author's own knowledge of the country and its institutions and customs. There is no other book in any European language which covers the ground as this one does and it is likely to remain for a long time the standard work on the subject.

A. 253. C. O. BLAGDEN.

BIJDRAGEN TOT DE KENNIS VAN HET MIDDEN MALEISCH (BESEMAHSCH EN SĔRAWAJSCH DIALECT). Door O. L. HELFRICHT. 10 × 6½, pp. viii + 80. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1933. Gld. 4.

This is a further supplement to the dictionary of two Sumatran Malay dialects, which, with previous supplementary issues, appeared under the auspices of the Royal Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences, and it consists to a great extent of addenda and corrigenda to items already published therein. On a rough estimate there appear to be nearly 2,000 entries, in addition to which there are six pages in the form of an appendix, all implying a very intensive study of these dialects.

A. 155. C. O. BLAGDEN.

OP HET VOETSPOOR VAN BOEDDHA. Door J. PH. VOGEL. 8½ × 6½, pp. xii + 165, plates 20, text illustrations 13, map 1. Haarlem: H. D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon N.V., 1934. Fl. 3·0.

This work, after a brief preface, consists of twenty chapters dealing in order with the old capitals of Ceylon, the Seven Pagodas near Sadras, the town of Nasik, Gwalior, Bagh, Sanchi, Behar (in particular Bodh Gaya), Sarnath, Kusinara, the seven towns of Delhi, the Delhi fort, Mohenjodaro, Taxila, Gandhara, Chamba, the Himalayan gods, archæological research in British India, the old monuments of Java, Buddhism in Sumatra, and the conservation of monuments in the Dutch East Indies. With one exception they have already appeared as articles in the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsch*

Courant, and all are excellent examples of how a distinguished specialist in archæology should write for the intelligent general reader. As indicated by the title, the remains of Buddhism take the leading part, but Brahmanism and Islam are also included in their appropriate places. The illustrations are well chosen and well reproduced.

A. 101. C. O. BLAGDEN.

ISLAND INDIA GOES TO SCHOOL. By EDWIN R. EMBREE, MARGARET SARGENT SIMON, and W. BRYANT MUMFORD. 9 × 6, pp. vi + 121, plates 15 (including 1 in colours), map 1 (on inside pages of cover). Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934. 9*s.*

This work, published jointly by the University of Chicago Press and the Cambridge University Press, consists in the main of an informative and sympathetic account of the educational system in the Dutch East Indies, based partly on actual inspection and partly on official data. The authors' general verdict of it is favourable, though they complain that the native culture is inadequately represented. They also have a tendency to give an economic interpretation to phenomena which can perhaps be accounted for in another way, e.g., in the introductory section of the book, the rise of Buddhism in India and of Islam in Indonesia. It would be interesting to have chapter and verse for the statements (p. 10) that the Chinese appeared in Indonesia "long before the beginning of the Christian era", and (p. 12) that in Java "the Hindu religion was forced upon the populace", while the sentence (p. 17) "the conquering Mohammedans poured in" suggests that Islam was imposed on Java by alien conquerors from without, whereas its practically universal establishment in that island was primarily due to peaceful conversion. The forcible subjugation of the Hindu remnant, which merely set the seal on the process, was the work of the Islamized Javanese themselves (see *Encyclopædia of Islam*, s.v. Java).

These are minor matters hardly relevant to the main subject of the book. But it is not very helpful merely to say (p. 87) that "the government of the Dutch East Indies assumes a great responsibility if it heedlessly allows the millions in Java to increase to the point of helpless impoverishment". What is it to do ? One would like to have the authors' remedy for the disease.

A. 191. C. O. BLAGDEN.

JOINT EXPEDITION WITH THE IRAQ MUSEUM AT NUZI. Proceedings in Court. Publications of the Baghdad School, Vol. IV. By EDWARD CHIERA. Publications of the American School of Oriental Research. 11 × 8½, pp. 107, pls. 111. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1934. 18*s*.

Of the 1,100—more or less—tablets in cuneiform characters found by the late E. Chiera, professor of assyriology at the University of Chicago, in the year 1925 at Nuzi, up to now three volumes had been published under the titles *Inheritance texts*, *Declarations in Court* and *Exchange and Security Documents*. After the much regretted death of Chiera, very well known among students of assyriology as an excellent editor of cuneiform texts, I. J. Gelb of the Oriental Institute of Chicago has taken upon himself the task to rearrange and to edit most part of the material prepared for publication by Chiera himself. Gelb has grouped in one volume the texts Chiera had the intention to distribute in two. The present volume contains all the tablets referring to proceedings in court and other tablets containing cases of *marūtu*, that is to say, documents much in favour among the old Hurrian inhabitants of Nuzi and neighbourhood. The volume consists of a brief preface written by Gelb, of a summary description of the tablets and the plates from CCCI to CDXI with the tablets reproduced in autography of Chiera. The *duppi marūti* start with tablet 400.

A. 339. GIUSEPPE FURLANI.

Excavations at Nuzi conducted by the Semitic Museum and the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University, with the co-operation of the American School of Oriental Research at Baghdad. Vol. II: The Archives of Shilwateshub, Son of the King, selected and copied by Robert H. Pfeiffer. 10¾ × 8, pp. xv + 90, pls. 90. Cambridge, U.S.A.: Harvard University Press. London: Humphrey Milford, 1932. 34*s*.

Pfeiffer publishes in this volume 158 tablets of Nuzi, selected among those which Edward Chiera had found there during his excavations in the years 1927 and 1928 and of which 107 the excavator himself had made public in a volume of the Harvard Semitic Series in 1929.

The tablets here published made up in part the archives of Shelwa-Teshup, "son of the king," as he is styled, as some of the documents are letters of this personage himself or letters directed to him by other people, as is the letter addressed to him by Shaushshatar, son of Parsashatar, king of Mitanni (about 1475 B.C.), or juridical documents of various characters concerning also the "son of the king", or lists of men who concern him somehow and other interesting documents belonging no doubt to his archives.

Besides the autography of the documents on ninety plates Pfeiffer gives us an introduction, a brief summary of the contents of each tablet, a register of them, and some documents he transcribes on the pages xvi–xxv.

687. GIUSEPPE FURLANI.

The Ideals of East and West. By Kenneth Saunders. Cambridge University Press, 1934. 10*s*. 6*d*.

This book, by Dr. Saunders, of the London School of Economics, gives an account of the world's great ethical systems. In Indian ethics, salvation has been the object, and India has realized the connection between sin and suffering, and moral discipline and emancipation. If, to her ancient ideals of devotion to Godhead and to duty, detachment in doing it and victory over desire, India can add energy and zeal in the service of men, the author feels that India can come to the help of the West, with its worship of the machine, and co-operate in working out a more humane order of society. The modern Chinese, he shows, seeks both to believe in the traditional cosmic philosophy of his country and to be guided by reason, but is still influenced by superstition, and needs a better social and individual ethic, and more constraining motives for conduct. As an old Chinese teacher said some twenty-four centuries ago, "A world which condemns a petty wrong, and praises the greatest of crimes—war—knows no true distinction between right and wrong." Dr. Saunders finds a resemblance between the Japanese and the Greeks, in the Japanese zest for life and response to beauty, combined with hardihood and stoic detachment, but displaying a lack of the sense of social responsibility.

Passing on to the Greeks, Dr. Saunders shows how they developed their characteristic ideals, and regards Greek morality as robust and objective rather than inward and spiritual, and as lacking a sense of personal sin and the need for Divine Grace. For the Jews, on the other hand, the fear of God has been the beginning and end of wisdom, but the conception of God developed by the great prophets was of a God of righteousness, with a special care for the poor and oppressed, and no longer a national God, but the God of humanity as a whole. Christianity, as the heir of both Jew and Greek, has produced an ethic which harmonizes the individual with the social, and centres both in the Will of God. With its emphasis on the will, rather than on the intellect or the emotions, and on motive rather than the action itself, on toleration and the desire to serve others, all inspired by the deep inner life in the presence of God, Christianity, in its Founder, has shown how "the good life" can be lived by the children of God. "Male and female, Eastern and Western, Jew and Greek meet in this Son of Man, until, in the experience He engenders, these barriers are done away."

The treatment of the subject is by no means exhaustive, especially in regard to the Christian ethic, in which certain modern developments and applications have been left unnoticed, but the illustrations given from the writings of the teachers of East and West will enable the reader to gain an idea of the development of an ethical ideal in the countries considered. The book is well produced by the Cambridge Press, but a much fuller index would have been an advantage.

A. 262 MARGARET SMITH.

CHRONIQUE DE SANTA-CRUZ DU CAP DE GUÉ (Agadir). Text Portugais du xvi^e^ Siècle traduit et annoté par PIERRE DE CENIVAL. Publications de la section historique de Maroc. 10 × 6½, pp. 170. Paris: Geuthner, 1934. Fcs. 30.

The name of Agadir is memorable, having been the scene of one of those events which prepared the way for the Great War: in its neighbourhood from 1505 to 1541 there was a Portuguese town called Santa-Cruz, which served to secure the Portuguese possessions in North Africa. The treatise published by M. de Cenival is preserved in a unique MS. of the National Library of Lisbon; the author's name is not recorded, but he was one of those who were taken captive when the place was stormed by Moulay Muḥammad, son of the Sharif of Sus, so that his history of the place and of events which followed its capture is based on personal experience and statements of eye-witnesses. The editor has collated its contents with other records of the same events, and taken great pains to identify the persons and places mentioned; at times he is able to correct the other histories from this, but sometimes the process is reversed. The chronicle gives a very vivid picture of the conditions prevalent at the time. Although the author was a Christian, we should gather from this narrative that while Portuguese and Moroccans were equally barbarous, more in the way of positive virtue was to be found among the latter. The Christians had at first the advantage in munitions of war; when the Africans became possessed of similar instruments and had acquired their use, the knell of the Portuguese occupation sounded.

A. 282. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

PENTATEUCH WITH TARGUM ONKELOS, HAPHTAROTH AND PRAYERS FOR SABBATH AND RASHI'S COMMENTARY. Translated into English and annotated by Rev. M. ROSENBAUM and Dr. A. M. SILBERMANN in collaboration with A. BLASHKI and L. JOSEPH of Sydney, N.S.W. Numbers. 9 × 6. London: Shapiro, Vallentine and Co., 1933.

This is a beautifully printed text of the Hebrew of Numbers with the Targum in smaller type, Rashi's Commentary in square character and vocalized (probably for the first time), English renderings of the Biblical text and Rashi, and notes on the last. The practice of a French Bible has been followed in rendering the tetragrammaton by *The Eternal*; this may conceivably be the sense of the tetragrammaton, but is certainly not that of the word which the Masoretes regularly substitute for it. The translation and notes are scholarly, but the need for them indicates that the Jews are becoming as unfamiliar with Hebrew as the Christians are with Latin; in my schooldays Greek grammar was still written in the latter language. The work belongs to the devotional literature of the former community. Anything that Rashi can offer for the elucidation of the Pentateuch must long ago have found its way into the European commentaries.

A. 248. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

DAS ERSTE BUCH DER TORA: GENESIS. Übersetzt und erklärt. By B. JACOB. 11¼ × 7½, pp. 1055. Berlin: Schocken Verlag, 1934. Rm. 42.

This is from many points of view one of the most remarkable volumes of recent years, at least within the range of Old Testament studies. Though published in Berlin in 1934, it is yet frankly and professedly written by a Jew for Jews. It is, then, theologically and critically orthodox from the Jewish point of view. The author is a definite opponent of the higher criticism, and devotes the last hundred pages of his work to a refutation of the Graf-Wellhausen analysis. It must be confessed that the reasoning in this section of the work is not convincing to the unconvinced, though it may serve to reassure those who hold the fundamentalist position. There are also from time to time references to the critical position in the course of the commentary itself; for the most part the opposing views are fairly stated, and the author has done his best to make himself familiar with all that has been written in modern times on Genesis. The expressly Jewish character of the book is also manifest in the copious references to Jewish authors. Mishnah and Midrash are laid under constant requisition; Jewish commentators and scholars of all ages are repeatedly cited, and the author has left nothing undone which would give his book real completeness from this point of view.

It is partly the amount of reference to older authority which is responsible for the enormous size of the book. But, further, it should be noted that every verse is discussed, thoroughly and conscientiously, from every point of view. A few verses at a time are printed in italics, and there follows the comment. Linguistic matters are first dealt with, and then difficulties of interpretation discussed. Here we find full acquaintance with all the most recent work of Christian scholars as well as that of Jews. A good example may be seen in the treatment of ch. 14. The identity of the four kings is discussed in the light of all that is known from Mesopotamia, and various suggestions as to source and origin of the whole piece are considered. The author, of course, holds firmly to the Mosaic authorship, and his reasons for rejecting other theories, fundamentalist and critical, are clearly and forcibly stated.

Not infrequently the comments are both interesting and illuminating. Taking the text as a transcript of literal history, the author is able to infuse into his exegesis an extraordinary vividness and freshness. He brings us back through the centuries and makes the actual scenes live once more before us, an effect which modern commentators of all schools often fail to produce. An instance of a novel but scholarly interpretation may be cited from ch. 15 : 2—the much discussed phrase ובן משק ביתי הוא דמשק אלעזר. Jacob points out that דמשק cannot here be a place name, but must be a personal name, an alternative to אליעזר, and cites the double name Mamre-Eschol as a parallel. The name " Dammesheq " is chosen because of its assonance with " Mesheq ", and the whole phrase means " and my steward is Dammesheq-Eliezer ". Without assenting to the interpretation, we may well feel that no better defence of the MT has yet been offered. Scholarship, Jewish orthodoxy, and freedom within the inevitable limits imposed by his faith—these are the outstanding characteristics of this great piece of work, and it may fairly claim to have achieved the ideal set by its author—" . . . . ein wissenschaftlicher, unabhängiger jüdischer Kommentar, der von unserer Gemeinschaft die Beschämung nehmen sollte, zur wissenschaftlichen Belehrung über ihr eigenstes und heiligstes Buch nur auf christliche Kommentare angewiesen zu sein, der einen neuen Weg zu dem Studium der Tora zeigen sollte, die ' unser Leben und die Dauer unserer Tage ' ist."

A. 263. THEODORE H. ROBINSON.

MONUMENTS MÉSOPOTAMIENS. Nouvellement acquis ou peu connus (Musée du Louvre). By Dr. G. CONTENAU. 11½ × 9, pp. 28, pls. 15, figs. 7. Paris: Les Éditions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1934. 30 fr.

This convenient little volume gives a full and comprehensive description of over thirty miscellaneous objects in the Louvre whose exact provenance and date are in most cases unknown but which belong in nearly every instance to sites in Southern Babylonia and to a date in the Third or Fourth Millennium B.C. The exceptions are two bas-reliefs from Tell-el-Halaf and two Achæmenid bas-reliefs from Persepolis. Only one object is inscribed and most are fragmentary, but all are remarkable for their artistic interest and beauty. Included are statuettes, fragments of plaques and vases, objects of shell, an alabaster lamp, and a copper pin, depicting in every case figures of men or animals, including ritual scenes. Each is adequately illustrated by one or more excellent photographs and numerous parallels are cited, accompanied occasionally by cuts.

Dr. Contenau finds room for several interesting comments. He considers (p. 7) that the presence or absence of beard and hair in early representations is not an ethnic characteristic but merely a matter of fashion or circumstance, and that wigs of stone, clay, or metal were sometimes used to adorn statues. He conjectures (p. 16) that the beaked nose found in some Sumerian portraits was simply the convention of a local school of artists at Tello. On p. 21 he offers the suggestion that the stepped altar is derived from a throne rather than a house, and on pp. 23 f. he points out the joint influence of Mesopotamian and Greek art on Achæmenid sculpture.

A. 338. C. J. MULLO WEIR.

DIE JÜNGEREN ISCHTAR-TEMPEL IN ASSUR. By W. ANDRAE. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft: 58. 14 × 10, pp. iii + 132, pls. 58, figs. 89. Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1935. R.M. 75.

In this volume the history of the various buildings which housed the Ishtar of Ashur through the greater part of three millennia on the same site is continued for the last part of that immense span, from the thirteenth to the seventh century before Christ, when the kingdom of the last and mightiest of all the worshippers who had served the same goddess in that place was overthrown. The ruins here described were excavated by the German expedition at Ashur in the years preceding the Great War; the work of publication is still far from complete, despite a series of volumes already produced by the industry of Professor Andrae and his helpers. Such are the burdens which modern notions of archæological method and publication have cast upon us, and these notions are to-day almost universally held or submitted to—years of meticulous work and recording in the field, more years of elaborate publication, and the results are enshrined in a library which both by its bulk and expense is excluded from the possession of all except learned institutions. No disparagement to the present publication, but as each volume of this kind appears (whencesoever in the world) the day of reconsideration surely draws a step nearer.

The buildings here described are four altogether, built at irregular intervals between the thirteenth and seventh centuries, the latest being a temple not of Ishtar but of Nabu, raised by the last of all the kings of Ashur just before the disaster to his kingdom. Unlike the archaic temples, which were the subject of an earlier and most interesting volume by the same author, these were not all placed upon the same site, and indeed it was only Shalmaneser III in the ninth century who built over the ancient ruins. Of his work, and of the preceding building of Ashur-resh-ishi, very little now remains and these, as well as the Nabu temple, can be dismissed in a few pages. The greatest part of the book is thus devoted to the work of Tukulti-Ninurta I (thirteenth century), a temple lying to the south-west of the ancient site, and including a sanctuary of the minor goddess Dinitu. Apart from a discussion of the plan of these sanctuaries, which leads the author to a modification of some theories formerly propounded by himself, chief interest will be taken in his descriptions of a number of objects found within this building—foundation deposits of various kinds and the surroundings in which they were placed, votive offerings in the form of small figures and vessels made of frit, pre-eminent among which stands the pot in the form of a woman's head, known from other examples to be of Cyprian manufacture and thus to be regarded as an import from the island. Figures cast and engraved in lead attest the use of a licentious cult in this precinct, and roundels of the same material may be the checks current for payments in connection with it. But the most remarkable find is certainly the series of peculiarly shaped stone pedestals, the most interesting of which shows itself in use, as it were, by having upon the front a representation of itself in relief, bearing its sacred symbol (which Professor Andrae is doubtless right in identifying as a tablet and stilus), and showing the king himself worshipping before it, standing and kneeling. Though not entirely a novelty it is satisfactory to have this pedestal now fully published with the authoritative comments of the excavator. In this connection Professor Andrae reviews all the pedestals of this kind now known, and by an examination of them is led to put forward certain theories as to their origin and the elements which account for their characteristic shape—in particular he would explain the " volutes " at the upper corners as representing the familiar " ringed posts " which are supported by divine beings at the sides of entrances. The whole of this discussion is ingenious and suggestive, even if one finds it less than convincing.

It remains only to add that the printing is excellent and the plates ample and finely produced. If some of the illustrations of the actual ruins are not more interesting then such pictures commonly are, that is not the fault of the author or the publishers.

A. 410. C. J. GADD.

THE PRESENT STATE OF GUJARATI LITERATURE. By DIVAN BAHADUR KRISHNALAL M. JHAVERI. 7½ × 5, pp. 114 + xvi. Bombay: University of Bombay, 1934.

Mr. Jhaveri has reproduced five lectures recently delivered by him in Bombay, and they give us a decidedly interesting account of the development of Gujarātī literature and the activities of recent Gujarātī writers. Lack of space prevents any detailed criticism or appreciation, but those who are interested in the modern India vernaculars should certainly read this little book.

A. 444. C. N. SEDDON.

THE LIVING RELIGIONS OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE. By NICOL MACNICOL. 8½ × 5½, pp. 324. London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1934. 10*s*. 6*d*.

Dr. Macnicol's reprint of his Wilde lectures (1932–4) will be welcomed by all students of comparative religion. For some decades it has been usual to find in Indian census reports adequate descriptions of new developments in the religious thought of India. But recently the tendency has been to devote more attention to social statistics and physical anthropology. This book is thus all the more welcome, and it has been prepared by an author who spent many years in missionary work with sympathetic study of the faiths of those among whom he worked.

More than a third of the book is devoted to Hinduism, and after a brief but adequate description of its development in antiquity and spread by absorption of elements from aboriginal creeds, the later forms are explained and their present condition discussed. The analysis of the *Bhakti* cults which have done so much for the spiritual and moral welfare of the Hindu masses is particularly able. It is pointed out that the *bhaktas* of the west and north have a record more ethically noble than those of the south and east because Vithoba, who is the form of Krishna that they worship, is the husband of Rukminī, not the lover of Rādhā. Where weakness appears in their religious attitude it is due to conflict between "instinctive theism" and "authoritative pantheism".

Of the three most notable movements in the nineteenth century Dr. Macnicol thinks that the Brāhmo samāj is losing ground : " Its strength lay in its kinship with Christianity ; its weakness in its foreignness. Its theism is perhaps too cold and too western to lay hold of the Indian heart. It is warmest when it is most Christian, as in the case of Keshab Chandra Sen, or when it binds to itself most closely the ardour of the Bhakti saints." The Ārya Samāj, on the other hand, is failing because its founder, though he was able to lead his followers and cut away later accretions to the simpler faith of the Vedas, had not the intellectual equipment to create a new Indian theism. Thus the Samāj in spite of its patriotism is superficial and is nearing the limits of its effectiveness. On the other hand, the Mission founded by Rāmakrishna " (" a seer, not an apostle ") has been developed by Vivekānanda and seeks to rediscover what they believe to be the real source of powers in ancient Hindu religious tradition. Dr. Macnicol's final reflections on the recent course of Hindu thought and the endeavours being made to-day to reconcile the old doctrine with new needs are a most valuable help to understand the intellectual position of India.

Another section deals with Islam and the mutual interactions between that creed and Hinduism. The new sect known as Ahmadiya from its founder has, like the Bābī sect which arose in Persia, obtained adherents in Europe and in America. Credit is rightly given to Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan for his educational impulse which has caused many Muslims to re-examine their tenets and practices, while others have relapsed into something like secularism. As Akbar, the cynic poet of Allahabad, wrote :—

> " They pray not, fast not, give no alms,
> Nor take the pilgrim way.
> Then why should I rejoice because
> They draw a judge's pay."

Of the Jainas, Sikhs, and Parsees the author has much that is worthy of study. He takes the view that Jainism, Buddhism, Sãnkhya, and Yoga developed simultaneously from ideas which were common property at an early age, rather than the other view that the two first developed from the two latter. The number of Jainas is now increasing and the sect tends towards theism. Political controversy is making the Sikhs diverge farther from Hindusim. The events which led up to the "Sikh Shrines Act" are carefully recorded. A few Parsees have dabbled in western theosophy but the community as a whole practises a religion of morality and activity which justifies itself by its social and even its political developments.

Many readers will be interested in the account of Christianity in India with its mixed origin and sometimes unfortunate movements. The questions how far Hindu usages such as caste should be recognized among converts, and whether mass conversions are justifiable are sympathetically criticized. While there was a time when mission enterprise tended to denationalize converts, Dr. Macnicol believes that recent political movements have tended to fuse them with their fellow Indians of other faiths, which is all to the good of the country.

A few slips noticed should be corrected in future editions. Karbala is in 'Irãq not in Persia (p. 160, n. 4). The historian of the Sikhs was J. D., not Sir William, Cunningham (p. 215), and while Sir Richard Temple's name is correct on p. 215 he is called Sir William on the next page. William Carey was a member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal but not of the Royal Asiatic Society (p. 285).

On two points criticism may be offered. Everybody does not accept Sir John Marshall's view that the Indus civilization was the lineal progenitor of Hinduism. In the same tract the Arab conquerors of Sind ruled for 300 years without affecting India beyond the Indus valley. At p. 158 Dr. Macnicol suggests that Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's followers were called "Necharis" because they were regarded as advocates of "Natural Religion". Sir Sayyid told me in

1893 that the nickname came from the English scientific periodical "Nature" which he placed in a public library at Aligarh.

A. 189. R. BURN.

DIE LÄNGSTEN BAUINSCHRIFTEN IN "HETHITISCHEN" HIEROGLYPHEN nebst Glossar zu sämtlichen Texten. By PIERO MERIGGI. (Mitteilungen der vorderasiatisch-aegyptischen Gesellschaft (E.V.). Band 39, Heft 1.) 9½ × 6½, pp. 177. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1934. R.M. 12.

The present work represents another small advance in the interpretation of the "Hittite hieroglyphic" inscriptions. The writer does not of course agree entirely, either in his transcriptions or in his translations, with other workers in this field; but the fact that there is a gradually growing measure of agreement gives some ground for hope that in course of time these inscriptions may be more or less completely understood. But that time is not yet. The first few sentences of the big inscriptions "I am So-and-so, son of So-and-so, grandson of So-and-so" are now clear enough, but not a great deal thereafter can be taken as certain, and in many cases, owing to the hieroglyphic nature of the script, the meaning is clear, while there is no clue to the transcription. A valuable part of the present volume is the complete glossary and concordance.

A. 341. G. L. M. CLAUSON.

OCHIKUBO MONOGATARI OR THE TALE OF THE LADY OCHIKUBO. Translated from the Japanese by WILFRED WHITEHOUSE. A tenth century Japanese Novel. 9 × 6, pp. vii + 245. London: Kegan Paul. 7*s*. 6*d*. net.

At the beginning of the tenth century romantic literature, both in China and in Japan, consisted largely of hero-tales and stories of the supernatural. In neither country was there anything which, in point of length or construction, could be called a novel.

The movement towards developing a technique of story-writing, of which signs are evident under the T'ang dynasty in China, appears to have been checked by the distressful period of the Five Dynasties (907–960) and by the preoccupation of the Sung scholars with philosophy and classical studies; and the long romance, which appeared only after the arrival of the Mongols in the thirteenth century, bore little resemblance in style to the stories of the T'ang.

In Japan, on the other hand, development seems to have gone on without interruption, and by the end of the tenth century Japanese writers were producing the *monogatari*, of which *Ochikubo* is an early example. Though considerably later than the latest of the T'ang stories, *Ochikubo* offers some interesting comparisons with them. Their efforts at characterization, their attempts to weave strings of incidents into a rudimentary plot, are here taken a step further, and one of the special interests of the book is that it seems to serve as a landmark, showing the way from the first conscious attempts at literary fiction to its splendid flowering in the *Tale of Genji*.

If the characters in this Cinderella story seem two-dimensional when compared with those of *Genji*, the cause is probably at least partly historical. *Ochikubo Monogatari* represents an earlier stage in the development of the technique which we find so surprisingly advanced in the vivid pages of *Genji*, written only twenty or thirty years later. But, though *Ochikubo* cannot really compare with *Genji* either in style or structure, the translation reads smoothly and Mr. Whitehouse deserves our hearty thanks for publishing in an English dress this interesting and indeed charming example of medieval romance.

A. 321. E. EDWARDS.

英譯中國歌詩選 SELECT CHINESE VERSES. Translated by HERBERT A. GILES and ARTHUR WALEY. 7½ × 5, pp. i–xi, 3–96. Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1934. $0·50 Mex.

This little book is not exactly a completion of *Han wên ts'ui yao* (see *Journal*, 1931, p. 911) which gave the Chinese text of the prose passages translated by the late Professor Giles in his *Gems of Chinese Literature*, because in this case the verses are only a selection, and both the text and the translation of each piece is given, and lastly because nearly half the volume is occupied by a similar selection of verses which have been translated by Mr. Waley. For all these reasons this volume differs from its predecessor, but is not therefore less but rather more delightful. The idea of the book and the selection are due to Sir James Stewart Lockhart, whose name ought to have appeared on the title-page. He has again earned the eternal gratitude both of students and of older people who may know enough Chinese to enjoy reading their Giles or Waley the better for having the Chinese text at hand, or may even enjoy reading their Chinese poems the better for having an English version at hand. Besides the general pleasure and profit which the book provides, it is of very special interest to be able to compare in it the work of two such master translators as Giles and Waley; and in more than one case to be able to compare their versions of the same Chinese original. Such comparisons may be extraordinarily instructive. The Chinese is divided into lines and printed horizontally from left to right, a way which, though it is not to be compared with the old unbroken vertical columns for beauty, is really convenient when Chinese and English have to be combined. The print and style of the book are both very good.

A. 376. A. C. MOULE.

South-Indian Inscriptions (Texts). Vol. VII. Edited by K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer. Archæological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, Vol. LIII. 13½ × 10, pp. iv + 525. Madras: Government Press, 1933. £2 12*s*. 6*d*.

Within twelve months of his taking up the epigraphic survey of the Madras Presidency (1886) the late Dr. Hultzsch had ready for the press the text, with translations and exhaustive annotations, of nearly the whole of his first season's harvest of inscriptions. But even Hultzsch's editorial industry could not keep pace with the phenomenal increase in the yearly yield of the survey, and he and his successors found that the preparation of the annual report absorbed most of their time and energy. By 1917 over 13,000 inscriptions had been copied, of which not more than about 4 per cent had been published. To speed things up the Government of Madras decided to print "critical texts only" of all inscriptions collected since Hultzsch began, at the rate of 1,000 each year; starvation diet when compared with the sumptuous editing of Vols. I to III. This seventh volume, the fourth of the "Texts" series, embodies the collections of 1900–1 and part of that of 1902, in all 1,048 inscriptions.

The latest epigraphic report (for 1931, published in 1934) brings up the Madras collection to well over 21,000 inscriptions. In preparing a corpus of this size, some sort of plan is desirable, topographical, chronological, or dynastic. To catalogue the books of a library in the order of the dates on which they were acquired is not very helpful, and to publish these inscriptions in the order in which they happened to come into the epigraphist's office does not facilitate research. Vols. IV to VI give no clue as to which dynasties are represented, and no hint as to the dates of dated inscriptions; nor is the "Table of Contents" (a bare list of villages) much use as a guide to the provenance of individual inscriptions which are labelled "The Same Place" sometimes for dozens of pages consecutively. The editor of Vol. VII is evidently conscious of these weaknesses, for he appends a list of inscriptions classified dynastically, another of those which have been already published, and a third of those the dates of which have been verified. It is a pity this was not done in the earlier volumes.

Adherence to the order of the lists tabulated in the annual reports (many of which are out of print) also involves expense and delay, for some of the transcripts are missing or defective and have to be rechecked with originals which are scattered all over the Presidency. By working topographically Rice was able to publish his 8,869 Mysore inscriptions, with translations, in eighteen years, and on the same lines two hardworked district officers (Messrs. Butterworth and Venugopaul Chetty) did even better for the 903 inscriptions of Nellore. The volume under review is over thirty years in arrears, and 17,500 inscriptions still await publication.

The printing and format of these volumes are excellent, unnecessarily so perhaps, for, in contrast with the *Epigraphia Indica*, they are cumbersome to handle, and £2 12*s*. 6*d*. is a tall price for such a small fraction of South India's epigraphic treasures.

A. 164. F. J. RICHARDS.

DUE UPANIṢAD. (La Dottrina Arcana del Bianco e del Nero Yajurveda). Traduzione dal sanscrito con Introduzione e Note del PROF. FERDINANDO BELLONI-FILIPPI. Cultura dell'Anima, 27. 8 × 5, pp. 152. Lanciano : R. Carabba, 1932.

The two Upaniṣads which Professor Belloni-Filippi has translated for the Italian public are the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-* and the *Kāṭhaka-*, dealing respectively with the Doctrine of the White and Black Yajurveda. Basing his translation on the Kāṇva text—that used by Deussen (*Sechzig Upaniṣad's d. Veda*, Leipzig, 1897) and Max Müller (S. B. E., xv, 2)—Professor Belloni-Filippi has produced a very fine translation of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka- from every point of view. Some of the passages of the marriage rites (Bṛh. Ār. Up., vi, 4) can be rendered so perfectly in Latin that this eminent Sanscrit scholar has not found it necessary to omit them as, for instance, Böhtlingk (S. Petersburg, 1889).

The brief but somewhat outstanding introduction to the two texts will suffice to give the reader an insight into the philosophic depth of these two translations.

N.R. 32. E. G. CARPANI.

VOYAGEURS ET ÉCRIVAINS FRANÇAIS EN ÉGYPTE. Recherches d'Archéologie, de Philologie et d'Histoire. By JEAN MARIE CARRÉ. 10 × 6½, tome i, pp. xxxix + 342, ills. 50. Tome II, pp. 392, ills. 50. Le Caire: L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale. 1932

Into these two volumes, which are printed in rather small type, the author has compressed a vast amount of material. The treatment is chronological, the first chapters being devoted to French travellers of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. The author pauses here to survey the scientific work accomplished in the eighteenth century by Volney, Sonnini, Olivier, etc. Then come two most interesting chapters on the work of the group of scholars who accompanied Napoleon's expedition. These are followed by special chapters devoted to Châteaubriand, Champollion, Michaud, etc., a chapter on "Avocats et Adversaires de Méhémet-Ali", and the volume ends with a chapter on Prisse d'Avennes, author of two large and well-known works: *Histoire de l'Art égyptien* and *L'Art arabe en Egypte*.

The second volume is chiefly devoted to men of letters: Gérard de Nerval, Ampère, Marmont, Flaubert, Maxime du Camp, and Théophile Gautier, all of whom visited Egypt in the middle of the nineteenth century; it ends with an account of the French delegation at the opening of the Suez Canal.

The work is admirably done, well documented, and it must have required a great amount of research, for the author in many cases contributes new biographical material from unpublished letters, etc., and he has also traced the present position of many pictures painted during the last century by French artists in Egypt. But one regrets to notice a complete lack of fair play. For example, he describes with pride how Prisse d'Avennes, with the assistance of twenty labourers, took down all the stones forming the famous Hall of Ancestors at Karnak, sawed off the carved and painted faces covered with figures and cartouches, packed them in twenty-seven cases, and passed them through the Alexandria customs as "Objets d'histoire naturelle destinés au Musée de Paris" (i, pp. 309-11). M. Carré refers to this as follows: "Ces prouesses et ces travaux constituent d'impérissables titres à la gratitude du monde civilisé" (i, p. 300). That, of course, because Prisse d'Avennes was a Frenchman.

But when others do anything of the sort this is how they are referred to: "Lepsius a systématiquement *ravagé* le tombeau de Seti I^{er} dans la Vallée des Rois, emportant tous les fragments de bas-reliefs et de peintures qui lui paraissaient intéressantes;" (i, p. 309); "C'était l'époque où les Anglais *râflaient* tous les manuscrits qu'ils pouvaient trouver dans les couvents coptes d'Egypte, et l'on n'avait pas oublié les *exploits* de Tattam et de Curzon . . ." (ii, p. 218.)

It is a pity that a fine piece of work should be marred by this regrettable spirit, of which several other examples might be cited.

A. 92. A. CRESWELL.

INTRODUCTION TO SEMITIC COMPARATIVE LINGUISTICS. By LOUIS H. GRAY. Columbia University Studies in Comparative Linguistics. Vol. i. 9¼ × 6, pp. xvi + 147. New York: Columbia University Press, 1934. 16*s*. 6*d*.

In 93 pages and 23 tables this book gives a serviceable introduction to the comparative accidence of the Semitic languages; some syntax slips in under the treatment of the tenses. The subject is approached from the side of Hebrew, from which most of the illustrations are taken. This is natural as the book is meant for students of Hebrew; but the result is that forms, which have no counterpart in Hebrew, are neglected. To take two examples, the Aramaic and Arabic form of the causative is only mentioned in an aside, while the rare Arabic words which agree with the Hebrew are made unduly prominent; the Ethiopic imperfect is quoted sometimes in the indicative and sometimes in the subjunctive, the difference between the two is explained but the explanation is hidden away at the end of a paragraph. Section 91 on determinants, most of which is repeated in § 404, is good enough for Hebrew but is sadly inadequate in a comparative grammar. This should lead to a discussion of the problem of biliteral roots. The problem is mentioned in several places; by cutting out the repetitions in these two paragraphs, room could have been made for a concise statement of the problem. It need not be more hypothetical than much that is already present. Too much room is given to the rare and abnormal, often with no hint that they are unusual. The rarer forms of the noun and the rarer conjugations might well have been relegated to small type. There are no degrees of emphasis. The writer is dogmatic, which is not surprising in a short book. The printing is excellent, a great achievement, considering the variety of type used. There is a useful bibliography.

Section 184 gives a list of collective nouns in Hebrew. These are repeated in § 194 and have become broken plurals. There is no evidence that these words are broken plurals. Oddly enough, the two Hebrew nouns, which are believed to be broken plurals, are not in this list. Hypothetical forms are not always clearly distinguished. Why are writers on language so fond of making new terms? Perfect(ive) and imperfect(ive) are good names for the two verbal forms in Semitic; there is no need to create telic and atelic. Səγōlate is impossible as an English word.

A. 340. A. S. Tritton.

THE BOOK OF THE WARS OF THE LORD. Containing the Polemics of the Karaite Salmon ben Yeruham against Saadia Gaon. By ISRAEL DAVIDSON. 10¾ × 8¼, pp. xiv + 132. New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1934.

Many schismatic movements and sectarian splits disturbed the inner peace of the religious development and the quiet progress of the intellectual formation of the Jewish people during the last three thousand years. Samaritans and Hebrews, Sadducees and Pharisees, Christians and Jews, Karaites and Rabbanites, raised hostile arguments and threw poisonous calumnies against one another.

These spiritual fights, no doubt, were put up and carried out with the best of intentions and honest belief, yet with such deplorable result to the good name of religion. To-day, the anti-Jewish writings of the early Fathers of the Church, and the anti-Rabbinic epistles of the Bene Mikra are preserved and are at our disposal to convey an idea of the magnitude and fierceness of those bitter conflicts. Christians used sharp and vehement language against the Jews; yet, they appear almost mild and refined in comparison with the rude and coarse words flung by the Karaites against their teachers and colleagues.

Salmon ben Yeruham, the second edition of whose rhymed epistle is the subject of this review, was one of the cleverest, though the greatest sinner among them as far as good taste and decency are concerned. He excels all others in vindictiveness; his arrows are directed not so much against Rabbinism generally, but against the most representative and saintly teacher of his age, the Gaon Saadia. Every attack against this noble thinker and scholar made by Salmon breathes personal ill-feeling, which induced the rhymster to leave the path of objective discussion, and embark on misguided and baseless accusations.

This text was first published more than seven decades ago by S. Pinsker in his *Likkute Kadmoniyoth,* which appeared in Vienna. A. Geiger and S. Poznanski, two Jewish scholars, who devoted much of their time and labours to the history of Karaite literature and theology, contributed a good deal to the better understanding and elucidation of the considerable difficulties, obscurities and perplexities encountered. The editor naturally availed himself of these studies for his text and commentary. Owing to the lack of reliable old MSS. a better text than that offered by Dr. Davidson is not likely to appear in the near future. The introduction discusses carefully and at length most of the questions arising out of the text and the scanty information available about the writer and his date.

Then a sketch is given of the main differences between Karaites and Rabbanites; a description of the MSS. at the editor's disposal for the preparation of his text; and finally, many other details, such as the original title of the pamphlet, the mysterious introductory poem, the more or less possible identity of Salmon with Ibn Sakwaya, an author mentioned by earlier writers, etc., are dealt with. The answers to most of these questions will remain for a long time hypothetical; yet, the scholarly treatment of the subjects must be greatfully acknowledged and welcomed by the little band of scholars who are interested in this much neglected branch of literature.

A few critical remarks may conclude these lines. The polemics of Salmon covered the greater part of the field of controversial subjects, which divided the two Jewish sects. It must be borne in mind that the Karaites retired into an artificial fortress, where they took refuge and whence they made war against the theory and tradition, life and law of their brethren in the rival camp. The reason for choosing Saadia as target may be found in the fact that Saadia was the first Gaon who stayed the rapid progress made by Karaite missionaries, who had been so successful in winning the communities and the crowd to their side but were stopped by the great and skilful activity of Saadia. This check infuriated the Karaites and Salmon felt the Gaon as a thorn in his flesh. The arguments of Salmon were not all original; some of them had been advanced and elaborated by earlier scholars of the sect. The title *Rosh Yesh Ibath Bagdad*, discussed on p. 27, finds its real and simple commentary in the fact that in the tenth century Bagdad was the seat of the Geonim. Hai Gaon tells in a responsum that the Geonim left their respective residences, Sura and Pumbeditha, and moved to the metropolis.[1] The fragment mentioned in this connection can be identified as belonging to the Arabic Commentary on the Mishna by R. Nathan b. Abraham, now Ms. Adler, London. The phrase *beli toenah* used on pp. 37, 54 reminds us of the habit often noticed in earlier Karaite writers of designating their Rabbanite opponents as "mithonanim".[2] The term "yerusha" for tradition is very frequent in Geonic sources.[3] The abbreviation of נ"ב"ת stands either for "nafsho betob talin", cf. Ps. 25, 13, or for "nafsho betob tanuah", but not for "nafsho began tanuah", as asserted in the commentary on p. 77.[4] About the age of the Shiur Qoma, a reference to Gaster, Texts and Studies vol. ii, pp. 1,330 ff, would not be out of place. As to the eating of the Shelil by the Rabbanites, v. the fragment of a Halachic Code from the Geniza published by the present writer.[5] The obscure line 75 on p. 76 surely contains an allusion to the ritual used by the Rabbanites for the Sanctification of the New Moon, where the term "mekudash katorah" occurs.[6] The designation "tehorim", line 53, p. 100 does not refer to the Rabbanites but to the Karaites who consider themselves the pure ones, as can be seen in their marriage contracts, where they apply this term to the members of their sect.[1] In his attacks on the communal leaders and on the neglect of levitical purity Salmon is greatly dependent on Daniel Alkumsi. The source of the conception that the image of Jacob is engraved on the Throne of Glory is Gen. rabba 78, 6, and parallels; and is older than that given by the commentary, p. 110. It is most remarkable how far this quaint idea has penetrated Jewish poetry and hymnology. Finally, I would suggest on p. 126 the reading " mibne kohanim gedolim ", instead of the senseless " mibne batim gedolim ". The phrase would then read, " Sons of noble priests ".

---

[1] V. *Shaare Simha*, ed. Bamberger, p. 64.

[2] V. "Material referred to in Marmorstein," *Seride Pithrone Daniel Alkumsi*, Budapest, p. 32, note 31.

[3] V. my *Geonic Responsa*, p. 43.

[4] V. Zunz, *Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, p. 360 f.

[5] *Monatschrift für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, vol. lxix, 1925, p. 35, note 4.

[6] V. Marmorstein, *Nispahim Lemaamari Kiddush Yerahim Derabbi Phinehas*, Budapest, 1922. p. 5.

A. 294. A. MARMORSTEIN.

JAMBHALADATTA'S VERSION OF THE VETALAPAÑCAVIṂŚATI.
By M. B. EMENEAU, Ph.D. 10 × 6¾, pp. xiii + 155. Newhaven: American Oriental Society, 1934.

This little work constitutes vol. iv of the American Oriental Series edited by Brown, Shryock and Speiser. In a short preface the author explains that the book is only the preliminary to a larger one on the same subject. In his Introduction, the author deals with the existing manuscripts in Newari, Nepali and Bengali, derived from the Sanskrit original, showing where they differ and have become corrupt.

The public is already familiar with these goblin stories in connection with Tawney's Kathāsarit sāgara of which a fully annotated edition was recently produced by Penzer. It may also be recalled that in 1870 Burton published an adaption of the Hindi version under the title of *Vikram and the Vampire* or *Tales of Hindu Devilry*. The author of the present work rightly objects to the use of the term " vampire " for a *vetāla*. Perhaps the word " goblin " which he substitutes is as good as any other, though the Indian evil spirits, numerous as they are, such as *Bhuts*, *Chetaks*, *Virs*, *Rākshas*, *Alwants*, etc., are best left untranslated as the English terms used in the process are hardly the exact equivalent. The work contains the Sanskrit text of the vetāla's twenty-five stories, with full notes, and can be recommended to scholars who wish to make themselves acquainted with the freakish anecdotes of an early Hindu fairy-tale. The promised larger work will be awaited with interest.

---

[1] V. Lunz, *Jerusalem*, vi, p. 237, and the fragment in E. N. Adler, *Catalogue of Hebrew Manuscripts*, Cambridge, 1921. p. 90.

A. 223. R. E. ENTHOVEN.

THE PHONETIC SYSTEM OF ANCIENT JAPANESE. By S. YOSHITAKE (James Forlong Fund, vol. xii) 8¾ × 5¾, pp. xii + 71. London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1934. 6*s*.

This is a subject upon which an authoritative work has long been needed. As is well known, the earliest collection of Japanese poetry is written to a large extent in Chinese characters used not as ideograms, but phonetically. A study of the characters thus used supplies us with a great deal of information about early (eighth-century A.D.) pronunciation, and proves, among other things, that early Japanese had a richer vowel-stock than the language possesses to-day. We find, for example, that *yo* " night " was not vocalized like *yo*, " generation," " world " ; *to* " a door " was not homophonous with *to* " thus " ; the root *ke* " to melt " is different from the *ke* of the auxiliary *-keru*. Thus early Japanese was not nearly so rich in homophones as the language of to-day, and we must be chary of assuming that words which look alike now are etymologically connected. But we must also be cautious in assuming that eighth-century homophones were homophones at an earlier period. For the process of vowel-impoverishment is likely to have been a long one. We can see analogous processes going on in Chinese with steady progression for hundreds of years. On the other hand, many words which appear to be accidental homophones can be shown, by semantic parallels, to be merely meaning-extensions of the same word. Mr. Yoshitake shows that *hoko*, "a halberd" and the stem of *hoko-ru*, "to boast" are true eighth-century homophones. In Chinese 矜 means both *hoko* and *hokoru*. The semantic history probably is: "a halberd," "to brandish one's halberd", "to boast in battle" (as was done by Chinese no less than by Greek heroes; see the *Tso Chuan*, Legge, p. 800); and finally, "to boast" in a general sense.

However, vowel differences in ancient Japanese may sometimes represent *Umlauts* of the same stem, and even two words that Mr. Yoshitake shows us to have been written differently in the eighth century may still be cognate. It is possible that *kami* "a chief" and *kami* "a god" are cognate though their vocalization was different. The above reflexions show some of the lines along which Mr. Yoshitake's masterly little book is likely to stimulate research, and show at the same time that it is of interest to sinologues no less than to students of Japanese.

A. 221. A. WALEY.

A PHONOLOGY OF PANJABI AND A LUDHIANI PHONETIC READER. By BANARSI DAS JAIN. 9½ × 6¼, pp. iv + 226. Lahore: Panjab University, 1934.

This valuable work is a thesis which gained for the author the degree of Ph.D. in the University of London. His qualifications for his task are well known. He is dealing with his own home speech and he has made a special study of phonetics as well as of Sanskrit. The main divisions of the book are:—phonology, pp. 1-100; index of Ludhiānī words (with etymological remarks), 101-36; index of about 950 Sanskrit words, with modern Ludhiānī equivalents, 137-51; Ludhiānī phonetic reader (155-226) in three parts, the sounds of Ludhiānī, 155-76; twelve texts, 177-213; vocabulary to the texts, 215-26.

In the first part of the book under philology the author discusses such points as spontaneous nasalization, Primitive

Indian long vowels and the shifting of accents in Panjabi, Hindi, Gujrati and Rajasthani, in this way discovering new etymologies and illustrating anew the regularity of philological laws.

In that part of the volume which is devoted to phonetics, many interesting points emerge, not only phonetic but philological, for the philology itself is based largely on the phonetics. The description of Ludhiānī sounds is important; to me it is very attractive, for I naturally compare every sound with those to which I was accustomed nearly 200 miles away. The author's ṛ is a flap against the teeth-ridge; his ṭ and ḍ are formed on the teeth-ridge, but the inside part of it. I make these sounds slightly further back, but I do not "curl up my tongue considerably behind the teeth-ridge" before making the ṛ, and I cannot help doubting whether he does. Ludhiānī does not possess ṇ and ḷ as independent sounds, which my dialect does.

Among the twelve stories given in phonetic script, with translation, are three taken from my *Panjabi Phonetic Reader*, but given in the author's own dialect. It is therefore possible to compare the dialects almost word by word, not only in vocabulary, but in their grammar and pronunciation.

About a year ago I wrote a note in the *Journal* on "One aspect of stress in Urdu and Hindi". A conclusion arrived at was that an ear trained in European methods might to a great extent be trusted in the matter of stress in Hindi and Urdu words. On pp. 95-100 of the work under review Dr. Jain gives a large number of both Panjabi and Hindi words with the stress marked as he hears it. In every case I agree with him, and also in his examples of pseudo-stress (why "pseudo"?) on p. 166. This agreement between us is remarkable and bears out the conclusion just mentioned.

To sum up—this is a most useful book.

A. 224. T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDIAN ARCHÆOLOGY FOR THE YEAR 1933. Kern Institute Publications, Vol. VIII. 12 × 9½, pp. xii + 132, pls. 9, figs. 5. Published with the aid of the Government of Netherlands India, the Imperial Government of India, the Governments of H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad, H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, H.H. the Maharaja of Travancore, H.H. the Maharaja of Cochin, and the Government of Ceylon. Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1935.

With most commendable rapidity Professor Vogel and his co-editors have prepared and presented us with still another volume of their precious *Annual Bibliography*. This latest issue, comprising the literature of the year 1933, is somewhat thinner than its predecessors; the contents, however, are just as valuable, and one might even suggest that the Introduction contains more of a general interest than the one in the preceding volume. We need scarcely pay further compliments to Professor Vogel and his colleagues for their splendid achievement, nor need we again assure them of our feelings of obligation and gratefulness.

The serious financial difficulties with which the Government of Netherlands India has to cope has forced it to make a most serious reduction in the support granted to the Editorial Board of the *Bibliography*. The Imperial Government of India, however, continues to patronize this most important undertaking. To make possible the issue of this present volume various contributions have meanwhile been made by four of the greatest among the Indian princes and by the Government of Ceylon. From the Foreword we also gather that the Government of Nepal seems willing, in the future, to afford some substantial support towards the editing of the *Annual Bibliography*. Such news is very welcome, and the efforts of the Indian Rulers in this direction are entirely praiseworthy. We may be allowed to express our ardent hope that they will further extend their patronage of a scientific achievement which is of the very greatest aid and importance to every scholar concerned with the investigation of India's glorious past.

The Introduction opens with some words in memory of that great Dutch scholar Hendrik Kern, the centenary of whose birthday fell on 9th April, 1933. Then follows a survey of Professor Herzfeld's excavations at Persepolis, written by Dr. W. D. van Wijngaarden, whose name we have not met with before among the actual contributors to the *Bibliography*. It is very clearly written and contains much useful information. Among old travellers who visited Persepolis and drew attention to its remains, Chardin ought to have been specially mentioned. The Swedish traveller, Baron Bengt Oxenstierna, undoubtedly visited it in 1618; but, as his own diary has, unfortunately, been lost, we are not able to tell to what degree the ruins became an object of his interest and powers of observation. As for the Sakas or Scythians depicted in pl. i as carrying tribute to the Great King, no one would doubt that they are the *Tiγraχandā*. Prof. Herzfeld, however, in a letter quoted on p. 5 assures us that they are in reality the *Paradrayā*,[1] the Scythians of Southern Russia. For this assertion no proof is so far forthcoming, and the question is whether we shall take it solely on Prof. Herzfeld's authority that such is the case. The present writer personally feels but little inclined to do so.

An excellent article by Professor Vogel on Archæological researches in India in 1932–3 occupies pp. 6–9. It gives a rapid and clear survey of the activities of archæologists in various parts of India during the period just mentioned. One cannot gainsay the assertion of the author that M. de Hevesy's pretended discovery of analogies between the Indus script and the hieroglyphs from Easter Island has evoked considerable interest. But as long as there exists no proof whatsoever that such analogies are not merely coincidences void of any real foundation, the interest will probably remain rather a non-committal one. Professor Vogel reminds us that in November, 1932, Sir Aurel Stein celebrated his seventieth birthday. In February, 1935, the other great Asiatic explorer, Dr. Sven Hedin, completed his fourteenth lustrum. And both of them are still carrying on their important and painstaking discoveries with the same amount of vigour and luck, of which they always seem to have had more than a fair share.[1]

---

[1] The usual reading otherwise is *Taradrayā*.

Articles by Sir Richard Burn on Indian Numismatics, by Mr. H. E. Stapleton on Early and Medieval Bengal, and by Mr. Yazdani on the activities of H.E.H. the Nizam's Archæological Department in the years 1933–4, are full of important information but cannot be discussed here. Then follows another paper by Professor Vogel on the *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir* (pp. 20-5). The materials are chiefly drawn from the book of Mr. R. C. Kak, published in 1933 by the India Society. Amongst old authorities dealing with Kashmir, the *Mongolicæ Legationis Commentarius* of Father Monserrate ought perhaps to have been mentioned. The Father did not personally visit Kashmir, though when accompanying Akbar on his return march from Kabul in 1581 he came very near to it. Still he has preserved not a few notices concerning that out-of-the-way province. Also in De Laet's *De Imperio Magni Mogolis* (1631) there is some information concerning Kashmir (pp. 6 *sq.*, 64 *sqq.*, 199 *sq.*). Bernier, at the instigation of Melchisedech Thevenot, discussed the question whether the Kashmirians were originally Jews, a problem that had already puzzled Monserrate.

The articles on Ceylon and Further India by Mr. Paranavitana and M. Henri Marchal deal chiefly with excavations at Polonnaruva and Angkor. The last paper, by Dr. F. D. K. Bosch, gives a summary of the archæological work in Netherlands India during the year 1933.

---

[1] In the commemorative words on the late Mr. Henry Cousens that wind up Professor Vogel's article there is a slight misprint. Cousens, of course, did not join the Archæological Survey of W. India in 1861, but in 1881.

The very excellent bibliography contains 706 entries. Of minor slips we have only noticed one, viz., under item 419 (p. 90) *Gramnas* should be read instead of *Uramnas*. The plates, as usual, are splendid. The bearded figure in pl. iv cannot, of course, be Brahmā, as he does not even wear the sacrificial cord; on the other hand, it seems to the present writer extremely doubtful whether the ingenious explanation of Professor Vogel (p. 24) can be accepted. One might perhaps suggest Indra surrounded by Apsarases; but even such a guess is probably quite futile.

We may hope soon again to receive another proof of the indefatigable activities of Professor Vogel and his co-editors. They are working hard for the welfare of their fellow scholars, and their work is made no less painstaking by their having constantly to cope with the financial difficulties that beset their editorial activities. For such self-sacrificing efforts, however, there is at least an immaterial compensation which is rather aptly described by the old Roman historian when he reminds us that *divitiarum gloria fluxa atque fragilis est, virtus autem clara æternaque habetur.*

A. 498. † JARL CHARPENTIER.

MĀNASĀRA ON ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE. Sanskrit Text with Critical Notes. By Dr. P. K. ACHARYA, 10½ × 7½, pp. xxiv + 510 + 311. London: Oxford University Press. (Printed at the Government Press. Allahabad, India.), 1934. 37*s*. 6*d*.

ARCHITECTURE OF MĀNASĀRA. Translated from the original Sanskrit. By Dr. P. K. ACHARYA. 10½ × 7½, vol. i, pp. lix + 791 + 11. 37*s*. 6*d*. Vol. ii, pls. 71, plans and ills. 157. 63*s*. London: Oxford University Press. (Printed at the Government Press, Allahabad, India.) 1934.

These publications are the third, fourth, and fifth volumes of an Encyclopedia of Hindu Architecture, of which the first two volumes, *A Dictionary of Hindu Architecture and Indian Architecture According to the Mānasāra Śilpaśāstra* were published in 1927 and reviewed at length in the *Journal* for October, 1928.

In the third volume Dr. Acharya now gives the complete Sanskrit text (based on eleven manuscripts written in five different scripts) as well as 315 pages of notes in English, from which an idea may be obtained of the imperfect condition of the available manuscripts. The fourth volume is the English translation and, considering the material on which it is based, the author has, on the whole, been successful in giving an understandable and readable text, though naturally obscurities are not entirely absent. The suggestion that the usefulness of the Mānasāra would be enhanced by illustrating it has been met by Dr. Acharya, who has issued the fifth volume as a collection of 157 plates. For the preparation of these drawings he has enlisted the assistance of K. S. Siddhalinga Swamy, a Śilpin working according to the tradition of the Śilpaśāstras and whose illustrations of images and other objects are very successful, particularly his eleven coloured plates. For the illustrations of the architectural drawings Dr. Acharya is indebted in the main to Mr. S. C. Mukherji, whose knowledge of Sanskrit and training in architecture has enabled him to contribute 121 line drawings of a suggestive and helpful nature. None of the drawings appears to have been based on either ancient remains or existing structures.

The importance of this Encyclopedia of Hindu Architecture will be generally admitted and Dr. Archarya is to be congratulated on the successful termination of his prolonged labours in which he has displayed not only scholarship but industry and indomitable perseverance. His work is, indeed, " not the end but the beginning of a new line of Indology " and it will now be for Indian architects, archæologists, and students of Indian arts and crafts to examine to what extent the principles laid down in the Mānasāra represent those of medieval Hindu architecture and art, and to consider if they are suitable for modern practice, for philologists to suggest solutions of the problems revealed by the textual imperfections, and for Sanskrit lexicographers to avail themselves of the technical terms now, for the first time, made available by the complete text.

A. 267, 266. H. HARGREAVES.

CHINA. By RENÉ GROUSSET. Translated from the French by CATHERINE ALISON PHILLIPS. THE CIVILIZATIONS OF THE EAST, vol. iii. 9 × 6¾, pp. 363, ills. 280. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1934. 24*s.*

This is the third of the four volumes of Grousset's *The Civilizations of the East*, the other three dealing with the Near and Middle East, India, and Japan respectively. The title of the series is somewhat misleading, since the author is a historian of art and not of civilization in all its fields ; he has, however, so keen a sense of the relation between the artistic phenomena and the general history of an epoch that his work is much more than a merely departmental study.

The history of Chinese art is treated by Grousset in four main chapters which are headed "Formation of the Chinese Æsthetic Ideal" (to the Six Dynasties), "Buddhist Influence in China" (Wei to Five Dynasties), "Definitive Establishment of the Chinese Canon of Art" (Sung and Yüan), and "The Period of Dilettantism and Academic Art" (Ming and Ch'ing). The author finds the Chinese æsthetic ideal already expressed in the Chou bronzes and derives it from "a peculiar feeling for nature, of a deeper kind than that expressed in the plastic conventions of the Indo-Mediterranean races". He holds that "neither Egypt, Chaldea, nor Persia, neither Greece nor India, has anything similar to offer", and that the arts of these countries are "essentially so much alike" in contrast to the art of China; he thus confirms the plain man's impression of the strangeness of the Chinese genius as against certain interpreters who tend to over-emphasize the points in common between the Chinese and Western traditions of culture.

M. Grousset finds the typical quality of Chinese art to be as persistent as it is distinctive, yet he also discovers notable contrasts between one period and another; in comparing Han mirrors with Chou bronzes he even declares that " at times one might think one was dealing with the artistic canons of two peoples of diametrically opposite temperaments ", and he relates the contrast in style to the difference between the turbulence and violence of Chou times and the orderliness of the Han political system. After the Han dynasty there is another era of confusion, and Buddhism is introduced from Central Asia, bringing with it new artistic influences of Greek, Iranian, and Indian origin. The Sung age witnesses a reversion towards a more purely native inspiration and at the same time " the intellectualization of the Chinese æsthetic ideal ", which reached its supreme expression in painting. With the Ming dynasty there is another modification; we enter on " the period of dilettantism and academic art ", there is a decline in creative power in sculpture and painting, and ceramics takes the lead as " the one great synthetic and universal art ", reaching its " absolutely culminating point " under the recent Ch'ing (Manchu) ascendancy. All these phases of an evolution covering three thousand years are treated by M. Grousset in a way which enables the reader to see both the forest and the trees, and the author is further to be congratulated on the abundance of good illustrations he has brought to the aid of his text.

A. 197. G. F. HUDSON.

Pūrvatrāsiddham: Analytisch onderzoek aangaande het systeem der Tripādī van Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī. Academisch proefschrift . . . door H. E. Buiskool. 10 × 6½, pp. xvi + 210. Amsterdam: H. J. Paris, 1934.

This work is said to be an analytical investigation of the system of the *Tripādī*, the last three books of Pāṇini, but this very imperfectly describes the thorough and comprehensive treatment of all the aspects of this part of the work. It includes a general analysis of the whole, and discusses particularly the question of *pūrvatrāsiddham*, the non-application of the rules of these books to the earlier part. The treatment is highly technical, but this and the elaborate analysis of the principles of the work and the discussion of the investigations of previous scholars make it all the more valuable and in fact indispensable for the student of Indian grammar.

A. 129. E. J. Thomas.

The thanks of the Society are also due for the following volumes :—

Links with Past Ages. By E. F. Orton. Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1935.

Matter, Myth and Spirit. By Dorothea Chaplin. London: Simpkin, Marshall, 1935.

Phonogramme im neuaramäischen Dialekt von Malula, Satyrdruck und Satyrmelodie. By G. Bergstrasse. Munich: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Fouilles de Telloh. Sous la direction de H. de Genouillac. Tome 1: Époques présargoniques. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1934.

Catalogue des Collections indochinoises Musée Guimet. By Pierre Dupont. Paris: Musées Nationaux, 1934.

Bonner Orientalistische Studien, xi :—

Heft 9. The Traditional Chronology of the Jainas. By Shantilal Shah.

Heft 10. ZUR ANWENDUNG DER ISLAMISCHEN RECHTS IM 16. JAHRHUNDERT. By Paul HORSTER.

Heft 11. DAS SAMARITANISCHE PENTATEUCHTARGUM. By LEA GOLDBERG.

Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1935.

ATĀLĪQ AL-ṢIBYĀN: The Childrens' Instructor: a series of versified descriptions of concrete objects. In Hindustani. By DR. AḤMAD SHĀH. Cawnpore, 1834.

IN TOUCH WITH UJJAIN. By KESHAV RAO B. DONGRAY. Gwalior: Alijah Darbar Press, 1935.

BOOK OF RAM: THE BIBLE OF INDIA. By MAHATMA TULSIDAS. Rendered into English by HARI PRASAD SHASTRI. London: Luzac & Co.; 1935.

THE SHI'ITE RELIGION: A HISTORY OF ISLAM IN PERSIA AND IRAQ. By DWIGHT M. DONALDSON. London: Luzac & Co., 1933. 15*s*.

CHINESISCH UND TAI. By K. WULFF. Kgl. Danske Vid. Selskab, Hist.-Fil. Meddelelser, xx, 3. Copenhagen: Levin & Munksgaard, 1934.

THE STUDENT'S PRACTICAL DICTIONARY, containing Sanskrit Words with their Meanings in English and Hindi. By RAM NARAIN LAL. Allahabad: R. N. Lal, 1935.

NEUBABYLONISCHE RECHTS- UND VERWALTUNGSURKUNDEN. Übersetzt und erläutert von M. SAN NICOLO und A. UNGNAD. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1935.

COMPARATIVE LEXICAL STUDY OF SUMERIAN AND NTU (BANTU). By Rev. W. WANGER. Stuttgart and Berlin: W. Kohlhammer, 1935.

OURANÓS-VÁRUṆA: Étude de mythologie comparée indo-européenne. By GEORGES DUMÉZIL. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1934.

THE SCIENCE OF THE SULBA: a study in early Hindu Geometry. By BIBHUTIBHUSAN DATTA. Calcutta: University, 1932.

OBITUARY NOTICES

Professor W. E. Soothill

On 13th May of this year there passed away William Edward Soothill, M.A. (Oxon.), Hon. M.A. (Cambridge), F.R.G.S., etc., Missionary of the Methodist Church in China 1882–1911, President of the Shansi Imperial University 1907–11, Director of Religious Work of the Y.M.C.A (London) 1914–18, Professor of Chinese Language and Literature, Oxford University, 1920–1935. Born in 1861, he was articled to a firm of Halifax solicitors, but preferred the career of missionary, and in 1882 went out to China and started work at Wenchow. He acquired a profound knowledge of Chinese language and literature, and during his residence in the country gave proof of extraordinary energy and organizing ability. He founded a hospital, a training college, and schools, established about 200 preaching stations, and translated the New Testament into Wenchowese, which he furnished with a Romanized alphabet. In 1907 he was asked by Dr. Timothy Richard, the great missionary educator (whose life he afterwards wrote), to succeed Dr. Moir Duncan as Principal of the Shansi Imperial University, which had been founded after the Boxer revolt. In 1926, when in Peking with the Boxer Indemnity Commission under Lord Willingdon's chairmanship, a dinner in his honour was given by the then Principal of the Shansi University (a Chinese), and he was told that 60 per cent of the civil officials of the province were old pupils of his.

In 1911 when Shansi University was handed entirely to Chinese presidency and control, at the request of Lord William Cecil he accepted an invitation to work for the Central University at Hankow. He came home via Japan and America and by 1914 had collected a large sum, conditional on its being augmented from the Boxer Indemnity Fund ; the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Lloyd George, was in favour of this, but prevented from carrying the proposal into effect by the outbreak of the Great War; ultimately, in 1929, a certain proportion of the money was set aside for educational purposes in China. During the War he acted as religious director at the National Headquarters of the Y.M.C.A., and a house at Leytonstone having been assigned this Society by the War Office for the entertainment of Chinese interpreters on leave from the Forces in France, he and Mrs. Soothill acted as hosts to these men. During this period his health for a time gave way and, as his medical advisers forbade him to resume work in China, he accepted in 1920 the poorly paid Chinese Professorship in Oxford. In 1928 he gave a course of lectures on Chinese literature as Visiting Professor at Columbia University, New York.

His literary work was copious and varied. His first publication was *Students' Pocket Chinese Dictionary*, 1898 (fourteenth edition, 1934). The next, an account of his work, *A Mission in China*, in the American edition *A Typical Mission in China*, 1906. His translation of the *Analects of Confucius* was published in Japan while he was residing in Shansi. Lectures given by him in 1912 at a Summer School in Oxford appeared in book form with the title *The Three Religions of China*, now in its third edition. Later series of lectures were published with the titles *China and the West* and *China and Great Britain*. His interest in Buddhism was shown in his translation of *The Lotus of the Wonderful Law*, and the work which occupied the closing years of his life, and is now in the press, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, in which D. Hodous, of Hertford Seminary, Conn., U.S.A., co-operates. What was intended to be his *magnum opus*, on *Chinese Foundations of Kingship and Priesthood* with special reference to Astronomy, was just completed on the Good Friday before his death, and the MS. is now in the hands of an expert. *A Dictionary of the Grass Script*, China's running hand, was left unfinished.

His wife, authoress of *A Passport to China*, predeceased him by over four years. His daughter, Lady Hosie, is well known as an authoress on Chinese subjects, and has lectured to the Royal Asiatic Society.

Among the honours which he received was the Order of the Red Button, given by the Chinese Government for his work in Shansi, and very rarely accorded to Europeans, and the Military Order of the Red Tiger, given by the same for his services to the Chinese interpreters.

D. S. Margoliouth.

Ignazio Guidi

By the death of Ignazio Guidi in his ninety-first year, on 18th April last, the Society loses its oldest Honorary Member, that distinction, one of a vast number, having been conferred on him in 1898. Born in 1844, in 1876 he was put in charge of instruction in Hebrew and the Semitic dialects in the University of Rome, was nominated Professor Extraordinary in 1878 and Ordinary in 1885, when his duties were extended to the teaching of the languages and history of Abyssinia. In 1914 he was made Senator, and in 1919 in consequence of an age-limit retired from his professorial duties.

The reputation which he acquired during the years 1870 and 1880 won him the friendship of the leading European Semitists, such as H. L. Fleischer, Th. Nöldeke, and M. J. de Goeje, who in 1876 secured his co-operation in the monumental edition of Tabari's Chronicle. His output to the end of his life continued to be immense and of the highest quality, being chiefly divided between the literature of Islam, of the Christian East, and of Abyssinia ; besides editions of texts, and monographs on an extraordinary variety of themes, he found time to organize the compilation of indices to the twenty-one volumes of the *Aghani* and the four volumes of *Khizanat al-Adab*, and to compose an Amharic-Italian Lexicon with a voluminous Supplement. For a fuller account of his services reference may be made to the memoir by G. Levi Della Vida in *Oriente Moderno*, xv, 5 (May, 1935).

D. S. Margoliouth.

Sir John Thompson

Sir John Perronet Thompson, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., who died in London on the 8th August last, became a member of the Society in 1907 and had for the last two years been a Member of the Council. He was born in 1873 and had a brilliant University career, obtaining during his stay at Cambridge a scholarship at Trinity College, a first-class in the Classical Tripos, and the Presidency of the Union. In 1896 he passed into the Indian Civil Service, and he otained a high reputation in that Service as Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government, Political Secretary to the Government of India, and Chief Commissioner of Delhi. Of his services as an administrator in India, and of the political work in England which absorbed so much of his time after his retirement in 1932, it is not for this JOURNAL to speak; but there was another side to Sir John Thompson's interests and character, which especially concerns members of the Royal Asiatic Society. Not only had he throughout his official service devoted himself to the study of the culture, history, and literature of India, but he had approached these subjects with a full equipment of the best form of Cambridge classical scholarship. In his work, whether official or literary, he was clear, persuasive, and meticulously accurate, and his mind was permeated by a knowledge of, and admiration for, all that was highest in European and Indian literature. The wonderful exhibition of Mogul art and antiquities held at Delhi during the Durbar of 1911 owed its success and its remarkable catalogue to his precise industry and erudition. His scholarly acquaintance with Urdu and Persian gave him access to the original sources of Muslim history in India, and if his official preoccupations had not stood in the way, it was hoped that he would have produced an attractive and authoritative account of the history and antiquities of the Delhi which he knew so well. As it is, he has left all too little of himself in print, but a reference to such papers as his memoir on the tomb of Jahangir in the first number of the Punjab Historical Society's *Journal* will indicate the high standard which would have characterized any further work he might have produced. His premature death has deprived the Society of a real scholar and of an earnest and upright supporter of all that the Society stands for.

E. D. MACLAGAN.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Some Coins of the Mauryas and Śuṅgas

A lecture (illustrated by lantern slides) was given on 6th June, 1935, on the above subject by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, of Patna, the President of the Numismatic Society of India and President of the All-India Oriental Conference.

The lecturer said that he approached the question to test whether the title was justified. The Sātavāhanas certainly had signed coins, that is coins bearing royal names. Public coinage is not a cultural characteristic which could have sprung up in a day.

Dr. Spooner, Mr. E. H. C. Walsh, and Mr. Durga Prasad have already come to the conclusion, and shown conclusively, that the "punched-marked" coins constituted a regular public coinage.

Over a thousand coins were found by Dr. Spooner and Rai Sahib Monoranjan Ghosh in the excavations of Pāṭaliputra, most of them from the Maurya level. Some of them are fresh from the mint; they are all cast; the marks are the same. Identical marks are to be found on certain earthen bowls and military weapons, evidently marking them as government property. A similar coin bearing identical symbols has been found 15 inches below the ground level of the Aśoka pillar at Sārnāth.

The most prominent mark on the government pottery and the coins of Pāṭaliputra is the "moon- (or crescent-)on-hill", a mark which has been found on silver punch-marked coins from Peshawar to Patna and throughout the Deccan. It has been found on the base of the Kumhrār pillar, which stood in the Maurya royal hall of audience.

The level, both at Pāṭaliputra and Sārnāth, from which the "crescent-on-hill"-bearing coins were recovered is sufficient evidence of Mauryan origin. But we have further evidence of such origin, as some of the coins bear the names of Maurya kings, from Daśaratha downwards. The reading of the name *Daśaratha* (*C.A.I.*, iii, 5) is confirmed by Professor F. W. Thomas and Dr. Sten Konow, whom the lecturer had consulted.

The crescent-on-hill symbol was imitated by successors of the Mauryas in two distant localities. Agathocles, about 190 B.C., retains the hill with added arches, but replaces the crescent by a star, while the Sātavāhanas made a little variation in the design of the hill. We have signed coins of the Maurya kings, Daśaratha, Deva, Śāta, and Bṛihaspatimitra. The emblems on the cast coins of the last named are the elephant, the horse, a *svastika*, and the moon-on-hill. There is a Taxila coin in the Indian Museum which disclosed on further cleaning Brāhmī letters in relief reading *Subhaga*[*sa*]. Here the imperial Maurya mark, moon-on-hill, is stamped on the forehead of the figure. None of the Taxila coins found with the Alexander hoard at the oldest site bear the moon-on-hill symbol.

The dynasty immediately succeeding the Mauryas in Āryāvarta was that of the Śuṅgas. In addition to the coins of Agnimitra, we have the allied coins of Jeṭhamitra, who in the Purāṇas is his immediate successor as "*Su-Jyeshṭha*" and "*Jayeshṭha*", and the coins of *Suga-rāja* newly discovered at Kosam. On two coins, one silver and one copper, collected by the lecturer from the site of ancient Kauśāmbī, appears the legend *Suga-rāja*[*sa*], i.e. "of the Śuṅga-rāja". The letters belong to the second century B.C. From the marks thereon we deduce the following facts:—

(*a*) that the imperial emblem of the Śuṅgas was the bull with standard;

(*b*) that the Vidiśā or "Ujjain" cross was a heraldic mark adopted by them on their coins; and

(*c*) that the railed tree was one of their heraldic emblems.

The railed tree is similar to that which we find on the thousand cast coins dug out in the course of the Pāṭaliputra excavations. The king who struck his coins with the title *Suga-rāja* (" the Śuṅga Sovereign ") is naturally to be regarded as the first Śuṅga, i.e. Pushyamitra.

The fourth king is given as Vasumitra and Sumitra in the Purāṇas. The lecturer found a silver coin of this king from the Mathurā mint among the coins presented to the Patna Museum by Mr. Durga Prasad. The reading of the name is indisputable. The distinguishing symbols on this coin and on the Mathurā mint coins are the *svastika* having an *m* at the end of each arm and the Vidiśā or " Ujjain " symbol.

The penultimate king, Bhāgavata, had a long reign of thirty-two years. He has been given two names: Bhāgavata, and Bhāga. That Bhāga was an imperial Śuṅga is proved by the Vidiśā (Besnagar) pillar inscription, which records the embassy of Heliodorus of Taxila from Antialkidas, who must have been a neighbour of Bhāga, in the north-west. The addition of *bhadra* to a name (e.g. to Bhāga in this inscription) is merely honorific, as in the case of Rāma-bhadra. The other form of the name, Bhāgavata, is found on Audumbara coins with the title of emperor (*rāja-rāja*) and *mahādeva*, with the bull and elephant emblems, which were directly imitated by Apollodotus.

This suggests that Bhāgavata was the last imperial Śuṅga, and that immediately after him, or in his last days, the Śuṅgas were succeeded by the Indo-Greeks in the Punjāb. By recognizing the Bhāgavata of the Audumbara coin as Bhāgavata Śuṅga, we can easily explain the presence of the coins of Ajamitra (spelt Vajamitra in the Purāṇas) and Bhānumitra in the Audumbara series. Bhānumitra is known in the Jaina chronology as the immediate successor of Pushyamitra. Thus according to both the Jaina records and the Pañchāla coins he was a Śuṅga prince and a ruler (probably a governor). One of his Audumbara issues (*Ç.A.I.*, iv, 13) has all the Pañchāla marks. There is yet another indication that these Audumbara coins are really Śuṅgan in the figure of Viśvāmitra appearing on the coins. Viśvāmitra was the traditional founder of the family of the Śuṅgas. It may also be noted that *śuṅga* and *udumbara* both refer to the same tree in Sanskrit.

The successors of the Mauryas in the south were the Āndhra or the Sātavāhana dynasty, just as the Śuṅgas were in Āryāvarta. In regard to the Āndhras no proof is needed: their coinage is well established. It is natural, therefore, to expect that their contemporaries and rivals, the Śuṅgas, also minted their own coins.

From these and various other indications it is certain that the Śuṅgas, from the very beginning of their rule, minted both silver and copper coins inscribed with their names.

We cannot yet fix the limit of antiquity of the signed coins of Ancient India: but on the present data they certainly go back as far as *c.* 500 B.C., having regard to the pre-Maurya coin of the Dhạrma-Pāla of Avanti, and that of Āryaka (hitherto misread as Eraka).

The lecturer also showed the Brāhmī letter "A" marked on the reverse of a silver coin found at Pāṭaliputra, adding that according to the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya the marks on the reverse of silver punch-marked coins were royal marks stamped by the *rūpa-darśaka*, or currency officer, to certify that the coins were valid for currency or for reception into the Treasury.

In the discussion that followed, Professor Thomas referred in complimentary terms to the important contributions the lecturer had already made towards elucidating the ancient history and culture of India, and congratulated him on the lecture delivered. He thought Mr. Jayaswal had succeeded in showing that the Mauryas and the Śuṅgas had their own coinages.

Mr. Oldham associated himself fully with the appreciative remarks that had fallen from Professor Thomas. He drew a comparison between Mr. Jayaswal's work and that of another pioneer, Sir Alexander Cunningham, whose views, not always accepted at the time, had since been mostly justified.

Mr. F. J. Richards observed that an empire as big as that of Aśoka could hardly be run without a state coinage, and that the finds of punch-marked coins in South India supported Mr. Jayaswal's view. He pointed out the hollow cross, the "Ujjain symbol", and the *svastika* were in vogue in Mohenjo-daro.

Mr. H. E. Stapleton cited the reference in the Mahāsthāngaṛh fragmentary Maurya inscription to the distribution of coins as a measure of relief in time of distress.

6.

Dr. Yahuda on the Life of Maimonides

Egyptian Minister's Tribute to Religious Tolerance

A large and distinguished gathering attended the lecture on "Moses Maimonides, the Philosopher and Physician, his Time and Influence", delivered by Professor A. S. Yahuda before the Royal Asiatic Society yesterday.

The Egyptian Minister, H. Hassan Sabry Bey, who presided, delivered the following address :—

The 800th anniversary of Maimonides has been made the occasion of universal celebrations in all parts of the world, by Jewish communities, by Universities, by academies, and learned societies. As many of you know, this anniversary has also been celebrated with special solemnity in Egypt under the auspices of the Egyptian Government, the Egyptian University, and by many literary and scientific societies, as the country in which he spent the greatest and most active part of his life.

I am particularly pleased that the Royal Asiatic Society has also arranged for a lecture in commemoration of that great man, who rendered such signal services to my country.

As the Rector of the Egyptian University, Aly Ibrahim Pasha, pointed out in his speech at the Maimonides celebrations in Cairo, there was hardly another case in the history of civilization which better demonstrated the truth that thought and science are limited neither by creed nor race nor faith, than the occasion of the Maimonides celebrations. Christians of all denominations, Muslims of conservative and modern orientation have joined Jews of the strictest orthodoxy and the most liberal reformers to commemorate the work and merit of a man who, himself being one of the strictest observers of his faith, was at the same time a great thinker, who soared high above religious factions and differences; who had an open and broad mind for all opinions, a great and generous heart for all mankind, and who embraced with his learning all the knowledge and thought that his time could offer to a supreme genius.

I like to emphasize the fact that if Maimonides was able to develop his unusual abilities and display his great activity in so many scientific, social, and communal domains, and to attain the highest position a Jewish scholar could reach at a Muslim Royal Court of that time, it is chiefly due to the great religious tolerance inspired and practised by that noble and generous ruler Saladin, who won for himself the sincere admiration of all communities.

It is this fact which fills me and my many fellow-countrymen with pride and satisfaction.

And I am glad to say the same conditions of true tolerance and brotherhood among all communities of different races and creeds still prevail, under the auspices of the present ruler of Egypt, my august King and Sovereign, whom I have the honour to represent in this country.

As to the lecturer himself, he is equally well-known in Egypt and other Eastern countries by his scholarly work on the Arabic language and Muhammedan culture. His recent books on the relationship between Biblical antiquity and ancient Egypt are surely well known to all of you, so that it is superfluous for me to add anything more to his fame.

Dr. Yahuda, in thanking the Egyptian Minister, recalled that Spain also participated in the celebrations as representing

Cordova, the celebrated city of Seneca, and the great Arab philosopher, Averroes, called the Arab Aristotle, and expressed his gratification to see at the gathering many notable personalities of both countries, Egypt and Spain.

Dr. Yahuda traced the life of Maimonides, his birth in Cordova, his wanderings with his family until he became in Cairo the Court Physician to Saladin and his son Al-Afdal.

Egypt, which Maimonides made his home, was under Saladin an asylum for liberal-minded men. In Cairo, Maimonides found the natural soil for his abilities. He became a successful physician, and, through his friend and protector, the Vizier of Saladin, the famous Quadi Al-Fadil, he became the ruler's physician, the highest position a Jew could hold at the Court of a Muslim ruler.

His life in Egypt was full of work and triumphs. Here he wrote his commentary *Al-Siraadj* on the *Mishnah*; his greater and more important work, *Mishneh-Torah*, the most complete codification of the Mosaic and Rabbinic Law; and his philosophical magnum opus, *Dalalat al-Haireen*, "The Guide of the Perplexed."

Seldom had a scholar reached in his lifetime such widespread reputation and genuine admiration throughout the world as Maimonides. From Worms, on the Rhine, to Sanaa, the capital of the Yemen, from Fez to the remotest town in Persia, his name was renowned; and from all parts of the world Jews sought his advice and abided his decisions. The sage became the Saint of his people.

"The Neo-Christians in Germany," Dr. Yahuda said, "fighting against the Bible because the Jewish spirit is opposed to the Nordic racial spirit, are taking refuge in Meister Eckhart, the scholastic of the thirteenth century, claiming him as a father and initiator of their ideology.

"This is amusing, because they do not know that none of the medieval scholastics was so profoundly influenced by Maimonides as Meister Eckhart. Leibnitz also drew inspiration from Maimonides. That Maimonides had a deep influence on

Spinoza is well known. His outline of a ' Religion of Reason ' is merely an adaptation of Maimonides' conception of the Jewish religion."

Dr. Yahuda also mentioned another important point, when referring to the idea of Israel's selection as a Chosen People. To a proselyte who asked Maimonides whether he, who was born a Gentile, could say the Jewish prayer, " Blessed be the God who has chosen us from among all nations," he answered : " If we Jews derive our nobility from Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, you have now the privilege of connecting your nobility with God himself." This showed that the selection idea was never a racial, but a purely moral and religious prerogative, and that the Jews conceived themselves chosen only to carry out the divine moral and religious obligations.

[*Extract from the* Jewish Daily Post, *19th July, 1935. By kind permission of the Editor.*]

Lantern Slides of Assyriological and Babylonian Subjects

PINCHES BEQUEST

The late Dr. T. G. Pinches, a Member of the Society for upwards of fifty years, left directions that a collection of his Assyriological and Babylonian Lantern Slides should be held in trust by the Royal Asiatic Society for the use of Students.

Dr. Pinches bequeathed them in the hope that they may promote an interest in such subjects among Students in this country. The Society has accepted the trust and will hold the slides available for the use of bona fide Students, Lecturers, or Educational Institutions such as the Victoria Institute. There are nearly 400 slides, which have been catalogued by Prof. S. H. Langdon. Requests from

Orientalists should be sent to the Secretary, with necessary references for the consideration of the Council.

Dr. Pinches also left nine simple Babylonian Seals, together with the copy, transcription, and translation of each, prepared by himself, for the same purpose. These are available for loan under the same conditions as the slides.

CONFERENCE.

The eighth session of the All-India Oriental Conference will meet at Mysore in December, 1935, under the auspices of the University of Mysore.

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS

Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement. Sixty-seventh Year. July, 1935

Gaster, T. H. The Chronology of Palestinian Epigraphy.

Egyptian Religion. Vol. iii, No. 2, April, 1935.

Gaster, Theodor. An Egyptological Text from Ras Shamra (R.S., 1929, No. 6).

Sudan Notes and Records. Vol. xviii, Part 1, 1935.

Henderson, K. D. D. Fung Origins.
Hillelson, S. David Reubeni's Journey.

Bengal Past and Present. Vol. xlix, Nos. 97–98. January–June, 1935.

Bullock, H. Some Soldiers of Fortune.
—— Hickey's Houses in Calcutta.
Ottewill, W. T. Calcutta Streets and Houses in 1789—Unpublished Sketches and Notes by William Hickey.
Cotton, E. Jean Pierre Muller.

Journal Asiatique. Tome ccxxv, No. 2. Oct.-Dec., 1934.

Benveniste, M. E. Termes et noms achéménides en araméen.

La Geographie. Tome lxiii, Nos. 5 and 6, May–June, 1935.

Shigeyasu, Tokunaga. La première expédition scientifique japonaise au Jehol (avec deux cartes dans le texte).
Nikitine, Basile. Le système routier du Kurdistan (avec huit gravures et quatre cartes dans le texte).

Caucasica. Fasc. 2. 1934.

Trubetzkoy, Fürst N. Erinnerungen an einen Aufenthal bei den Tscherkessen des Kreises Tuapse.
Bouda, Karl. Ossetische Studien.
Bleichsteiner, Robert. Die kaukasischen Sprachproben in Evliya Çelebi's Seyahetname.

Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië. Deel 92, 1935.

Haan, F. de. Personalia der periode van het Engelsch bestuur over Java 1811–1816.

Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal, Land- en Volkenkunde. Deel lxxv, Aflevering 3, 1935.

Arndt, P. Aus der Mythologie und Religion der Riunger.
Stutterheim, Dr. W. F. Epigraphica.

Ostasiatische Zeitschrift. Neue Folge 11. Jahrg. 1/2 Heft, 1935.

Speiser, Werner. T'ang Yin. 1. Mit 3 Tafeln.

Sylwan, Vivi. Eine chinesische Seide mit spätgriechischem Muster aus dem 5. bis 6. Jahrhundert. Mit 2 Tafeln.

Têng Ku. Chinesische Malkunsttheorie in der T'ang- und Sungzeit. iii.

Syria. Tome xvi, Premier Fasc., 1935.

Virolleaud, C. La révolte de Kōser contre Baal. Poème de Ras-Shamra (iii AB, A).

Tome xvi, Deuxième Fasc., 1935.

Schaeffer, C. F. A. Les Fouilles de Ras Shamra (Ugarit). Sixième campagne (printemps 1934). Rapport sommaire.

Dussaud, R. Deux stèles de Ras Shamra portant une dédicace au dieu Dagon.

Virolleaud, C. Sur quatre fragments alphabétiques trouvés à Ras Shamra en 1934.

Thureau-Dangin, Fr. Une lettre assyrienne à Ras Shamra.

Dhorme, E. Petite tablette accadienne de Ras Shamra.

Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama. No. 25, 1935.

Gracias, J. B. A. A epopeia portuguese nas terras do Norte.

Fernandes, L. C. O Livro e o Jornal em Goa.

No. 26, 1935.

Campos, J. J. Os Portugueses em Zanzibar e Pemba.

Santos, A. R. dos. Abade Faria.

Pissurlencar, P. Titulo de todas as despesas ordinarias que se fazem ne cidade de Goa a custa da fazenda de S.A. (1576) (cont.).

Figueiredo, D. P. C. A. Plantas Simbólicas (cont.).

Quarterly Bulletin of Chinese Bibliography. Vol. i, No. 4, December, 1934.

Chao, Y. R. The Idea of a System of Basic Chinese.

Hsiang Ta. On Ts'ên Chung-mien's " Annotated Edition of Fa-hsien's Travels ".

Lo Erh-kang. On " The History of Chinese Secret Societies ".

The Toyo Gakuho. Vol. xxii, No. 3, May, 1935.

Hashimoto, M. On the Origin and Development of the *kan* and *chih.*

Shimizu, T. The Development of Payment of Taxes by Silver bullion under the Ming Dynasty.

Kaku, M. K. Researches into the Appellation of *shêng* and *chih* in Ancient China.

The Journal of the Siam Society. Vol. xxviii, Part 1, July, 1935.

Bidyalankarana, H.H. Prince. The Buddha's Footprints.

Seidenfaden, E. Anthropological and Ethnological Research Work in Siam.

PRESENTATIONS AND ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

Remainder of Accessions, May–July, 1935

Rowley, H. H., Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires in the Book of Daniel . . . 9 × 6. *Cardiff*, 1935.
From the University of Wales Press Board.

Roy, S. C., The Hill Bhūiyās of Ōṛissā . . . 9 × 6. *Ranchi*, 1935.
From the Author.

San Nicolò, M., and Ungnad, A. Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden, übersetzt und erläutert von M. San Nicolò . . . und A. Ungnad . . . Bd. 1 . . . (Schluss) Heft, 5: Nr. 747–902. Verzeichnisse und Listen. 9½ × 6. *Leipzig*, 1935. *From J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.*

Scattergood, J., The Scattergoods and the East India Company: being a selection from the . . . correspondence of J. S., East India merchant, 1681–1723 . . . Ed. by . . . Sir R. Carnac Temple, L. M. Anstey, and B. P. Scattergood . . . [Offprint from the Indian Antiquary.] 11 × 9. *Bombay and Harpenden*, 1921–1935.
From Mr. Bernard P. Scattergood.

Shantilal Shah. The traditional chronology of the Jainas . . . (Bonner Or. Studien, Heft 9.) 10 × 7. *Stuttgart*, 1935.
From Messrs. W. Kohlhammer.

Sivaswamy Aiyer, P. S., Evolution of Hindu moral ideals . . . (Kamala lectures). 9 × 6. *Calcutta*, 1935.
From the Registrar, Calcutta University.

Svarūpa Dāsa. Pāṇḍava-yáśendu-candrikā. [A Hindi poem in 16 *Mayūkhas* on the theme of the Mahābhārata. Ed. by Thākura Rudrasiṃha Tomar.] 8½ × 5½. *Delhi*, 1933.
From the Editor.

Szapsal, H. S., Proben der Volksliteratur der Türken aus dem persischen Azerbaidschan . . . (Polska Akad. Umiejetnosci, Mém. de la Comm. Or., Nr. 18.) 10 × 6½. *Kraków*, 1935. *Exchange.*

Taraporewala, I. J. S., Elements of the science of language. 9 × 6. *Calcutta*, 1932. *Exchange.*

Tāshkūprīzādah: T.'s "eṣ-saqâ'iq en-No'mânijje" fortgesetzt von 'Alî Miniq unter dem Titel "el-'iqd el-manẓûm fi ḏikr afâḍil er-Rûm." Mit Zusätzen . . . übersetzt [by O. Rescher]. 12 × 8½. *Stuttgart*, 1934. *Bought.*

Thomas, E. J., Early Buddhist scripture. A selection tr. . . . by E. J. Thomas . . . 9 × 6. *London*, 1935.
From Messrs. Kegan Paul.

Till, W., Koptische Heiligen- und Martyrerlegenden. Texte, Übersetzungen und Indices herausg. . . . von W. T. Tl. 1. (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 102.) 9½ × 7. *Roma*, 1935. *Exchange.*

Trenckner, V., Andersen, D., and Smith, H. A critical Pali dictionary . . . Vol. 1, pt. 6. 12½ × 10. *Copenhagen*, 1934.
From the Royal Danish Academy.

Tucci, G., Indo-Tibetica, 3. I Templi del Tibet Occidentale e il loro simbolismo artistico. Pte. 1. Spiti e Kunavar. (R. Accad. d'Italia. Studi e documenti. 1.) 10½ × 7½. *Roma*, 1935. *From the Author.*

Tulāsī Dāsa. Book of Ram . . . Rendered into English by Hari Prasad Shastri. 7½ × 5. *London*, 1935.
From Messrs. Luzac.

'Umar Khayyām. The principal MSS. of the Rubā'iyyat of 'Umar-i-Khayyam in the Bibl. Nat. . . . Vol. 1 . . . Transcribed and ed. by Dr. B. Csillik . . . 10 × 7. *Szeged*, 1934. *From the Editor.*

Wanger, W., Comparative lexical study of Sumerian and Ntu (" Bantu "). Sumerian the " Sanscrit " of the African Ntu languages . . . 10 × 7. *Stuttgart*, 1935.
From Messrs. Kohlhammer.

Wood, A. C., A history of the Levant company . . . 9 × 6. *Oxford*, 1935. *From the Oxford University Press.*

Yūnus Emre. Y. E. divani III. ve şerhi rümuzati Yunüs Emre. [Poems, vol. 3, with commentaries. Ed. by Burhan Ümit, afterwards Burhan Toprak.] *Turkish.* 7½ × 5. *Istanbul*, 1934. *From Messrs. Zamankitaphanesi.*

Zagreb. Etnografski Muzej : Zbirka Jugoslavenskih ornamenata. Pt. 6. 14 × 10½. *Zagreb*, 1934.
From the Ethnographical Museum, Zagreb.

Accessions, Aug.–Oct., 1935

Asín Palacios, M., La espiritualidad de Algazel y su sentido cristiano. Tom. 1. (Publ. de las Escuelas de Estudios. Árabes de Madrid y Granada, Ser. A, núm. 2.) 9½ × 6½, *Madrid*, 1934. *From Messrs. E. Maestre.*

Barthold, W., Uluġ Beg und seine Zeit . . . Deutsche Bearbeitung von W. Hinz. (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Bd. 21, Nr. 1.) 9½ × 6½. *Leipzig*, 1935. *Exchange.*

Bhagavad-Gīta. Der Sang des Hehr-Erhabenen. Die Bhagavad-Gītā übertragen und erlaütert von R. Otto. 8½ × 5½. *Stuttgart*, 1935. *From Messrs. Kohlhammer.*

Bittel, K., and Güterbock, H. G., Boğazköy. Neue Untersuchungen in der hethitischen Haupstadt. Von K. B. . . . und H.-G. G. . . . (Appendhungen, Preuss. Akad. der Wiss., 1935, Phil.-hist. Kl., Nr. 1.) 12 × 9½. *Berlin*, 1935. *Exchange.*

Bodding, P. O., A Santal dictionary. Vol. 3. H-Kh. 11 × 7½. *Oslo*, 1935. *From the Norske Videnskaps Akademi.*

Bonneau, G., Anthologie de la poésie japonaise . . . [With French tr. by] G. Bonneau. 9½ × 6. *Paris*, 1935. *From the Translator.*

Brierre-Narbonne, J. J., Exégèse midrašique des prophéties messianiques. 13 × 10. *Paris*, 1935. *From Messrs. Paul Geuthner.*

British Museum. Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan MSS. . . . By G. Margoliouth . . . Pt. 3. [Also] Pt. 4. Introduction, indexes, accessions, etc., by J. Leveen . . . 2 vols. 12½ × 10. *London*, 1915, 35. *From the Trustees of the British Museum.*

Budge, E. A. Wallis, Amulets and superstitions . . . 10 × 7. *London*, 1930. *Bought.*

—— The Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church. A tr. of the Ethiopic Synaxarium . . . 4 vols. 9 × 6. *Cambridge*, 1928. *Bought.*

Burma Gazetteer. Amherst district. Vol. A. Compiled by . . . B. O. Binns . . . 9 × 6. *Rangoon*, 1935. *From the Government of Burma.*

Cairo. Egyptian Library. Arabic papyri in the Egyptian Library. [Ed. and tr.] by A. Grohmann . . . Vol. 1. Protocols and legal texts . . . 13 × 10. *Cairo*, 1934. *From the Director of the Egyptian Library.*

Cairo, Museum. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire . . . Ostraca hiératiques, par M. Jaroslav Černý. Fasc. 4. Nos. 25675–25832. 14 × 10. *Le Caire*, 1935. *From Mr. W. E. Crum.*

Calcutta, Bengal Library. Catalogue of books registered in the Presidency of Bengal during the quarter ending the 30th Sept., 1934. 13½ × 8½. *Calcutta*, 1935. *From the Government of India.*

Caron, F., and Schouten, J., A true description of the mighty kingdoms of Japan and Siam . . . Repr. from the English ed. of 1663 with introduction, etc., by C. R. Boxer . . . 10½ × 8. *London*, 1935. *From the Argonaut Press.*

Ceylon. Archæological Survey. Annual Report . . . for 1934. S. Paranavitana . . . 10 × 6½. *Colombo*, 1935. *Exchange.*

Chassinat, E., Le temple de Dendara. Tom. 3. 14 × 10½. *Le Caire*, 1935. *Exchange.*

Chavannes, E., Cinq cents contes et apologues extraits du

Tripitaka chinois et tr. en francais by E. C. (Tom. 4.) Analyse sommaire des contes, notes complémentaires, tables, et index. (Bibl. de l'Inst. des Hautes Études Chinoises. Vol. 1.) 10½ × 6½. *Paris*, 1934.
From Messrs. E. Leroux.

Collum, V. C. C., The Tressé iron-age megalithic monument . . . Its quadruple sculptured breasts and their relation to the Mother-goddess cosmic cult . . . 10½ × 8. *London*, 1935.
From the Oxford University Press.

Combaz, G., L'évolution du stūpa en Asie. (Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques publ. par l'Inst. Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises, 1933.)

—— do. Contributions nouvelles . . . (Do., 1935.) 10½ × 7. *Bruxelles-Louvain*, 1933, 35. *From the Author.*

Coomaraswamy, A. K., Elements of Buddhist iconography . . . (Harvard Univ. Press.) 12 × 8½. *Cambridge, Mass.*, 1935. *From the Oxford University Press.*

—— La sculpture de Bodhgayā . . . (Ars Asiatica, 18.) 14 × 11. *Paris*, 1935. *From Les Éditions d'Art et d'Histoire.*

Delhi, Museum of Central Asian Antiquities. Descriptive catalogue of antiquities recovered by Sir A. Stein . . . during his expeditions in Central Asia, Kansu, and Eastern Iran . . . 11 × 8½. *Delhi*, 1935. *From the Government of India.*

Dīgnāga, of Arārālapura. The jasmine garland (Ḳunda mālā). Tr. into English by A. C. Woolner . . . (Panjab Univ. Or. Publ., no. 27.) 10 × 7. *London*, 1935.
From the Oxford University Press.

Driscoll, L., and Toda, K., Chinese calligraphy. 10½ × 8. *Chicago*, 1935. *From the Cambridge University Press.*

East India Company. A calendar of the Court Minutes, etc., of the E.I.C., 1674–76. By E. B. Sainsbury. With . . . notes by W. T. Ottewill . . . 9 × 6½. *Oxford*, 1935.
From the Secretary of State for India.

Evans-Wentz, W. Y., Tibetan Yoga and secret doctrines. 9 × 6½. *London*, 1935. *From the Oxford University Press.*

Galletti di Cadilhac, A., G.'s Telugu dictionary. A dictionary of current Telugu . . . *Oxford*, 1935.

Gangulee, N., The Indian peasant and his environment. (The Linlithgow Commission and after.) . . . 9 × 6. *London*, 1935. *From the Oxford University Press.*

Gelb, I. J., Hittite hieroglyphs. 2 . . . (Or. Inst., Univ. of Chicago. Studies in Ancient Or. Civilization, 14.) 10 × 7½. *Chicago*, (1935). *From the Cambridge University Press.*

Gibert, L., Dictionnaire historique et géographique de la Mandchourie . . . 9½ × 6½. *Hongkong*, 1934.
From the Author.

Goodrich, L. C., The literary inquisition of Ch'ien Lung . . .

(American Council of Learned Societies. Studies in Chinese, etc. No. 1.) 10½ × 7. *Baltimore*, 1935.
From the American Council of Learned Societies.

Grapow, H., Untersuchungen über die altägyptischen medizinischen Papyri . . . Teil 1. (Mitteilungen der Vorderasiat.-aegyptischen Gesellschaft, Bd. 40, Heft 1.) 10 × 6½. *Leipzig*, 1935. *Exchange.*

Gulik, R. H. van, Hayagrīva, the Mantrayānic aspect of horse-cult in China and Japan . . . (Internat. Archiv für Ethnographie, Supplement zu Bd. 33.) 13½ × 10½. *Leiden*, 1935. *From Messrs. E. J. Brill.*

Heinrich, E., Sechster . . . Bericht über die von der Deutschen Forschungs-Gemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka unternommenen Ausgrabungen . . . (Abhandlungen, Preuss. Akad. der Wiss., 1935. Phil. hist. Kl., Nr. 2.) 12 × 9½. *Berlin*, 1935.
Exchange.

Held, G. J., The Mahābhārata. An ethnological study . . . 9½ × 6½. *London and Amsterdam*, 1935.
From Uitgeversmaatschappij Holland.

Hofmann, G., Il vicariato apostolico di Constantinopoli, 1453–1830 . . . (Or. Christiana Analecta, 103.) 10 × 7. *Roma*, 1935. *Exchange.*

Hunt, J. H., Indian Fakirs. A paper read before the Osler Club, 11th May, 1934. 11 × 8½. *London*, 1934.
From Professor C. G. Seligmann.

India, Archæological Survey. Index to the Annual Reports of the Director-General of Archæology . . . (Sir J. Marshall.) 1902–1916. By G. R. Kaye . . . 13 × 10½. *Calcutta*, 1924.
From the Government of India.

Īśvara Kṛṣṇa. The Sāṅkhyakārikā . . . Ed. and tr. by S. S. Suryanarayana Saṣtri . . . 2nd ed. (Madras Univ. Publns. of the Dept. of Indian Philosophy, no. 3.) *Madras*, 1935.
From the Registrar, Madras University.

Jablonski, W., Les " sias-ha(i-eu)l-yu " de Pékin. Un essai sur la poésie populaire en Chine. (Polska Akad. Umiejetności. Mém. de la Commission Or., no. 19.) 10 × 6½. *Krakow*, 1935. *Exchange.*

Jacobsen and Lloyd, Sennacherib's aqueduct at Jerwan . . . (Univ. of Chicago. Or. Inst. Publns., vol. 24.) 12 × 9½. *Chicago*, (1935). *From the Cambridge University Press.*

Jestin, R., Textes économiques sumériens de la deuxième dynastie d'Ur. Transcription et traduction avec étude grammaticale . . . 10 × 7. *Paris*, 1935.
From Messrs. Adrien-Maisonneuve.

Job of Edessa: Book of Treasures . . . Syriac text ed. and tr. . . . by A. Mingana. (Woodbrooke Scientific Publications, vol. 1.) 10 × 6½. *Cambridge*, 1935. *From Messrs. Heffer.*

Al-Kalābadhī (Abū Bakr). The doctrine of the Ṣūfīs. (Kitāb al-Ta'arruf li-madhhab ahl al-taṣawwuf.) Tr. . . . by A. J. Arberry . . . 9 × 6. *Cambridge*, 1935.
From the Cambridge University Press.

Kalāmi Pīr. K. P. A treatise on Ismaili doctrine also, wrongly, called Haft-Babi Shah Sayyid Nasir. Ed. . . . and tr. into English by W. Ivanow. (Islamic Research Association, no. 4.) 9 × 6. *Bombay*, 1935.
From the Islamic Research Association.

Kātyāyana: Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya of K. with the commentaries of Uvaṭa and Anantabhaṭṭa. By V. Venkatarama Sharma . . . (Madras Univ. Sanskrit Ser., no. 5.) *Sanskrit with English preface.* 10 × 7. *Madras*, 1934.
From the Registrar, Madras University.

The Labyrinth. Further studies in the relation between myth and ritual in the ancient world. [By various authors.] Ed. by S. H. Hooke . . . 9 × 6. *London*, 1935.
From the S.P.C.K.

Lamon, R. S., The Megiddo water system . . . (Univ. of Chicago. Or. Inst. Publications, vol. 32.) 12 × 9½. *Chicago*, 1935.
From the Cambridge University Press.

Leyden. Bibl. Acad. Lugduno-Batavae. Catalogus. Dl. 26. Inventaris van de HSS. Afd. 2, Helft 2. 9½ × 6½. *Leiden*, 1935. *From Leyden University Library.*

Leyden, Kern Institute. Annual bibliography of Indian archæology for . . . 1933 . . . Vol. 8. 12½ × 9½. *Leyden*, 1935.
Exchange.

Lichtenstädter, I., Women in the Aiyām al-'Arab. A study of female life during warfare in preislamic Arabia . . . (Prize Publication Fund, vol. 14.) 9 × 6. *London*, 1935.

Madras, Records of Fort St. George.
  Fort St. David Consultations, 1701: 1748, vol. 16; 1750.
  Letters from St. David. 1750. Vol. 3.
  Letters to Fort St. David. 1750. Vol. 4.
  Tellicherry Consultations, 1745–46. Vol. 16.
  13½ × 8½. *Madras*, 1935.
From the High Commissioner for India.

Mahābhārata. The M. (Southern Recension) . . . Ed. by . . . P. P. S. Sastri . . . Vol. 10. Droṇa Parvan. Pt. 2. 7½ × 5½. *Madras*, 1935.
From Messrs. Ramaswamy Sastrulu and Sons.

Mahābhārata. The Geeta. The gospel of the Lord Shri Krishna, tr. . . . by Shri Purohit Swāmi . . . 10½ × 6½. *London*, 1935.
From Messrs. Faber and Faber.

Mahā-nāma. Vaṃsatthappakāsinī. Commentary on the Mahāvaṃsa. Ed . . . by G. P. Malalasekera . . . (Pali Text Soc.) 2 vols. 9 × 6. *London*, 1935. *Exchange.*

INDEX FOR 1935

A

A propos the Legend of Nāropā, 677.
'Aleyân-Ba'al and Mōt, the Combat of, 1.
Allan, J., Studies in Cōla History and Administration (review), 527.
—— The Historical Inscriptions of South India Collected till 1923, and Outlines of Political History (review), 207.
Allahabad Pillar of Aśoka, A Note on the, 697.
Anniversary General Meeting, 583.
An-Yang, Recent Finds near, 467.
Arabic Sources, Notes on Costume from, 319.
Arberry, A. J., Junayd, 499.
Art, Two Questions in Moslem, 285.
Aśoka, A Note on the Allahabad Pillar of, 697.

B

Bailey, H. W., Les formations nominales et verbales en *p* du sanskrit (review), 526.
—— Contes, Légendes et Épopées populaires d'Arménie (review), 527.
Bailey, T. Grahame, A Phonology of Panjabi and A Ludhiani Phonetic Reader (review), 772.
Banerji, A. C., Chola Invasion of Bengal, 655.
Bengal, Chola Invasion of, 655.
—— Geographical Divisions of Ancient, 73.
Bhagavadgītā contained in the Kashmirian Mahābhārata, On the Form of the, 146.
Bhattasali, N. K., The New Śaktipur Grant of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva and Geographical Divisions of Ancient Bengal, 73.
Bhūti Vikramakēsari, The Date of, 475.
Bilingual Text concerning Etana, A, 459.
" Birth of the Gracious and Beautiful Gods, The," Notes on, 45.
Blagden, C. O., Adatrechtbundels, (reviews), 184, 191, 192, 208, 209.
—— Ancient Siamese Government and Administration (review), 743.
—— Bijdragen tot de kennis van het Midden Maleisch (Besemahsch en Sĕrawajsch Dialect) (review), 744.
—— Epigraphia Zeylanica (review), 550.
—— Island India goes to School (review), 745.
—— Op het voetspoor van Boeddha (review), 744.
Buddhism and the Mañjuśrī-mūla-tantra, Bu-ston's History of, 299.
Budge, E. A. W., A Coptic Gnostic Treatise contained in the Codex Brucianus (review), 401.
Burmester, O. H. E., The Difnar (Antiphonarium) of the Coptic Church (review), 390.
Burn, R., Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India (review), 515.
—— The Living Religions of the Indian People (review), 756.
—— Trial of Diwan Mul Raj (Governor of Multan) (review), 393.
Burrow, T., Tokharian Elements in the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan, 667.
Burrows, E., The Flowing Vase and the God with the Streams (review), 219.
Buxton, L. H. D., Children of the Yellow Earth (review), 388.

C

Cadell, P. R., History of the Panjab Hill States (review), 171.
—— Selections from the Peshwa's Daftar (reviews), 161, 572, 574.
Cairo Genizah, a Fragment of Pharmacy from the, 123.
Canney, Maurice A., A History of Jewish Literature: from the Close of the Bible to our own days (review), 167.
—— The Heritage of Solomon (review), 737.
—— Woodbrooke Studies, VII. Early Christian Mystics (review), 560.
—— Zur Liturgie der babylonischen Juden (review), 562.
Canonical Lists, Curious Omissions in Pali, 721.
Carpani, E. G., Buddhists and Glaciers of Western Tibet (review), 741.
—— Due Upaniṣad (review), 763.
Cas-chrom v. the Lei-ssŭ, The, 707.
Celebrations :—
  Csoma de Kőrös, Alexander, 233.
  Millenary of Firdausi, 240.
  Presentation of Gold Medal, 609.
Chappelow, E. B. W., The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine (review), 373.
Charpentier, Jarl, Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology for the Year 1932 (review), 368.
—— Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology for the Year 1933 (review), 774.
—— Die India (review), 726.
China, A Note on the Maneless Horse in Ancient, 360.
Chinese Turkestan, Tokharian Elements in the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from, 667.
Chola Invasion of Bengal, 655.
Clauson, G. L. M., Dialogues in the Eastern Türki Dialect on Subjects of Interest to Travellers (review), 383.
Clauson, G. L. M., Die Längsten Bauinschriften in „Hethitischen" Hieroglyphen nebst Glossar zu sämtlichen Texten (review), 759.
—— Le Dialecte Monguor parlé par les Mongols du Kansou Occidental: III^e Partie. Dictionnaire Monguor-Français (review), 726.
—— Manichäische Dogmatik aus chinesischen und iranischen Texten (review), 546.
—— Monggo Han Sai da Sekiyen (review), 183.
—— Studien zu einer Osttürkischen Lautlehre (review), 383.
—— Türkische Turfantexte (review), 548.
Coin Evidence from Sīstān, New, 115.
Coins, The Punch-Marked: A Survival of the Indus Civilization, 307, 720.
Combat of 'Aleyân-Ba'al and Môt—A Proto-Hebrew Epic from Ras-Shamra, The, 1.
Costume from Arabic Sources, Notes on, 319.
Creswell, K. A. C., Les Mosquées du Caire (review), 225.
—— Voyageurs et écrivains français en Égypte (review), 765.
Curious Omissions in Pali Canonical Lists, 721.

D

Daiches, Samuel, Psalm xxxv, v. 16, The Meaning of מָעוֹג 355.
Date, An Important Interpretation in the *Rāma-Carita Mānasa* regarding its, 717.
Date of Bhūti-Vikramakēsari, The, 475.

Davids, C. A. F. Rhys, Bibliographie Bouddhique, iv–v (review), 428.
—— Curious Omissions in Pali Canonical Lists, 721.
Dialect, A Specimen of the Thūlung, 629.
Doctrine of the "Leap", The Illustration to the, 514.
Drehem Tablet, A Curious, 358.

E

Edwards, E. D., Ochikubo Monogatari or The Tale of the Lady Ochikubo (review), 759.
—— The Poetical Parts in Lao-Tsī (review), 519.
—— Shih King Researches (review), 519.
Elements in the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan, Tokharian, 667.
Enthoven, R. E., India (review), 419.
—— Jambhaladatta's Version of the Vetālapañçaviṃśati (review), 770.
Etana, A Bilingual Text concerning, 459.

F

Fábri, C. L., The Punch-Marked Coins: A Survival of Indus Civilization, 307.
Fairman, H. W., Tombes Thébaines (review), 157.
Farmer, H. G., A Maghribī Work on Musical Instruments, 339.
—— Sangit Bhava (1. Rāg Bhaitav) (review), 196.
Ferrar, M. L., Les Manuscrits mineurs des Rubâ'iyât de 'Omar Khayyâm dans la Bibliothèque Nationale (review), 183.
Finds near An-Yang, Recent, 467.
FitzGerald, S. Vesey, कात्यायनस्मृति सारोद्धार or Kātyāyanasmṛti on Vyavahāra (Law and Procedure) (review), 428.
Folk-music, The Eastern Relations of Early, 483.
Fondation de Goeje, 252.
Furlani, G., Excavations at Nuzi. Vol. ii: The Archives of Shilwateshub, Son of the King (review), 747.
—— Iraq, vol. i, pt. 1 (review), 429.
—— Joint Expedition with the Iraq Museum at Nuzi (review), 746.

G

Gadd, C. J., Archives from Erech (review), 198.
—— A Lexicon of Accadian Prayers in the Rituals of Expiation (review), 217.
—— Die jüngeren Ischtar-Tempel in Assur (review), 753.
—— Il Poema della Creazione (review), 410.
—— Second Preliminary Report upon the Excavations at Tel Umar, Iraq, Conducted by the University of Michigan, etc. (review), 725.
Gait, E. A., Tung Khungia Buranji, or a History of Assam (review), 162.
—— Chandrakānta Abhidān, a Dictionary of the Assamese Language (review), 382.
Gāndhāra grāma, The, 689.
Garstang, J., Notes on the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age Pottery of Megiddo (review), 424.
Gaster, M., Dr. Hartwig Hirschfeld (obituary), 229.
—— Arta si Archeologia: Revista (review), 196.
—— Ohel Dawid (review), 542.

Gaster, M., The Assyrian and Hebrew Hymns of Praise (review), 728.

Gaster, T. H., The Combat of ʻAleyân-Baʻal and Mōt—a Proto-Hebrew Epic from Ras-Shamra, 1.

Geographical Divisions of Ancient Bengal, 73.

Ghosh, A., and C. S. Krishnaswamy Rao Sahib, A Note on the Allahabad Pillar of Aśoka, 711.

Gibb, H. A. R., An Introduction to the Sociology of Islam (review), 158.

Ginsberg, H. L., Notes on " The Birth of the Gracious and Beautiful Gods ", 45.

Goldziher, A Collection of the Literary Remains of Ignace, 149.

Goeje, Fondation de, 252.

Gottheil, R., A Fragment on Pharmacy from the Cairo Genizah, 123.

Grāma, the Gāndhāra, 689.

Guest, R., Catalogue du Musée Arabe du Caire: 1. Les bois à épigraphes jusqu'à l'époque Mamlouke. 2. Les bois sculptées jusqu'à l'époque Ayyoubid (review), 211.

—— Catalogue of the Arabic Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester (review), 554.

—— Répertoire Chronologique d'Épigraphie Arabe (review), 554.

Guillaume, A., A Guide to Ismaili Literature (review), 206.

—— Concordances et Indices de la Tradition Musulmane (review), 553.

—— El Cancionero de Aben Guzman (Ibn Quzmān) (review), 525.

—— Elogio del Islam Español by Al-Šaqundi (review), 552.

—— Introduction à Avicenne (review), 533.

Gupta, Mata Prasad, An Important Interpretation in the *Rāma-Carita-Mānasa* regarding its Date, 717.

Gurney, Oliver R., A Bilingual Text concerning Etana, 459.

H

Hargreaves, H., Architecture of Mānasāra (review), 777.

—— Mānasāra on Architecture and Sculpture (review), 777.

Hautecœur, L., Les Mosquées du Caire (review), 223.

Heimann, Betty, Haṭha-yoga-pradīpikā of Svātmārāma Svāmin (review), 731.

Hillelson, S., The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan (review), 742.

Hirschfeld, H., Lectures on Jewish Liturgy (review), 181.

Hobson, R. L., Berthold Laufer (obituary), 230.

Holmyard, E. J., Three Arabic Treatises on Alchemy by Muḥammad bin Umail (review), 564.

Hopkins, L. C., A Note on the Maneless Horse in Ancient China, 360.

—— The Cas-chrom v. the Lei-ssŭ, 707.

—— The Horse: a Factor in early Chinese History, 365.

Horse in Ancient China, A Note on the Maneless, 360.

Hungarian Folk-music, The Eastern Relations of, 483.

Hosie, Dorothea, Twilight in the Forbidden City (review), 420.

Hudson, G. F., The Civilizations of the East. Vol. iii, China (review), 770.

—— Translation of " Ko-ji-kai " or " Records of Ancient Matters " (review), 178.

I

Important Interpretation in the *Rāma-Carita-Mānasa* regarding its Date, An, 717.

Indus Civilization, a Survival of the: The Punch-marked Coins, 307, 720.

INOSTRANTSEV, C., The "Round Dates" in the "Narrative about Sanjān", 509.

Interpretation in the *Rāma-Carita-Mānasa* regarding its Date, An Important, 717.

Invasion of Bengal, Chola, 655.

J

JAYASWAL, J. P., The Punch-marked Coins: A Survival of the Indus Civilization, 720.

JOHNSTON, E. H., Padmānanda Mahākāvya by Amaracandra Sūri (review), 213.

—— Paramattha - Dīpanī: Iti-Vuttakaṭṭhakathā of Dhammapālâcariya (review), 566.

—— Philosophy of Hindu Sādhanā (review), 537.

—— Śaktisaṅgama Tantra (review), 213.

—— Satkārya in der Darstellung seiner buddhistischen Gegner (review), 524.

—— The Book of the Gradual Sayings, vols. ii and iii (review), 566.

—— The Commentaries of the Prajñāpāramitās, vol. i (review), 214.

—— Triṁśikāvijñapti des Vasubandhu mit Bhasya des Ācārya Sthiramati (review), 529.

Junayd, 499.

K

KEITH, A. B., Indian Psychology: Perception (review), 536.

—— Festschrift Moriz Winternitz (review), 555.

—— The origin and Development of Religion in Vedic Literature (review), 537.

KEMPERS, A. J. B., Études d'Orientalisme (review), 168.

—— Indian Sculpture (review), 399.

Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan, Tokharian Elements in the, 667.

KONOW, STEN, A Critical Pali Dictionary (review), 396.

KRISHNASWAMY, RAO SAHIB C. S., and GHOSH, A., A Note on the Allahabad Pillar of Aśoka, 697.

L

LAIRD, JOHN, The Dawn of Conscience (review), 397.

Laksmana Sena Deva, The New Śaktipur Grant of, 73.

LANGDON, S., A Curious Drehem Tablet, 358.

—— Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mr. Edward T. Newell (review), 568.

—— Die Völker des Antiken Orients vol. iii (review), 567.

"Leap," The Illustration to the Doctrine of the, 514.

Lectures:—

Firdausi: The Poet and his Work, 238.

Luristan, Burton Memorial Lecture, 241.

The Life of Maimonides, 792.

Legend of Nāropā, *à propos* the, 677.

Lei-ssŭ, The cas-chrom *v.* the, 707.

LEVEEN, J., History of Palestine and Syria to the Macedonian Conquest (review), 176.

LEVY, R., Beiträge zum Verständnis religioser Muslimischer Texte (review), 189.

—— Khanadan-i Nawbakhti (review), 739.

—— Notes on Costume from Arabic Sources, 319.

—— Polemics on the Origin of the Fatimi Caliphs (review), 740.

Levy, R., Tārīkh-i Mufaṣṣal-i Īran az Istīlā-i Mughul ta I‘lāni Mashrūṭiyat (review), 408.
—— Tughluq-nāma, by Amīr Khusraw of Dihlī (review), 409.
Lindsay, B., Hindu Law of Evidence, (review), 171.
Lists, Curious Omissions in Pali Canonical, 721.
Lockhart, J. H. S., The Chinese Periodical Press (review), 189.
—— The Rt. Hon. Sir Ernest Satow (review), 395.

M

Macadam, M. F. L., Le Temple d'Edfou (review), 411.
—— Medamoud (review), 413.
Maclagan, E. D., Lawrence of Lucknow (review), 165.
—— Les Sikhs, origine et développement de la Communauté jusqu'à nos Jours (review), 532.
—— Sir John Perronet Thompson (obituary), 786.
Maghribī Work on Musical Instruments, A., 339.
Mahābhārata, On the Form of the Bhagavadgītā contained in the Kashmirian, 146.
Mañjuśri - mūla - tantra, Bu-ston's History of Buddhism and the, 299.
Margoliouth, D. S., Chronique de Santa-Cruz du Cap de Gué (Agadir) (review), 749.
—— (obituary), W. E. Soothill, 783; Ignazio Guidi, 785.
—— Pentateuch with Targum Onkelos, Haphtaroth and Prayers for Sabbath and Rashi's Commentary (review), 750.
——Répertoire Chronologique d'Épigraphie Arabe (review), 520.
—— Sultans de Touggoutt (review), 521.
—— La Espiritualidad de al-Gazel y su sentido Cristiano (review), 22.
Margoliouth, D. S., Herkunft, Entstehung und antike Umwelt des hebräischen Volkes (review), 180.
—— Kitab al-Zahrah (The Book of the Flower) (review), 188.
—— Jemenica: Sprichwörter und Redensarten aus Zentral-Jemen mit zahlreichen Sach- und Wörtererluterungen (review), 405.
—— The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam (review), 406.
Marmorstein, A., The Book of Shetaroth (Formulary) of R. Hai Gaon (Supplement to Tarbiz I, III) (review), 729.
—— The Book of the Wars of the Lord (review), 767.
Martinovitch, N. N., Two Questions in Moslem Art, 285.
Medal, Triennial Gold, 609.
Mes (*Mech*), A Note on the Tribal Name, 145.
Mingana, A., Les Arabes Chrétiens de Mésopotamie et de Syrie du vii^{e} au viii^{e} Siècle (review), 185.
—— Zur Ostsyrischen Laut- und Akzentlehre (review), 186.
Moreland, W. H., The Portuguese Pioneers (review), 409.
—— Sino-Portuguese Trade from 1514 to 1644 (review), 410.
Morley, Arthur, Some Ethical Ideals of the Tso-chuan, 273, 449.
Moslem Art, Two Questions in, 285.
Mōt, The Combat of ’Aleyân-Ba‘al and, 1.
Moule, A. C., Herbert Allen Giles (obituary), 577.
—— Select Chinese Verses (review), 761.
—— The Hundred Names (review), 190.
Musical Instruments, a Maghribi Work on, 339.
Myres, J. L., Discoveries in Anatolia 1930–31 (review), 393.

N

Nāropā, *à propos* the Legend of, 677.
Nicholson, R. A. (lecture), 238.
—— Sukhanvarān-Īrān dar 'Aṣr-i-Ḥāzir (review), 395.
Note on the Allahabad Pillar of Aśoka, A, 697.
Notes of the Quarter, 233, 439, 583, 788.
Notices, 251, 439, 619, 796.

O

Obermiller, E., Bu-ston's History of Buddhism and the Mañjuśrī-mūla-tantra, 299.
Obituary Notices:
  Budge, E. A. Wallis, 436.
  Giles, Herbert Allen, 577.
  Gombocz, Zoltán, 580.
  Guidi, Ignazio, 785.
  Hirschfeld, Hartwig, 229.
  Hull, Eleanor Henrietta, 579.
  Laufer, Berthold, 230.
  Soothill, W. E., 783.
  Thompson, John, 786.
Oldham, C. E. A. W., Alexanders Kampf gegen Porus (review), 192.
—— Annual Report of the Archeological Department of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions (review), 205.
—— Fall of the Mughal Empire (review), 575.
—— Groundwork of Indian History (review), 414.
—— L'Oeuvre de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan (review), 203.
—— Nouvelles Recherches Archéologiques à Bāmiyān (review), 202.
—— The Maukharis (review), 415.
Omissions in Pali Canonical Lists, Curious, 721.

P

Pali Canonical Lists, Curious Omissions in, 721.
Parlett, H., The Bamboo Broom: an Introduction to Japanese Haiku (review), 416.
Parlett, H. G., The Civilizations of the East, vol. iv, Japan (review), 738.
Pharmacy from the Cairo Genizah, A Fragment of, 123.
Pillar of Aśoka, A Note on the Allahabad, 697.
Plates:
  I. New Coins from Sīstān, 115.
  II. Fragment on Pharmacy, 124.
  III. „ „ „ 125.
  IV. „ „ „ 128.
  V. „ „ „ 129.
  VI. The Capital of the Allahabad Pillar, 700.
  VII. Allahabad Pillar as seen by Tieffenthaler, 700.
  VIII. The Cas-chrom, 708.
Pratt, J. H., Lady Precious Stream (review), 366.
—— The Pageant of Chinese History (review), 727.
Presentations and Additions, 256, 444, 622, 799.
Principal Contents of Oriental Journals, 253, 442, 620, 797.
Psalm XXXV, v. 16. The Meaning of מָעוֹג, 355.
Punch-marked Coins, The: a Survival of the Indus Civilization, 307, 720.

R

Rāma-Carita-Mānasa regarding its Date, An Important Interpretation in the, 717.
Ras-Shamra, A Proto-Hebrew Epic from, 1.
Ratnasuriya, M. D., Far-off Things: treating of the History, Aborigines, Myths and Jungle Mysteries of Ceylon (review), 433.

Reviews of Books:
Aanwisten op ethnografisch en anthropologisch gebied van de

REVIEWS OF BOOKS :

afdeeling Volkenkunde van het Koloniaal Instituut, 191.
Acharya, Dr. P. K. (translated from the original Sanskrit by), Architecture of Mānasāra, 777.
—— Mānasāra on Architecture and Sculpture, 777.
Adatrechtbundels, 184.
Aiyer, K. V. Subrahmanya (edited by), South-Indian Inscriptions (Texts), 762.
'Alī, M. Turāb (edited by), Three Arabic Treatises in Alchemy by Muḥammad bin Umail (tenth cent. A.D.), 564.
Allen, Bernard M., The Rt. Hon. Sir Ernest Satow, G.C.M.G., A Memoir, 395.
Andersson, J. Gunnar, Children of the Yellow Earth: Studies in Prehistoric China, 388.
Andrae, W., Die jüngeren Ischtar-Tempel in Assur, 753.
Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology for the Year 1932, 368.
Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology for the Year 1933, 774.
Assaf, S., The Book of Shetaroth (Formulary) of R. Hai Gaon (Supplement to Tarbiz. I, III), 729.
Atiya, A. S., The Crusade of Nicopolis, 426.
Bang, W. (edited by), Türkisch Turfantexte. VI. Das Buddhistische Sūtra Sākiz Yükmäk, 548.
Baud, Marcelle, and Drioton, Étienne, Tombes Thébaines, 157.
Baynes, Charlotte A., A Coptic Gnostic Treatise contained in the Codex Brucianus, 401.
Belloni-Filippi, Prof. Ferdinando (traduzione dal sanscrito con Introduzione e Note del), Due Upaniṣad, 763.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS :

Bhattacharyya, Benoytosh (critically edited with a preface by), Śaktisaṅgama Tantra, 213.
Bhuyan, S. K., ed., Tung Khungia Buranji, or a History of Assam, A.D. 1681–1826, 162.
Bose, M. M. (edited by), Paramattha-Dīpanī: Iti-Vuttakaṭṭhakathā of Dhammapālâcariya, 566.
Brahma, Nalini Kanta, Philosophy of Hindu Sādhanā, 537.
Breasted, J. H., The Dawn of Conscience, 397.
Breloer, Bernhard, Alexanders Kampf gegen Porus, 192.
Britton, Roswell S., The Chinese Periodical Press, 1800–1912, 189.
Buiskool, H. E., Pūrvatrāsiddham, 781.
Buren, E. Douglas van, The Flowing Vase and the God with the Streams, 219.
Carri, Jean Marie, Voyageurs et écrivains français en Égypte, 675.
Cenival, Pierre de (text Portugais du xvi^e Siècle traduit et annoté par), Chronique de Santa-Cruz du Cap de Gué (Agadir), 749.
Chiera, Edward, Joint Expedition with the Iraq Museum at Nuzi, 746.
Chamberlain, Basil Hall (with annotations by the late W. G. Aston), Translation of "Ko-ji-ki" or "Records of Ancient Matters", 178.
C̲h̲andrakānta Abhidān, a Dictionary of the Assamese Language, 382.
Chang, T'ien-tsê, Sino-Portuguese Trade from 1514 to 1644, 410.
Chassinat, Émile, Le Temple d'Edfou, 411.
Chatterjee, Bijan Raj, India and Java, 195.
Chintamani, T. R. (edited by), The Uṇādisūtras in various

REVIEWS OF BOOKS :

Recensions. 1. The Unādisūtras with the Vṛtti of Śvetavanavāsin, 551.
Chintamini, T. R. (edited by), Sahitya-ratnakara, 531.
Combe, Ét., and others, Répertoire Chronologique d'Épigraphie Arabe, 520, 554.
Contenau, Dr. G., Monuments Mésopotamiens, 752.
Csillik, Dr. Barthélemy, Les Manuscrits mineurs des Rubâ'iyât de 'Omar Khayyâm dans la bibliothèque nationale, 183.
Cumming, Charles Gordon, The Assyrian and Hebrew Hymns of Praise, 728.
Dainelli, Giotto, Buddhists and Glaciers of Western Tibet, 741.
Davids, Mrs. Rhys, Outlines of Buddhism, 543.
Davidson, Israel, The Book of the Wars of the Lord, 767.
Delaporte, Louis, Die Völker des Antiken Orients Die Babylonier, Assyrier, Perser und Phöniker, 567.
Deshmukh, P. S., The Origin and Development of Religion in Vedic Literature, 537.
Dharampur, Maharana Vijayadevi of, Sangit Bhāva [I, Rāg Bhairav], 196.
Dodwell, H. H. (edited by), The Cambridge Shorter History of India, 363.
Dougherty, Raymond Philip, Archives from Erech, 198.
du Buisson, Comte du Mesnil, La Technique des Fouilles Archéologiques, 538.
Elgood, C., Persian Medicine (Clio Medica), 534.
Embree, Edwin R., and others, Island India goes to School, 745.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS :

Emeneau, M. B., Jambhaladatta's Version of the Vetalapañcaviṅśati, 770.
Engberg, Robert M., and Shipton, Geoffrey M., Notes on the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age Pottery of Megiddo, 424.
Études d'Orientalisme, 168.
Faridabadi, S. Hashimi (edited by), Tughluqnāma, by Amīr Khusraw of Dihlī, 409.
Feghali, Michel, Textes Libanais (en Arabe Oriental), 400.
Fischer, A., Beiträge zum Verständnis Religiöser Muslimischer Texte, 189.
Frankfort, Henry, Tell Asmar, Khafaje and Khorsabad, 399.
Furlani, G., Il Poema della Creasione (*enūma eliš*), 410.
Gabain, A. von and others, Türkische Turfantexte. VI. Das Buddhistische Sūtra Säkiz Yükmäk, 548.
Gampert, Wilhelm and others (edited by), Festschrift Moriz Winternitz, 555.
Garrett, G. T. and Thompson, E., Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India, 515.
Ghosh, Batakrishna, Les Formations nominales et verbales en *p* du Sanskrit, 526.
Garstang, John, The Heritage of Solomon, 737.
Giles, Herbert A., and Waley, Arthur (translated by), 英譯中國歌詩選 Select Chinese Verses, 761.
Goichon, A.-M., Introduction à Avicenne, 533.
Goitein, S. D. F., Jemenica : Sprichwörter und Redensarten aus Zentral-Jemen mit zahlreichen Sach- und Wörtererläuterungen, 405.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS:

Gómez, Emiloi García, Elogio del Islam Español by Al-Šaqundi, 552.
Gowen, Herbert H., A History of Religion, 417.
Gray, Louis H., Introduction to Semitic Comparative Linguistics, 766.
Grousset, René (translated from the French by Catherine Alison Grousset), The Civilizations of the East, vol. ii. India, 419.
—— The Civilizations of the East, vol. iii, China (translated from the French by Catherine Alison Phillips), 779.
—— (translated from the French by Catherine Alison Phillips), The Civilizations of the East, vol. iv, Japan, 738.
Hackin, J. (avec la collaboration de J. Carl), Nouvelles Recherches Archéologiques à Bāmiyān, 202.
—— L'Œuvre de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan (1922–1932), 203.
Haenisch, Erich (edited by), Monggo Han Sai Da Sekiyen, 183.
The Handbook of Palestine and Trans-Jordan, 433.
Hare, E. M. (translated by), The Book of the Gradual Sayings (Aṅguttaranikāya), or More Numbered Suttas, vol. iii, 566.
Hart, Henry H., The Hundred Names, 190.
Helfricht, O. L., Bijdragen tot de kennis van het Midden Maleisch (Besemahsch en Sĕrawajsch Dialect), 744.
Henderson, Harold Gould, The Bamboo Broom : An introduction to Japanese Haiku, 416.
Herzfeld, E., Iranische Denkmäler, 198.
Hoffmann, Rev. J., in collaboration with Rev. A. Van Emelen, Encyclopædia Mundarica, 430.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS:

Hsiung, S. I. (with a preface by Lascelles Abercrombie), Lady Precious Stream, 366.
Hutchison, J., and Vogel, J. Ph., History of the Panjab Hill States, 171.
Iqbal, Abbas, Khanadan-i Nawbakhti, 739.
—— Tārīkh-i Mufaṣṣal-i Irān az Istīlā-i Mughul ta Ī'lāni Mashrūṭiyat, 408.
Iqbal, Sir Mohammad, The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, 406.
Iraq, vol. I, Part 1, April, 1934, 429.
Ishaque, M., Sukhanvarān-i-Īrān dar 'asr-i-hazir (Poets and Poetry of Modern Persia), vol. I, 395.
Ivanow, W., A Guide to Ismaili Literature, 206.
Iyangār, Yogī Srīnivāsa (text and English translation by), Haṭhayoga-pradīpikā of Svātmārāma Svāmin, 731.
Jacob, B., Das Erste Buch der Tora : Genesis, 750.
Jacobi Hermann (edited by), Triṁśikāvijñapti des Vasubandhu mit des Ācārya Sthiramati, 529.
Jain, Banarsi Das, A Phonology of Panjabi and A Ludhiani Phonetic Reader, 772.
Jain, Hiralal (critically edited by), Ṇāyakumāracarin of Puṣpadanta. An Apabhramśa work of the tenth century, 523.
Jarring, Gunnar, Studien zu einer Osttürkischen Lautlehre, 383.
Jhaveri, Divan Bahadur Krishnalal M. The Present State of Gujarati Literature 755.
Johnson, Helen M., Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra. Vol. I, Ādīśvaracaritra, 523.
Johnston, Sir Reginald (with a

preface by the Emperor), Twilight in the Forbidden City, 420.
Jubiläumsband herausgegeben von der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens anlässlich ihres 60 jährigen Bestehens 1873–1933, 209.
Junker, Herman, Die Völker des Antiken Orients: Die Ägypter, 567.
Kahle, Paul, and Mustafa, Muhammed (herausgegeben von), Die Chronik des Ibn Ijās in Gemeinschaft mit Moritz Sobernheim, 200.
Kane, P. V., text (reconstructed), translation, notes, and introduction by. कात्यायनस्मृति सारोद्धार or Kātyāyanasmṛti on Vyavahāra (Law and Procedure), 428.
Kapadia, H. R. (critically edited with introductions, indices, and appendices by), Padmānanda Mahakavya by Amaracandra Sūri, 213.
Karlgren, Bernhard, The Poetical Parts in Lao-Tsï, 519.
—— Shih King Researches, 519.
Kempers, Dr. A. J. Bernet, The Bronzes of Nalanda and Hindu-Javanese Art, 208.
Kian Gholam-Reza, Introduction à l'Histoire de la Monnaie et Histoire monétaire de la Perse, des Origines à la Fin de la Période Parthe, 532.
Kohli, Sita Ram (edited by), Trial of Diwan Mul Raj (Governor of Multan), 393.
Korn, Dr. V. E. De Dorpsrepubliek Tnganan Pagringsingan, 192.
Kramrisch, St., Indian Sculpture, 399.
Krishna, Lajwanti Rama, Les Sikhs, origine et développement de la Communauté jusqu'à nos Jours, 532.

Krishnamacharya, Embar (critically edited with an introduction in Sanskrit, indices, etc., by; with a foreword by the General Editor). Jayākhyasaṃhitā, 221.
Kumarappa, Bharatan, The Hindu Conception of the Deity as culminating in Ramanuja, 545.
Lalou, Marcelle, Bibliographie Bouddhique, IV–V, Mai, 1931–33, 428.
Law, B. C., A History of Pali Literature, 170.
Lentz, Wolfgang and others, Manichäische Dogmatik aus chinesischen und iranien Texten, 546.
Levy, R., An Introduction to the Sociology of Islam, 158.
Liebenthal Walther, Satkārya in der Darstellung seiner buddhistischen Gegner, 524.
Luce, G. H., and Tin, Pe Maung, Inscriptions of Burma, 163.
Macler, Frédéric (translated and adapted by), Contes, Légendes et Épopées populaires d'Arménie, 527.
MacMichael, Sir Harold, The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 742.
Macnicol, Nicol, The Living Religions of the Indian People, 756.
Magali-Boisnard, Mme., Sultans de Touggourt, 521.
Mamour, Prince P. H., Polemics on the Origin of the Fatimi Caliphs, 740.
Margoliouth, D. S., Catalogue of the Arabic Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, 554.
Masson-Oursel, P., Willman-Grabowska, H., and Stern, Philippe, Ancient India and Indian Civilization, 434.
Meriggi, Piero, Die Längsten

REVIEWS OF BOOKS :

Bauinschriften in "Hethitischen" Hieroglyphen nebst Glossar zu sämtlichen Texten, 759.
Mingana, A. (edited and translated by), Woodbrooke Studies. Vol. VII: Early Christian Mystics, 560.
Misra, Pt. Binayak, Orissa under the Bhauma Kings, 528.
Morison, J. L., Lawrence of Lucknow, 1806–1857, 165.
Mudiraj, K. Krishnaswamy, Pictorial Hyderabad, 169.
Mumford, W. B., and others, Island India goes to School, 745.
Nau, François, Les Arabes Chrétiens de Mésopotamie et de Syrie du VII^e au VIII^e Siècle, 185.
Notton, M. Camille, Annales du Siam, 404.
Nykl, A. R., El Cancionero de Aben Guzman (Ibn Quzmān), 525.
—— (edited by, in collaboration with Ibrahim Tuqan). Kitāb al-Zahrah (The Book of Flower), 188.
O'Leary, De Lacy (edited by), The Difnar (Antiphonarium) of the Coptic Church. Part III, 390.
Olmstead, A. T., History of Palestine and Syria to the Macedonian Conquest, 176.
Osten, Hans Henning von der, Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mr. Edward T. Newell, 568.
—— Martin, Richard A., and Morrison, John A., Discoveries in Anatolia, 1930–31, 393.
Palacios, M. A., La Espiritualidad de al-Gazel y su sentido Cristiano, 522.
Paravitana, S. (edited and translated by), Epigraphia Zeylanica, 550.
Pauty, M. Edmond, Les bois sculptées jusqu'à l'époque Ayyoubid, 211.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS :

Payne, Ernest A., The Sāktas, An Introductory and Comparative Study, 385.
Pfeiffer, Robert H. (selected and copied by), Excavations at Nuzi. Vol. II: The Archives of Shilwateshub, Son of the King, 747.
Pillai, K. N. Sivaraja, The Chronology of the Early Tamils, 571.
Pires, E. A., The Maukharis, 415.
Prestage, Edgar, The Portuguese Pioneers, 409.
Proceedings of the Scottish Anthropological Society, 434.
Quarterly of the Department on Antiquities in Palestine, 373.
Rachmati, G. R., and others, Türkische Turfantexte. VI. Das Buddhistische Sūtra Säkiz Yükmäk, 548.
Religion: The Journal of the Transactions of the Society for Promoting the Study of Religions, 434.
Ricard, Robert (traduction française avec introduction et commentaires par). Un Document portugais sur la Place de Mazagan au Débout du XVII^e Siècle, 407.
Richards, J. A., Mencius on the Mind, 155.
Robinson, A. E., Rock Pictures, 434.
Roque, F. Bisson de la, Medamoud, 413.
Rosenbaum, Rev. M., and Silvermann, Dr. A. M. (translated into English and annotated by, in collaboration with A. Blashki and L. Joseph). Pentateuch with Targum Onkelos, Haphtaroth and Prayers for Sabbath and Rashi's Commentary, 750.
Ross, Sir E. Denison and Wingate, Rachel O., Dialogues in the Eastern Türki Dialect on Subjects of Interest to Travellers (collected and edited by), 383.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS:

Sardesai, G. S., ed., Selections from the Peshwa's Daftar. No. 29, Affairs of Northern India: Peshwa Madhavrao I; No. 30, Miscellaneous Papers of Shahu and his first two Peshwas; No. 31, Selected Papers from the Jamav Section; No. 32, Private Life of the Later Peshwas; No. 33, Shahu's Campaign against the Sidis of Janjira, 161.
—— (edited by), Selections from the Peshwa's Daftar. No. 34, Bassein Campaign (supplementary); No. 35, Capture of Salsette by the English; No. 36, The First Maratha War, and Miscellaneous (Persian) Papers, 572; No. 37, Karnatak Expeditions of Madhavrao I; No. 38, Madhavrao Ballal and the Nizam; No. 39, Administrative Papers of Madhavrao I; No. 40, Miscellaneous Papers of Peshwa Balaji Rao, 574.
Sarkar, Jadunath, Fall of the Mughal Empire, 575.
Sassoon, David S., Ohel Dawid, 542.
Sastri, Dr. Hirananda, Shitāb Khān of Warangal, 397.
Sastri, K. A. Nilakanta, Studies in Cōla History and Administration, 527.
Saunders, Kenneth, The Ideals of East and West, 747.
Sauvaget, J., Répertoire Chronologique d'Épigraphie Arabe, 520, 554.
Schechter, Rabbi Abraham I. Lectures on Jewish Liturgy, 181.
Schuurman, Dr. B. M., Mystik und Glaube im Zusammenhang mit der Mission auf Java, 195.
Seeger, Elizabeth, The Pageant of Chinese History, 727.
Sen, S. N., and Raychaudhuri, H. C., The Groundwork of Indian History, 414.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS:

Sewell, Robert (edited by S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar), The Historical Inscriptions of South India Collected till 1923 and Outlines of Political History, 207.
Simon, M. S., and others, Island India goes to School, 745.
Sinha, Jadunath, Indian Psychology: Perception, 536.
Smedt, A. de, and Mostaert, A., Le Dialecte monguor parlé par les Mongols du Kansu Occidental: III^e Partie. Dictionnaire Monguor-Français, 726.
Solomon, W. E. Gladstone, Essays on Mogul Art, 392.
Spinner, S., Herkunft, Entstehung und antike Umwelt des hebräischen Volkes, 180.
Spittel, R. L., Far-off Things: treating of the history, aborigines, myths, and jungle mysteries of Ceylon, 432.
Stein, Otto, and others (edited by), Festschrift Moriz Winternitz, 555.
Tafrali, O., Arta şi Archeologia, 196.
Takakusu, M., The Samkhya Karika, Studied in the light of the Chinese Version, 531.
Thakur, Amareswar Thakur, Hindu Law of Evidence, 171.
Thompson, E., and Garratt, G. T., Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India, 515.
Tīrtha, Swāmī Trivikrama (critically edited with an introduction and index by; with a foreword by B. Bhattāchāryya). Paramanda Sutra, 221.
Torrey, Charles Cutter, The Jewish Foundation of Islam, 206.
Trenckner, V. (begun by; revised, continued, and edited by Dines Andersen and Helmer Smith), A Critical Pali Dictionary, 396.
Tucci, Giuseppe (edited with introduction and indices by), The

REVIEWS OF BOOKS:

Commentaries on the Prajñāpāramitās, 214.
Väth, Alfons, Die India, 726.
Vogel, J. Ph., Op het voetspoor van Boeddha, 744.
Waldschmidt, Ernst and others, Manichäische Dogmatik aus chinesischen und iranischen Texten, 546.
Watzinger, Carl, Denkmäler Palästinas, 539.
Wales, H. G. Quaritch, Ancient Siamese Government and Administration, 743.
Waterman, Leroy, Second Preliminary Report upon the Excavations at Tel Umar, Iraq, conducted by the University of Michigan, etc., 725.
Waxman, Meyer, A History of Jewish Literature, 167.
Weill, M. Jean David, Les bois à épigraphes jusqu'à l'époque Mamlouke, 211.
Weir, C. J. Mullo, A Lexicon of Accadian Prayers in the Rituals of Expiation, 217.
Weiss, Theodor, Zur Ostsyrischen Laut-und Akzentlehre, 186.
Wensinck, A. J., Concordances et Indices de la Tradition Musulmane, Liv. I, 553.
Whitehouse, Wilfred (translated from the Japanese by), Ochikubo Monogatari or The Tale of the Lady Ochikubo, 759.
Wiet, G., and others, Répertoire Chronologique d'Épigraphie Arabe, 520, 554.
Woodward, F. L. (translated by), The Book of the Gradual Sayings (Anguttaranikāya) or More Numbered Suttas, Vol. II, 566.
Yahuda, A. S., The Accuracy of the Bible, 734.
Yoshitake, S., The Phonetic System of Ancient Japanese, 771.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS:

Yazdani, G., Annual Report of the Archæological Department of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions for the Year 1929–30, 205.
Yetts, W. Perceval, The Horse: A Factor in Early Chinese History, 365.
Zulay, Menahem, Zur Liturgie der babylonischen Juden, 562.
Les Mosquées du Caire, Notes on, by Louis Hautecœur and Gaston Wiet, 223.
—— By K. A. C. Creswell, 225.

RICHARDS, F. J., South-Indian Inscriptions (Texts) (review), 762.
—— The Chronology of the Early Tamils (review), 571.
ROBINSON, T. H., Das Erste Buch der Tora: Genesis (review), 750,
—— Denkmäler Palästinas (review), 539.
ROSS, ALAN S. C., Zoltán Gombocz (obituary), 580.
"Round Dates" in the "Narrative about Sanjāh", The, 509.
ROY, S. C., Encyclopædia Mundarica (review), 430.

S

Saktapur Grant of Laksmana Sena Deva, The, 73.
Sanjān," The "Round Dates" in the "Narrative about, 509.
SASTRI, K. A. Nilakantha, The Date of Bhūti Vikramakēsari, 475.
SCHRADER, F. OTTO, On the Form of the Bhagavadgītā Contained in the Kashmirian Mahabhārata, 146.
SEDDON, C. N., The Present State of Gujarati Literature (review), 755.
SHORTER, ALAN W., E. A. Wallis Budge (obituary), 436.

Sistān, New Coin Evidence from, 115.
Smith, Margaret, A History of Religion (review), 417.
—— The Hindu Conception of the Deity as culminating in Ramanuja (review), 545.
—— The Ideals of East and West (review), 747.
Smith, Sidney, Tell Asmar, Khafaje and Khorsabad (review), 399.
Somogyi, J. de, A Collection of Literary Remains of Ignace Goldziher, 149.
—— Alexander Csoma de Körös, 233.
—— Un Document portugais sur la Place de Mazagan au Début du xvii^e siècle (review), 407.
Soothill, W. E., Mencius on the Mind (review), 155.
Specimen of the Thūlung Dialect, A, 629.
Stapleton, H. E., Pictorial Hyderabad (review), 169.
Stark, Miss Freya (lecture), 241.
Stede, W., A History of Pali Literature (review), 170.
—— Outlines of Buddhism (review), 543.
—— The Uṇādisūtras in various Recensions (review), 551.
Stewart, J. A., Inscriptions of Burma (review), 163.
Strangways, A. H. Fox, The Gāndhāra grāma, 689.
Szabolcsi, Benedict, The Eastern Relations of Early Hungarian Folk-Music, 483.

T

Tablet, A Curious Drehem, 358.
Thomas, E. J., Jayākhyasaṃhitā (review), 221.
— Ṇāyakumāracariu of Puṣpadanta (review), 523.
—— Pārānanda Sūtra (review), 221.
Thomas, E. J., Pūrvatrāsiddham (review), 781.
—— Sahitya-Ratnakara (review), 531.
—— Shitāb Khān of Warangal (review), 397.
—— The Samkhya Karika, studied in the Light of the Chinese Version (review), 531.
—— Triṣaṣṭiśatakāpuruṣacaritra, Vol. I, Ādiśvaracaritra (review), 523.
Thomas, F. W., Eleanor Henrietta Hull (obituary), 579.
Thompson, R. Campbell, La Technique des Fouilles Archéologiques (review), 538.
Thūlung Dialect, A specimen of the, 629.
Tokharian Elements in the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan, 667.
Towers, J. R., The Accuracy of the Bible (review), 734.
Transliteration of Oriental Alphabets, 267.
Tribal Name *Mes* (*Mech*), A Note on the, 145.
Triennial Gold Medal, 609.
Tritton, A. S., Introduction to Semitic Comparative Linguistics (review), 766.
—— Textes libanais (en Arabe Oriental) (review), 400.
—— The Illustration to the Doctrine of the " Leap ", 514.
Tso-chuan, Some Ethical Ideals of the, 273, 449.
Tucci, G., *A propos* the Legend of Nāropā, 677.
Turkestan, Tokharian Elements in the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese, 667.

V

Vikramakēsari, The Date of Bhūti, 475.

W

Waddy, C., The Crusade of Nicopolis (review), 426.

Wales, H. G. Q., India and Java (review), 195.

—— Annales du Siam (review), 404.

Waley, A., The Phonetic System of Ancient Japanese (review), 771.

Walker, J., Introduction à l'Histoire de la Monnaie et Histoire monétaire de la Perse des Origines à la Fin de la Periode Parthe (review), 532.

—— New Coin Evidence from Sīstān, 115.

Walsh, E. H. C., Orissa under the Bhauma Kings (review), 528.

Weir, C. J. **Mullo**, Monuments Mésopotamiens (review), 752.

Wiet, G., Les Mosquées du Caire (review), 223.

Wilkinson, J. V. S., Essays on Mogul Art (review), 392.

Williams, L. F. **Rushbrook**, The Cambridge Shorter History of India (review), 363.

Wilson, **Arnold**, Persian Medicine (review), 534.

Wolfenden, S. N., A Note on the Tribal Name *Mes* (*Mech*), 145.

—— A specimen of the Thūlung Dialect, 629.

Woodroffe, John, The Śāktas (review), 385.

Y

Yahuda, A. S. (lecture), 792.

Yetts, W. **Perceval**, Recent Finds near An-yang, 467.

Stephen Austin & Sons, Ltd., Hertford.

LIST OF THE MEMBERS

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

FOUNDED MARCH, 1823

JULY, 1935

74 GROSVENOR STREET
LONDON, W. 1

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

Patron

HIS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY THE KING.

Vice-Patrons

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES.
FIELD-MARSHAL HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT.

THE VICEROY OF INDIA.
THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

Honorary Vice-Presidents

1925 THE RIGHT HON. LORD CHALMERS, P.C., G.C.B., F.B.A.
1925 SIR GEORGE A. GRIERSON, O.M., K.C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Litt.

COUNCIL OF MANAGEMENT FOR 1935–36

President

1934 PROFESSOR D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, M.A., D.Litt., F.B.A.

Director

1934 SIR E. DENISON ROSS, Kt., C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Lit.

Vice-Presidents

1934 L. D. BARNETT, Esq., M.A., Litt.D.
1935 C. OTTO BLAGDEN, Esq., M.A., Hon. D.Litt.
1933 SIR WILLIAM FOSTER, Kt., C.I.E.
1934 SIR EDWARD D. MACLAGAN, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., M.A.

Honorary Officers

1919 A. G. ELLIS, Esq., M.A. (*Hon. Librarian*).
1935 C. E. A. W. OLDHAM, Esq., C.S.I. (*Hon. Secretary*).
1923 E. S. M. PEROWNE, Esq., F.S.A. (*Hon. Treasurer*).

Ordinary Members of Council

1932 H. W. BAILEY, Esq., M.A., Ph.D.
1932 A. M. BLACKMAN, Esq., M.A., D.Litt.
1933 R. P. DEWHURST, Esq., M.A., I.C.S.
1935 R. E. ENTHOVEN, Esq., C.I.E.
1934 M. GASTER, Ph.D.
1935 REV. PROFESSOR A. GUILLAUME.
1934 L. C. HOPKINS, Esq., I.S.O.
1935 PROFESSOR S. H. LANGDON, M.A., B.D., Ph.D., F.B.A.
1935 R. S. LE MAY, Esq.
1934 REV. PROFESSOR A. C. MOULE., Litt.D.
1934 R. A. NICHOLSON, Esq., Litt.D.
1934 H. N. RANDLE, Esq., M.A., Ph.D.
1933 SIR JOHN P. THOMPSON, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., M.A.
1935 A. S. TRITTON, Esq., D.Litt.
1935 PROFESSOR R. L. TURNER, M.C., M.A., Litt.D.
1934 SIR OLIVER WARDROP, K.B.E., C.M.G., M.A.

Secretary and Librarian

1930 COL. D. M. F. HOYSTED, C.B.E., D.S.O.

Asst. Secretary

1925 MRS. M. DAVIS.

Asst. Librarian

1932 MRS. F. M. G. CARDEW.

Honorary Solicitors

Messrs. T. L. WILSON & Co.,
Westminster Chambers, 5 Victoria Street, S.W.1.

COMMITTEES

Entente

PROF. S. H. LANGDON.
SIR E. D. MACLAGAN.
PROF. R. A. NICHOLSON.

Finance

THE PRESIDENT.
THE DIRECTOR.
THE HON. OFFICERS.

Library

THE HON. OFFICERS.
DR. L. D. BARNETT.
DR. C. O. BLAGDEN.
MR. G. L. M. CLAUSON.
SIR W. FOSTER.
DR. M. GASTER.
MR. C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.
PROF. W. P. YETTS.

Publications

DR. C. O. BLAGDEN.
SIR EDWARD GAIT.
MR. L. C. HOPKINS.
PROF. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.
SIR E. DENISON ROSS.

University Prize Committee

SIR W. FOSTER (Convener).
SIR R. BURN.
MR. C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

Honorary Auditors, 1935-36

MR. R. E. ENTHOVEN (for the Council).
SIR R. BURN (for the Society).

Members

RESIDENT AND NON-RESIDENT

N.B.—The marks prefixed to the names signify—

- * Non-resident Members.
- ‖ Borrowing Members.
- † Members who have compounded for their subscriptions.
- ‡ Library Associates.
- ¶ Student Associates.
- § Members who have served on Council.

1902 **His Most Excellent Majesty the King**, K.G.

1882 **Field-Marshal His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught**, K.G.

1934 ***Abbott**, J., *Hertford House, Beaulieu, Hants.*

1925 *†**Abidi**, Saiyyid M. A. H. H., M.A., L.T., *King Edward College, Amrasti, Berar, India.*

1923 ***Acharya**, Girjashankar V., B.A., *Curator, Arch. Section, Prince of Wales Museum, Fort, Bombay, India.*

1930 ***Acharya**, Paramananda, B.Sc., Arch. Scholar., *Mayurbhanj State, P.O. Baripada, Orissa, India.*

1931 ***Adikesavulu Naidu**, C., *Landed Proprietor,* "*Gokūl Villa,*" *Triplicane, Madras, India.*

1919 ***Adil**, Maulvi Md. Akhtar, M.A., LL.B., *Advocate High Court, Govt. Pleader,* 38 *Civil Lines, Agra, U.P., India.*

F.E.M. 1932 **Afghan Minister**, H.E. The, *The Afghan Legation,* 31 *Prince's Gate, S.W.* 7.

10 1912 ***Afzal**, Nawabzada Bahadur Khwaja Muhammad, *The Palace,* 1 *Govinda Das Road, Armanitola, Dacca, E.B. & A., India.*

1918 *†**Ahmad**, Maulvi K., *Shams ul-Ulama, M.A., c/o Lloyd's Bank, Ltd., P. Box, No.* 233, *Calcutta, India.*

1921 ***Ahmad**, Nayer Laiq, M.A., B.Litt., *Prof. of History, Ismail College, Andheri, Bombay, India.*

1922 ***Ahmad Shah**, Rev. Dr., "*Nur Manzil,*". *Rajpure, Dist. Dehra Dun, U.P., India.*

1935 ***Ahmedali**, S. A., *New College, Oxford.*

1912 ***Ainscough**, Sir T. M., Kt., C.B.E., *P. Box, No.* 683, *Fairlie House, Fairlie Place, Calcutta, India.*

1903 ***Aiyangar**, Prof. S. Krishnaswami, Rao Bahadur, M.A., "*Śripadam,*" 143 *Brodie's Road, Mylapore, Madras, India.*

1917 *†**Aiyer**, M. S. Ramaswami, B.A., *Tirusalem,* 96 *Lloyd Rd., Royapetta, Madras, India.*

1931 ***Albertini**, Dott. Alberto, *Via XXIV, Maggio,* 14, *Rome, Italy.*

1930 **Allen**, W. E. D., M.P., 23 *Buckingham Gate, S.W.*1.

20 1904 ***Alvarez**, Justin C. W., *I.S.O., O.B.E., H.B.M. Consul-General* (*ret.*), *Union Club, Malta.*

1933 *Alwis, H. D. A., M.O.S.S., _Old Road, Panadure, Ceylon._

1927 *Anbian, Professor A. J., M.A., B.P.D., F.B.P.I., _Arumuganeri, Travancore, India._

Hon. 1926 Andersen, Dr. Phil. Prof. Dines, _Strandvej_ 3, _Copenhagen, Denmark._

1922 *Ansari, Md. Moinuddin, B.A., _Bar.-at-Law, Firinghi Mahal, Lucknow, U.P., India._

1915 *†Antani, Ratilal M., Mahad Raj Sabha, _Udaipur, Mewar, India._

1933 *Arberry, A. J., 45 _Taylor Road, Wallington, Surrey._

1921 *†Armbruster, Maj. C. H., M.A., O.B.E., _Marmacén, Puerto de Andraitx, Mallorca, Spain._

1935 *Atiya, A. S., M.A., Ph.D., 7 _Lemon Grove, Sefton Park, Liverpool,_ 8.

1921 *Ayscough, Mrs. F., D.Litt., 22 _Hauteville, Guernsey, C.I._

30 1934 *Ayyasami Naidu, G., _Special Magistrate, Pallatur, Madras, India._

1917 Baddeley, J. F., 9 _Keble Road, Oxford._

1928 *§Bailey, H. W., M.A., Ph.D., _School of Oriental Studies, Finsbury Circus, E.C._ 2.

1933 Bailey, Mrs. M. F., _Royal Hospital, Chelsea, S.W._ 3.

1903 †§Bailey, Rev. T. Grahame, D.Litt., B.D., M.A., _School of Oriental Studies, Finsbury Circus, E.C._ 2.

1928 *Bakhle, V. S., _High Court Vakil, Satara City, India._

1921 *Bamber, Chas. A., 32 _Stanley Avenue, Sefton Park, Bristol._

1910 *Banerjea, Dr. Rasbihari, M.B., F.S.A., Scot., _Post Box No._ 10805, _Calcutta, India._

1935 *Banerjee, Upendranath, M.D., _Agarpara, Kamarhati_; _P.O._ (24 _Parganas_), _India._

1926 *Banerji, Professor A. C., M.A., _Hon. Secretary, Public Library, Allahabad, U.P., India._

40 1934 *Bangalorevala, M. I. E. S. M., _Munshi and Linguist,_ 112 _Kambeker Street, Bombay,_ 3, _India._

1932 Barbour, D. N., _German Colony, Jerusalem, Palestine._

1926 *Barhut, Thakur Kishore Singh Ji, _State Historian to H.H.'s Government, Patiala, Punjab, India._

1904 §Barnett, Lionel D., M.A., Litt.D., Vice-President, _British Museum, W.C._ 1.

1890 *†Baroda, H.H. Sir Sayaji Rao Gaekwar Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Maharaja of, _India._

1928 *Barooah, Rai Bahadur Padmanath Gohain, _Govt. Special Literary Pensioner, Tezpur, Assam, India._

1921 *Basak, Radhagovinda, M.A., Ph.D., _Professor of Sanskrit, Presidency College, Calcutta, India._

1930 *Basawanal, S. S., M.A., _Principal, Lakhamagowda Sardesai High School, Dharwar, India._

1929 *Basu, Purna Gopal, L.M.P., _Jessore, Bengal, India._

1924 *Basu, Sriyukta Manishi Nath, Saraswati, M.A., B.L., _Keranitola, Midnapore, Bengal, India._

50 1934 ‡Beck, Miss F., 19 _Endsleigh Street, W.C._ 1.

1933 Bedford, O. H., L.R.I.B.A., 72 _Alder Grove, N.W._2.

1935 *Beeston, A. F. L., _Christ Church, Oxford._

1913 *†**Belvalkar**, Shripad K., M.A., Ph.D., *Prof. of Sanskrit, Deccan College, Bilvakunja, Bhamburda, Poona, India.*

1932 ‡**Bell**, Sir Charles, K.C.I.E., C.M.G., C.I.E., F.R.G.S., *Edgcumbe, Crowthorne, Berks.*

1932 ***Berman**, A. H., *Principal of Aria College,* 10 *Victoria Rd. N., Southsea, Hants.*

1913 ***Bernard**, Pierre A., *Rossiter House, Clarkstown Country Club, Nyack-on-Hudson, New York, U.S.A.*

1934 ***Bernard**, T. Casimir, B.A., LL.B., 400 *East 57th Street, New York City, U.S.A.*

1929 *†**Beswick**, F. H., 96 *Parkstone Avenue, Parkstone, Dorset.*

1882 *†**Bhabba**, Rev. Shapurje D., M.D., 8 *Drakefell Road, S.E.* 14.

60 1925 ***Bhandarkar**, D. R., 35 *Ballygunge Circular Road, Calcutta, India.*

1922 ***Bhargava**, Pandit Shri Dhar Lal, *Barrister-at-Law, Damodar-Bhawan, Jai Gunj, Aligarh, U.P., India.*

1925 ***Bhartiya**, N. Kishore, B.A., *Karachikhana, Cawnpore, India.*

1918 ***Bhat**, Prof. V. G., B.A., *Karnatak College, Dharwar, India.*

1909 ***Bhattacharya**, Babu Bisiswar, *Dep. Magistrate,* 16 *Townshend Rd., Bhawanipore P.O., Calcutta, India.*

1934 ***Bhattacharya**, V., *Principal, Vidyabhavana, Visvabharati, P.O. Santiniketan, Bengal, India.*

1931 ***Bhattasali**, N. K., M.A., Ph.D., *Curator, Dacca Museum, P.O. Ramna, Dacca, Bengal, India.*

1927 ***Bhide**, Mahadeva V., I.C.S., *Race Course Road, Lahore, India.*

1921 ***Bivar**, H. G. S., *c/o Grindlay & Co.,* 6 *Church Lane, Calcutta, India.*

1911 *§**Blackman**, A. M., M.A., D.Litt., 24 *Bardwell Road, Oxford.*

70 1924 ***Blackman**, Miss W. S., 17 *Bardwell Road, Oxford.*

1934 †**Blackwood**, Miss U. H., M.B.E., 18 *Lower Belgrave Street, S.W.* 1.

1895 §**Blagden**, C. Otto, M.A., Hon.D.Litt., Vice-President, *School of Oriental Studies, Finsbury Circus, E.C.* 2.

1909 ***Blunt**, Sir Edward A. H., K.C.I.E., O.B.E., I.C.S., *c/o Secretariat, Allahabad, U.P., India.*

1924 *†**Bodding**, Rev. P. O., *Gulleraasvei* 27, *Vettakollen P.O., per Oslo, Norway.*

1934 ‡**Bodé**, Miss O., 72 *Langbourne Mansions, Langbourne Avenue, Highgate, N.* 6.

1932 *‖**Bolus**, Rev. E. J., M.A., B.D., I.C.S. (ret.), *Monk Sherborne Rectory, Basingstoke.*

1927 ***Bonerjee**, K. Kavisekhar, M.A., *Chancellor of Honduran Consulate, Ramaniketan;* 10 *P. K. Tagore Street, Calcutta, India.*

1934 ***Bonsall**, Rev. B. S., M.A., D.Lit., B.D. (Lond.), 20 *Mill Hill Road, Norwich.*

1935 ***Boodberg**, Baron Peter A., Ph.D., 416 *Library, Univ. of California, Berkeley, Cal., U.S.A.*

80 1933 ***Bose**, K., M.A., *Headmaster, Bunbehari H.E. School, P.O. Kujang, Dist. Cuttack, Orissa, India.*

1928 **Bowen**, Harold C., 24a *Bryanston Square, W.* 1.

1911 ***Boyer**, M. l'Abbé A. M., 114 *Rue du Bac, Paris, VII.*

1928 ***Boyle**, Lieut.-Col. C. A., D.S.O., *General Staff, Delhi, India.*

Hon. 1923 Breasted, J. H., Ph.D., *Hon. D.Litt. (Oxon), Prof. of Egyptology, University of Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.*
1928 Brown, Mrs. J. Hally, *Craignahullie, Skelmorlie, Ayrshire, Scotland.*
1907 §Brown, R. Grant, I.C.S. (ret.), 2*b Belsize Lane, N.W.* 3.
1917 *Brown, Thos., *La Roque, Overton Road, Sutton, Surrey.*
1908 *Büchler, Dr. A., *Jews' College*; 261 *Goldhurst Terrace, N.W.* 6.
1922 *Buckler, Professor F. W., M.A., *The Graduate School of Theology, Oberlin, Ohio, U.S.A.*
90 1906 *†Burdwan, Hon. Maharajadhiraj Sir Bijay Chand M. Bahadur, Maharaja of, I.O.M., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., *The Palace, Burdwan, Bengal, India.*
1897 *§Burn, Sir Richard, Kt., C.S.I., 9 *Staverton Road, Oxford.*
1927 *Burnay, Jean, *Legal Adviser*, 3594 *Suriwongse Road, Bangkok, Siam.*
1932 *Burrow, T., B.A., 10 *Brunswick Terrace, Cambridge.*
1923 *Burrows, Father E. N. B., S.J., M.A., *Campion Hall, Oxford.*
1923 *Bushnell, G. H., *Chief Librarian, St. Andrews University, Fife, Scotland. Local Representative.*
1933 *Butes, Miss M. D., *Sesame Club*, 49 *Grosvenor Street*, W. 1.
1935 ‡Byron, R., *Savernake Lodge, Marlborough, Wilts.*

1927 *Cadell, Sir Patrick R., Kt., C.S.I., C.I.E., V.D., I.C.S. (ret.), *c/o Lloyds Bank*, 6 *Pall Mall, S.W.* 1. *Local Representative.*
1934 †*Canney, Prof. Maurice A., M.A., *Primrose Cottage, Long Crendon, Aylesbury, Bucks.*
100 1930 *Cardozo, D. A. Jessurun, 27 *Penshurst Road, Ramsgate, Kent.*
1934 ‡Carey, Miss H., *Mayfair Court, Stratton Street, W.* 1.
1934 *Carpani, E. G., *Via Indipendenza* 22, *Bologna, Italy.*
1923 *Castle, Rev. T. W., *Alperton Vicarage, Wembley, Middx.*
1926 *Chakrabarti, Babu Satish Chandra, M.A., *Asst. Headmaster, Patna High School, P.O. Anisabad, Patna, B. and O., India.*
1933 *Chakravarti, S. K., M.A., *Zamindar, Cooch Behar, Bengal, India.*
1924 *Chakravarty, Nirajan Prasad, M.A., Ph.D., *Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, Nilgiris, Madras, India.*
1922 §Chalmers, Lord, The Rt. Hon., P.C., G.C.B., F.B.A., Hon. Vice-President, *Stathern, Melton Mowbray, Leicestershire.*
1935 *Chambers, Rev. R. F., 136 *Canterbury Road, Croydon, Surrey.*
1928 *Chandra, Harish, B.A., *Income Tax Officer, Muzaffarnagar, N.W.P., India.*
110 1933 *Chandra, Rai Govind, M.A., *Visharad, Hastings House, Benares Cantt., India.*
1923 *Chandra, Sri Gopal, B.A., LL.B., *Puisne Judge, High Court of Judicature, Bikaner State, Bikaner, Rajputana, India.*
1928 Chappelow, Eric B. W., 26 *Lee Park, Blackheath, S.E.* 3.
1933 *Chariar, T. C. Varada, *Vakil, Poonamallee, Chingleput Dist., Madras, India.*
1920 *Charpentier, Jarl, Ph.D., *Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, The University, Upsala; Götgatan* 12, *Upsala, Sweden.*
1914 *†Chathoorbhoojadass, Dewan Bahadur Govindass, 459 *Mint St., George Town, Madras, India.*
1915 *Chatterjee, Sir Atul C., K.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., LL.D., *Withdean, Cavendish Road, Weybridge, Surrey.*

1926 *Chattopadhyaya, K., M.A., _Lecturer in Sanskrit, The University, Allahabad, India._
1933 *Chaudhary, Karim D., B.Sc., C.E., M.I.B.E., _Batala City, Gurdaspur Dist., Punjab, India._
1932 *Chaudhuri, Helish Chandra, _Zamindar, Shepurtown P.O., Mymensingh, Dist. Bengal, India._
120 1929 *Chaudhuri, Himanshu Ch., M.A., B.L., 67 _Jatindas Road, Kalighat P.O., Calcutta, India._
1923 *†Chaudhuri, Sati K. Ray, M.A., _Zemindar, Noapara, Dist. Jessore, India._
1926 *Chaudhury, Pramathabhusan Paul, M.A., B.L., _Krishnagar, Nadia, Bengal, India._
1934 *Chaudhury, S. P., _c/o T. Cook and Son (Bankers) Ltd., Berkeley Street., W._ 1.
1935 *Chettiar, P. R. M. P. S. R. M. Ramanathan, _Pallatur, Ramnad District, via Madras, India._
1921 *†Chetty, O. A. O. K. Chidambaram, _Banker, Pallatur, S. India._
1934 *Ch'in, Dr. Chung-Mien, _Secretary of the National Chi-Nan University, Shanghai, China._
F.E.M. 1932 Chinese Ambassador, H.E. The, _The Chinese Legation,_ 49 _Portland Place, W._ 1.
1918 *Chizen-Akanuma, _Shin-shu, Otani-Daigaku, Kuramaguchi, Kyoto, Japan._
1914 *Cholmeley, N. G., C.S.I., I.C.S. (ret.), _c/o Messrs. Grindlay & Co.,_ 54 _Parliament St., London, S.W._ 1.
130 1919 *Clark, Dr. Walter E., _Prof. of Sanskrit, Harvard University,_ 39 _Kirkland Street, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A._
1929 *Clarke, Miss Susan L., _c/o Miss A. A. Antrobus, Cranlegh, Wheatley, Oxford._
1912 §Clauson, Gerard L. M., C.M.G., O.B.E., F.S.A., 25 _Lansdowne Crescent, W._ 11.
1934 ‡Clay, Miss R., 11 _Tite Street, Chelsea._
1904 *Clementi, Sir Cecil, G.C.M.G., _c/o Admiral C. J. Eyres, D.S.O.,_ 16 _Burghley Road, Wimbledon, S.W._
1929 Clements, Miss Edith, L.R.A.M., 5 _Nottingham Terrace, N.W._ 1.
1907 *†Cochin, H.H. Maharaja Sri Sir Rama Varma, G.C.I.E., of, _S. India._
1910 *Codrington, Humphrey W., 43 _Palace Gdns. Terrace, W._8.
1920 *Coedès, George, Prof., _Directeur de l'École française d'Extrême Orient,_ 38 _Boulevard Henri Rivière, Hanoi, Indo-Chine._
1935 ‡Collis, M. S., 208 _Adelaide Road, N.W._ 3.
140 1935 ‡Cook, A. G., _British Museum, W.C._ 1.
1920*†§Cook, S. A., Litt.D., _Regius Professor of Hebrew, Cambridge University;_ 26 _Lensfield Road, Cambridge._
1919 *Cooke, Richard, _The Croft, Detling, Maidstone._
1906 *†Coomaraswamy, A. K., D.Sc., _Fellow for Research in Indian, Persian, and Muhammadan Art, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass., U.S.A._
1919 Cousland, Mrs. (Gertrude), _Elm Lodge,_ 31 _Kewferry Road, Northwood, Middlesex._
1912 *Creswell, Capt. K. A. C., 34 _Sharia Hasan el-Akbar, Cairo, Egypt._
1919 *Crum, W. E., 19 _Bathwick Hill, Bath._
1915 Cumming, Sir John Ghest, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., 52 _West Heath Drive, N.W._ 11.

1935 *CUTTS, Elmer H., *Dept. of Oriental Studies, University of Washington, Seattle, U.S.A.*

1908 *DAICHES, Dr. Samuel, 25 *Cavendish Road, N.W. 6.*

150 1931 *DALAL, Rustom D., 1 *New Marine Lines, Bombay, India.*

1924 *DALZIEL, Walter W., B.A., I.C.S., *Purulia, Bihar and Orissa, India.*

F.E.M. 1932 DAMRONG, Rājanubhāb, H.R.H. Prince, *Varadis Palace, Bangkok, Siam.*

1909 *DANDOY, Rev. G., S.J., *St. Xavier's College,* 30 *Park St., Calcutta, India.*

1935 *DANIEL, S. O., *c/o* 121*d Mission Road, Ahlone, Rangoon, Burma.*

1930 *DARBHANGA, Maharajadhiraja Kameswara Singha of, *Bihar and Orissa, India.*

1922 DAS, Rai Bahadur Ajit Nath, J.P., *Presidency Magistrate, Deputy Coroner and Zemindar,* 24/24*a South Road, Entally, Calcutta, India.*

1931 *DAS, Sukumar, B.Sc., M.D. (Hom.), *S. K. Hospital, L. D. Quarter, Mymensingh, Bengal, India.*

1931 *DATTA, Surendra Chandra, L.M.P., *M.O. in charge Sadar Hospital, Rangpur, Bengal, India.*

1927 *†DAVAR, Hans Raj, B.Sc., 103B *Model Town P.O., Lahore, Punjab, India.*

160 1931 *DAVE, T. N., M.A., B.T., Ph.D., *Gujrat College, Ahmedabad, India.*

1915 *DAVIES, Rev. Canon A. W., 14 *Linton Road, Oxford.*

1924 DAVIES, Capt. C. C., Ph.D., 70 *Longley Road, Harrow, Mdx.*

1923 *DAYAL, Rai Bahadur Prayag, *Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow, India.*

1921 *DE, Sushil Kumar, M.A., D.Litt., 19*a Chaudhuri Lane, Shyambazar, Calcutta, India.*

1932 *DEMIÉVILLE, P., *Professor of Chinese, École des Langues Orientales;* 4 *rue Mignard, Paris XVI^e.*

1931 *DEO, Kumar Bejoy Pratap Singh, *Serai Kella, via Sini, B.N. Rly., B. and O., India.*

1931 *DEO, Kumar Bidyadhar Singh, B.A., B.L., *Fort, Jeypore, Dt. Vizagapatam, India.*

1920 *DEO, Maharajkumar Sri Sudhansu S. Sing, *Sonpur Feudatory State, P.O. Sonpur Raj, via Sambalpur, India.*

1934 *DERASHRI, Pandit R. S., B.A., LL.B., *Banera (Mewar), Rajputana, India.*

170 1908 *DESIKA-CHARI, Sir T., *High Court Vakil, Cantonment, Trichinopoly, Madras, S. India.*

1912 *DEVA, Prof. Rama, *The Gurukula, Mahavidyala, Kangri, P.O. Shampur, Bijnor, U.P., India.*

1920 *DEVONSHIRE, Mrs. R. L., *El-Maadi, Nr. Cairo, Egypt. Local Representative.*

1904 *§DEWHURST, Robert Paget, M.A., I.C.S., *Isis Hotel, Iffley Rd., Oxford.*

1908 †*DHANI NIVAT, H.H. Prince, *Bangkok, Siam.*

1926 *DHRUVA, Prof. A. B., M.A., *Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University, Benares, India.*

1929 DICKSON, D. D., 66 *Portland Road, Holland Park, W.*

1922 *†DICKSON, Rev. Percy J., F.R.G.S., F.Z.S., *The Rectory, Mafeking, C.P., S. Africa.*

1926 *†Dikshit, K. N., *Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Indian Museum, Calcutta, India.*

1928 *Dillon, Myles, 2 *North Gt. George's Street, Dublin.*

180 1908 *†Din, Malik Muhammad, *Secretary, State Council, Tonk, Rajputana, India.*

1930 *Dinkley, Mark, *The Priory, Berwick St. John, Shaftesbury.*

1923 *Divatia, N. B., B.A., *Lecturer Elphinstone College; Marine Villa, 14th Road, Khar, Bombay,* 21, *India.*

1926 *Divekar, Sahityacharya Prof. Hari Ramchandra, M.A., D.Litt., *Lashkar, Gwalior, C. India.*

1924 †§Dodwell, H. H., M.A., *Professor of History, School of Oriental Studies, Finsbury Circus, E.C.* 2.

1935 *Donner, Madame Greta, *Norra Kajen* 12, *Helsingfors, Finland.*

1926 *Dossin, Georges, *Professor at Liége University;* 24 *rue des Écoles, Wandre près Liége, Belgium.*

1926 *Dowerah, J., B.A., *Warden, Ogilvie Hostel,* 31–2 *Hurtoki Bagan Lane, Calcutta, India.*

1933 Doxford, W. B. D., B.A., Northfields, Eastergate, Chichester.

1933 *Dunne, J. Heyworth, 48 *Antrim Mansions, N.W.*3.

190 1935 *Durrani, Rt. Hon. Shahzada Ahmad Ali Khan, *Bostan Sarai, Bazar-e-Shahi, Kabul, Afghanistan.*

1917 *Dutt, Prof. Anakul C., *Principal, Bareilly College, College House, Bareilly, U.P., India.*

1926 *Dutt, Kiran Chandra, *Hon. Librarian, Bangiya Sahitya Parishat,* 1 *Lakshmi Dutt Lane, Bagh Bazar P.O., Calcutta, India.*

1917 *Dutt, Lalita Prasad, 181 *Maniktola St., Calcutta, India.*

1926 *Dutt, Nepal Chandra, A.M.I.M.E., *State Engineer, Jaisalmer State, Peace Cottage, Jaisalmer, Rajputana, India.*

1931 *Dyer, Prof. W. E., M.A., *Raffles College, Singapore.*

1930 *†Edmonds, C. J., C.B.E., *Asst. Adviser, Ministry of Interior, Iraq; Kerid-al-Pasha, Baghdad, Iraq.*

1905 *Edwards, E., M.A., *Oriental Books and MSS. Dept., British Museum, W.C.* 1.

1925 Edwards, Miss E. D., M.A., D.Lit., *School of Oriental Studies, Finsbury Circus, E.C.* 2.

F.E.M. 1934 H.M. the King of Egypt.

200 F.E.M. 1932 Egyptian Minister, H.E. The, *The Royal Egyptian Legation,* 75 *South Audley St., W.* 1.

1921 *Elgood, Cyril, L., M.A., M.D., M.R.C.P., 18 *Lungarno Acciaioli, Florence, Italy. Local Representative.*

1931 *Elgood, Lt.-Col. P.G., C.M.G., *Villa Beata, Heliopolis, Egypt; Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W.* 1.

1897 §Ellis, Alex. George, M.A., Hon. Librarian, 32 *Willow Rd., N.W.* 3.

1919 *Ellis, Miss M. F., *c/o The Librarian, Municipal Libraries, Bath.*

1930 *Elsberg, H. A., *Fuller Building, 57th St., & Madison Av., New York City, N.Y., U.S.A.*

1907 *§Enthoven, R. E., C.I.E., I.C.S. (ret.), *Vale House, Wootton, Berkshire, Nr. Oxford.*

Hon. 1927 **Erman**, Dr. Adolf, *Geh. Reg.-Rat Prof., Peter-Lenne Str.* 36, *Berlin-Dahlem, Germany.*

1904 **Ettinghausen**, Maurice L., *Royal Societies' Club*, 63 *St. James's St., S.W.* 1.

1924 †**Eumorfopoulos**, George, 7 *Chelsea Embankment, S.W.* 3.

210 1935 ***Evans**, H. J., B.A., I.C.S., *City Magistrate, Allahabad, U.P., India.*

1934 **Evans-Cross**, G. W., M.A., D.Sc., F.R.Astro.S., F.R.E.S., *Avenue House*, 20 *Grand Avenue, Bournemouth East.*

1919 **Eve**, Lady, *Windsor Hotel, Lancaster Gate, W.* 2.

1922 ***Fairweather**, Wallace C., 62 *Saint Vincent St., Glasgow.*

1921 *†**Farmer**, Henry George, M.A., Ph.D., "*Dar as-Salām,*" *Stirling Drive, Bearsden, Scotland.*

1930 **Fawcett**, Sir Charles, Kt., I.C.S. (ret.), 27 *The Grove, Boltons, S.W.* 10.

1901 ***Fergusson**, J. C., I.C.S. (ret.), 18 *Denbigh Gardens, Richmond, Surrey.*

1926 ***Ferozuddin**, Miss Khadijah Begam, M.A., M.O.L., H.P., *Circle Inspectress of Schools Punjab, Lahore, India.*

1931 ***Ferrar**, Lt. Col. M.L., C.S.I., C.I.E., O.B.E., *Cheverall, Ingatestone, Essex. Local Representative.*

1927 ***Ferrario**, Professor Benigno, *Professeur titulaire de Linguistique à l'Université et Directeur de l'Institut d'Investigations Linguistiques, University of Montevideo; Casilla de Correos* 445, *Montevideo, Uruguay, South America.*

220 1928 ***Field**, Henry, *Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, U.S.A. Local Representative.*

1926 ***Filippi**, Sir Filippo de, K.C.I.E., *La Capponcina, Settignano, Firenze, Italy.*

1935 ***Finkel**, Dr. J., 3505 *Avenue I, Brooklyn, N.Y., U.S.A.*

1934 ***Fischel**, Dr. W., *Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Palestine* (*P.O. Box* 684).

Hon. 1930 **Fischer**, Geh. Prof. Dr. August, 40 *Grassistr., Leipzig C.I., Germany.*

1934 **FitzGerald-Lee**, G., "*Ma Mie,*" *Skye Ings, Iver, Bucks.*

1928 *†**Fleming**, Andrew, 3 *Campbell Road, Parktown W., Johannesburg, S. Africa. Local Representative.*

1923 *†**Follin**, Maynard D., *Lock Box* 118, *Detroit, Michigan, U.S.A.*

1922 *†**Forrest**, Surgeon-Commander J. A., R.N., 41 *Goldington Road, Bedford.*

1909 †§**Foster**, Sir Wm., Kt., C.I.E., Vice-President, 4 *Reynolds Close, Hampstead Way, N.W.* 11.

230 Hon. 1918 **Foucher**, A., 15 *Rue du Maréchal Joffre, Sceaux, Seine, France.*

1916 ***Frazer**, Sir J. G., O.M., F.R.S., *Albemarle Club*, 37 *Dover St., W.* 1.

1931 ***Frazer**, Mrs. R. W., *c/o Imperial Bank of India, Nagpur, C.P., India.*

1926 ***Fukushima**, N., 33 *Hikawachō, Akasaka, Tokyo, Japan.*

1912 *§**Fulton**, A. S., *Oriental Books & MSS. Dept., British Museum, W.C.* 1.

1931 ***Furlani**, Giuseppe, Ph.D., LL.D., *Professor at the University of Florence; Via J. Nardi* 6, *Florence, Italy.*

1921 ***Furnivall**, J. S., *c/o Grindlay & Co.*, 54 *Parliament Street, S.W.*1.

1899 §Gait, Sir Edward A., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., *The Croft, Park Hill, W.* 5.

1921 *†Gajendragadkar, A. B., M.A., *Prof. of Sanskrit, Elphinstone College, Bombay, India.*

1931 Gamal El-Din, Amin, *Inspector, Egyptian Education Office,* 39 *Victoria St., S.W.* 1.

240 1924 *Ganguli, P. Krishna, L.M.S., 12 *Palmer Bazar Rd., Entally P.O., Calcutta, India.*

1890 §Gaster, M., Ph.D., 193 *Maida Vale, W.* 9.

1931 *Gaster, T. H., B.A., 193 *Maida Vale, W.* 9.

1922 *Gautama, Thakur L. S., M.A., L.T., *Kavyatirtha Prof. of History, Udai Pratap Kshattriya College, Benares Cantt., India.*

1912 *Geden, Rev. A. S., *Royapettah, Harpenden, Herts.*

1919 *Getty, Miss Alice, 7 *Avenue Foch, Paris, XVI*^{e}.

1933 *†Ghatak, Prof. J. C., Sahitya-Saraswati, F.R.H.S., M.A., 4 *Boloram Bose Ghat Road, Bhowanipur P.O., Calcutta, India.*

1934 *Ghosal, M. M., B.A., *Mohon Cottage, P.O. Jhenidah, Jessore Dist., Bengal, India.*

1923 §Gibb, H. A. R., M.A., *Prof. of Arabic, School of Oriental Studies; Drummond Lodge, Albion Road, Sutton, Surrey.*

1921 Gilbertson, Major G. W., 373 *Holmesdale Road, S.E.* 25.

250 1927 *Giles, F. H., 156 *Rajprarob Road, Bangkok, Siam.*

1919 *§Giles, Lionel, M.A., D.Litt., *Dept. of Oriental Books, British Museum, W.C.* 1.

1934 *Ginsberg, Dr. H. L., *P.O. Box* 750, *Jerusalem, Palestine.*

1933 Ginwala, Lady, 38 *Hyde Park Gate, S.W.* 7.

1912 *†Gipperich, H., *German Consulate, Pedder Building, Hong Kong* (*via Siberia*).

1928 Glyn, The Hon. Mrs. Maurice, 2 *Weymouth Street, Portland Place, W.* 1.

1935 Goffe, Sir Herbert, K.B.E., C.M.G., 19 *Fellows Road, N.W.* 3.

1926 *†Gogate, S. V., 4 *Nihalpura, Indore, C. India.*

1935 ‡Gokhale, S. H., 11 *Grove Park Gardens, Chiswick, W.* 4.

1926 *Goldsmith, Mrs. S. I., *Alexandra Club,* 12 *Grosvenor Street, W.* 1.

260 1928 *Gomaa, Mohamed Mahmud, *School of Oriental Studies, Finsbury Circus, E.C.* 2.

1935 ‡Goodman, C. N., 8*b* *Nevern Square, S.W.* 5.

1920 *Gopinath, Pandit Sir P., Kt., C.I.E., M.A., *Rai Bahadur, Member of State Council, Jaipur, Rajputana, India.*

1934 *Gottheil, Prof. R., *Columbia University, New York City, U.S.A.*

1922 *Gourlay, W. R., C.S.I., C.I.E., *Kenbank, Dalry, Galloway, Scotland, Local Representative.*

1927 *Govil, Ram Sharan Lal, M.A., *Head Master, Shri Umed School, Jodhpur, Marwar, India.*

1922 *Gowen, Rev. H. H., D.D. (*Univ. of Washington*), 5,005, 22*nd Avenue N.E., Seattle, Washington, U.S.A. Local Representative.*

1910 *Graham, W. A., *Plush Manor, Dorset.*

1926 *Gray, Prof. L. H., *Columbia University, New York City, U.S.A.*

1918 Greenshields, Robert S., I.C.S. (ret.), 35 *Clarges St., W.* 1.

270 1893 *Greenup, Rev. Dr. Albert W., D.D., *St. John's Cottage, Heath End, Nr. Basingstoke, Hants.*

1884 §**Grierson**, Sir George A., O.M., K.C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Litt., LL.D., F.B.A., I.C.S. (ret.), Hon. Vice-President, *Rathfarnham, Camberley, Surrey.*

1934 ***Griffith**, Mrs. N., *Sandridge, Boar's Hill, Oxford.*

1919 ***Gry**, M. L., *Recteur à l'Université*, 10 *Rue La Fontaine, Angers, M. et L., France.*

1897 §**Guest**, Rhuvon, 1*a Thornton Hill, Wimbledon, S.W.* 19.

1934 ***Gugushvili**, A., *Commonwood House, Chipperfield, Herts.*

1921 *§**Guillaume**, Rev. Prof. A., *The Principal's Lodgings, Culham College, Abingdon, Berks.*

1933 ***Gupta**, Babu K. L., B.A.L.T., *Assistant Master, D.A.V. High School, Muzaffarnagar, U.P., India.*

1934 ***Gupta**, Om Prakash, M.Sc., LL.B., F.R.E.S., I.S.S., *Finance Dept., Government of India, New Delhi, India.*

1919 ***Gupta**, Shri Shivaprasad, *Seva Upavan Kashi, Benares, India.*

280 1926 ***Gupte**, Y. R., B.A., *Inspector of Registration, II Division, Dhulia, Bombay Presidency, India.*

1894 ***Gurdon**, Lt.-Col. Philip R. T., C.S.I., *c/o Lloyds Bank*, 6 *Pall Mall, S.W.* 1.

1921 ***Gurner**, Cyril W., I.C.S., *United Service Club, Calcutta, India.*

1935 †***Gurney**, O. R., *Bayworth Corner, Boar's Hill, Oxford.*

1921 ***Gwynn**, R. M., M.A., *Prof. of Hebrew, Trinity College, Dublin.*

1929 ***Gyani**, Ranchhodlal G., *Asst. Curator, Archæological Section, Prince of Wales Museum of W. India, Bombay, India.*

1923 **Hachisuka**, The Hon. M., *Mita Shiba, Tokyo, Japan.*

1926 ***Haig**, Kerest, *National Liberal Club, Whitehall, and Villa Orion, Yechli Keuy, San Stefano, Constantinople*; 10 *Prothero Gardens, Hendon Central, N.W.* 4.

1898 §**Haig**, Lt.-Col. Sir Wolseley, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G., C.B.E., M.A., 34 *Gledstanes Road, W.* 14.

1935 **Haller**, C., F.R.S.A., 65 *Tulse Hill, S.W.* 2.

290 1935 ‡**Hambelton**, Miss M. L., *Quest, Pound Hill, Crawley, Sussex.*

1935 ***Hamdani**, V. A. D., M.A. (Bom.), *Jesus College, Oxford.*

1921 ***Hamid**, Ungku Abdul, *Johore-Bahru, via Singapore, S.S.*

1915 ***Hargreaves**, H., 50 *Waterloo Road, Bedford.*

1910 ***Harley**, Prof. A. H., M.A., *Islamia College, Calcutta, India.*

1930 ***Harrassowitz**, Otto, *Querstr.* 14, *Leipzig.*

1934 ‡**Harris**, Miss R. S., 47 *Phillimore Gardens, W.* 8.

1934 **Harrison**, Victor B., *Hurst Cottage, Plawhatch Corner, Bishop's Stortford, Herts.*

1930 ***Hart**, Dr. Henry H., *Lecturer in Chinese Art and Culture, University of California*; 400 *Post Str., San Francisco, Cal., U.S.A. Local Representative.*

1932 ***Hasan**, Syed Masud, *Dep. Collector, U.P.; P.O. Bhallia Buzurg, Dist. Kheri Lakhimpur, Oudh, India.*

300 1932 ***Hassan**, Hassan Ibrahim, D.Litt., Ph.D., *Asst. Prof. of Islamic History, Egyptian Univ., Cairo; 5 Rue Dessouk, Heliopolis, Egypt.*

1920 *†Hassan-Khan, Haji M. Ghulam, Khan Sahib, *Honorary Magistrate, 4 Sadar Bazar Lines, Camp, Karachi, India.*

1921 Hay, George E., 96 *Olive Road, N.W.* 2.

1921 *Hayashi, H. E. Baron, *Ministère de la Maison Impériale du Japon, 23 Kasumi-cho, Azabu, Tokyo, Japan.*

1935 *Hayes, L. Newton, B.S., M.A., F.R.G.S., *Providence Divisional Director of Northeastern University*; 179 *University Avenue, Providence, Rhode Island, U.S.A.*

1926 *†Hayward, Wyndham, 2240 *Fairbanks Avenue, Winter Park, Florida, U.S.A.*

1935 *Hekmat, H.E., A. A., *Acting Minister of Education; Rue Vali, Teheran, Persia.*

1929 *Heras, Rev. H., S.J., M.A., *Director, Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, India.*

1911 *Hertel, Prof. Johannes, *Denkmals-allee* 110, *Leipzig, Germany.*

Hon. 1933 Herzfeld, Prof. Dr. Ernst, *University of Berlin, Germany.*

310 1928 Heym, Gerard, 1 *Crofton House*, 32 *Church St., S.W.* 3.

1935 Hillelson, S., 4 *Porchester Court, Porchester Gardens, W.* 2.

1923 *Hindol, Raja Bahadur Naba Kishore Chandra Singh, *Ruling Chief of, P.O. Hindol, Orissa, India.*

1885 †Hippisley, Alfred E., *late Commissioner Chinese Customs*, 8 *Herbert Crescent, S.W.* 1.

1926 Holmes, Mrs., M.A., 56 *Avenue Road, Regents Park, N.W.*8.

1919 *Holmyard, Dr. E. J., M.A., M.Sc., F.I.C., *The Brow, Clevedon, Somerset. Local Representative.*

1924 *†Holstein, Maj. Otto, 102 *West 44th Street, New York City, N.Y., U.S.A.*

1889 §Hopkins, Lionel Charles, I.S.O., *The Garth, Haslemere.*

1908 *Hornell, Sir William W., Kt., C.I.E., *Vice-Chancellor, The University, Hong Kong, China.*

Hon. 1902 Houtsma, Prof. M. T., *Mahistraat* 6, *Utrecht, Holland.*

320 1935 *Howland, Prof. Felix, *c/o Ministry of Public Instruction, Kabul, Afghanistan.*

1919 *Hoytema, D. van, *Delistraat* 21, *The Hague, Holland.*

1935 *Hughes, Rev. E. R., M.A., 12 *Upland Park Road, Oxford.*

1928 *Hunter, G. R., M.A., Ph.D., *Morris College, Nagpur, C.P., India.*

Hon. 1909 Hurgronje, Prof. C. Snouck, *Rapenburg* 61, *Leiden, Holland.*

1934 *Husain, Mahdi, *Agra College, Agra, India; School of Oriental Studies, Finsbury Circus, E.C.* 2.

1935 *Husain, Shaikh Baqar, *Khan Saheb*, 23 *Clyde Road, Lucknow, U.P., India.*

1934 *Hussain, Q. I., B.A., *Qazi Khana, Lahore, Punjab, India.*

1908 *†Hyde, James H., 18 *rue Adolphe-Yvon, Paris, France.*

1921 *Ingrams, Capt. Wm. H., O.B.E., *c/o Secretariat, Aden; Savile Club, Brook Street, W.* 1.

330 1935 *Innes, Rev. T. Christie, M.A., 22 *Clifton Villas, Camden Square, N.W.* 1.

F.E.M. 1932 Iranian Minister, H.E. The, *Imperial Iranian Legation*, 10 *Prince's Gate, S.W.* 7.

F.E.M. 1932 **Iraqi Minister**, H.E. The, *The Royal Iraqi Legation*, 22 *Queen's Gate, S.W.* 7.

1921 **Irwell**, Mrs. H., 8*f Bickenhall Mansions, W.* 1.

1920 ***Ivanow**, W., *c/o Lloyd's Bank, Ltd., Hornby Rd., Fort, Bombay, India.*

1934 ***Iyengar**, H. R. Rangaswamy, M.A., 191 *Ramavilas Agrahar, Mysore, India.*

1906 Hon. 1923 **Jackson**, A. V. Williams, L.H.D., LL.D., Litt.D., *Prof. Indo-Iranian Languages, Columbia University, New York, U.S.A.*

Hon. 1912 **Jacobi**, Dr. Hermann, *Geh. Regierungsrat, Sanskrit Prof.*, 59 *Niebuhrstrasse, Bonn, Germany.*

1928 ***Jahagirdar**, R. V., M.A., *Lecturer in Sanskrit, Karnatak College, Dharwar, India.*

1922 *†**Jain**, Chhotelall, *P.* 25 *Central Avenue North, P.O. Burra Bazar, Calcutta, India.*

340 1929 *†**Jain**, Jamina Prasad, M.A., LL.B., *Sub-Judge, Danesh, Narsingpur, C.P., India.*

1926 ***Jain**, Kamta Prasad, Hon. Ed. "The Jaina Antiquary," *P.O. Aliganj, U.P., India.*

1927 ***Jain**, Madan Lal, M.A., *Govt. High School, Muttra, U.P., India.*

1929 ***Jain**, Sheo Charan Lal. B., *Banker and Rais, Jaswantnagar, Etawah, U.P., India.*

1935 ***Jalan**, Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna, *Qila House, Patna, India*; 16 *Corringham Road, N.W.* 11.

1934 ***James**, Prof. E. O., D.Litt., Ph.D., F.S.A., *The University, Leeds.*

F.E.M. 1932 **Japanese Ambassador**, H.E. The, *The Japanese Embassy*, 37 *Portman Square, W.* 1.

1935 ***Jayaswal**, K., M.A., *Bar.-at-Law, Patna, B. & O., India.*

1918 ***Jayatilaka**, Don B., B.A., *Advocate of Supreme Court, Ceylon Law Library, Colombo, Ceylon.*

1935 ***Jeelani**, Sayed Md. Wilayat Hussain, Makhdumzada, *Wilayat Manzil, Multan City, Punjab, India.*

350 1920 ***Jeffery**, Rev. Prof. Arthur, M.A., B.D., Ph.D., *School of Oriental Studies*, 113 *Sharia Kasr-el-Aini, Cairo.*

1882 *†**Jinavaravansa**, Rev. P. C., *Buddhist Bhikshu (formerly Prince Prisdang), Dipaduttama Arāma, Kotahena, Colombo.*

1909 **Johnston**, Edw. Hamilton, D.Litt., *The Manor House, Adderbury East, Banbury, Oxon.*

1904 §**Johnston**, Sir Reginald F., K.C.M.G., C.B.E., *Eilean Righ, Loch Craignish, Kilmartin, Argyll.*

1908 ***Jopp**, Chas. H. Keith, M.A., I.C.S. (ret.), *Marchmont, Parabola Road, Cheltenham. Local Representative.*

1934 ***Joshi**, S. N., *Vidya-varidhi, Shankerdas Street, Nadiad, B.B. & C.I.Rly., India.*

1911 ***Jowett**, Capt. Hardy, 63 *Tung Tsung Pu, Hutung, Peking, China.*

1929 *†**Kalsia**, Raja Ravi Sher Singh, *Raja of Kalsia, Chachrauli, Kalsia State, Punjab, India.*

Hon. 1929 **Karlgren**, Bernhard, Ph.D., *The University, Göteborg, Sweden.*

1926 *Kasanin, Prof. M., _c/o Dr. Jacob Kasanin, Howard, Rhode Island, U.S.A._
360 1933 *Kaul, K. K., M.A., _Headmaster, L. D. Meston High School, Ballia, U.P., India._
1900 *Kazi, Sir Azizuddin Ahmed, Kt., C.I.E., O.B.E., I.S.O., K.B., _Chief Minister, Datia State, C. India._
1919 *†Keith, C. P., 308 _Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A._
1923 *Keller, Carl T., 80 _Federal Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A._
1914 *Kent, A. S., _c/o British-American Tobacco Co. Ltd., Peking, China._
1935 ‡Ker, Mrs. W. P., _The Malt House, East Horsley, Surrey._
1921 *†Khairpur, H.H. Mir Ali Navaz Khan Talpur, Mir of, _Khairpur, Sind, India._
1926 *Khan, G. Md., A.C.P., _Kedah Educational Service, Alor Star, Kedah, Malay States._
1911 *Khan, Mahomed Hasan, Khan Bahadur, _Finance Minister, Rampur State (Rohilkhand) U.P., India._
1931 *Khan, Maulvi Matiur Rahman, 27 _Pauchchaighat, Dacca, Bengal, India._
370 1934 *Khan, G. A., _First Taluqdar, Aurangabad, Deccan, India._
1928 *Khanna, Diwan Harivansh Lal, M.A., _Extra Asst. Commissioner, Amritsar, Punjab, India._
1934 *Khanna, K. C., M.A., Ph.D., F.R.Hist.S., P.E.S., _Govt. College, Lahore, India._
1933 *Khaparde, A. B., B.A., 5 _Lancaster Place, Hampstead, N.W._ 3.
1931 *Khastgir, Asok R., M.D., L.R.C.B., 61 _Northumberland Road, Old Trafford, Manchester._
1909 *Kincaid, C. A., C.V.O., I.C.S., _Sec. to Govt. Bombay, Political & Judicial Depts._; _c/o Grindlay & Co._, 54 _Parliament St., S.W._ 1.
1934 *Kindersley, A. F., _Hillbrook, Silverdale Road, Burgess Hill, Sussex._
1919 *Kirkpatrick, Very Rev. A. F., D.D., _Dean of Ely, The Deanery, Ely._
1935 *Koerber, N. H. von, Ph.D., _Professor of Oriental Studies, Univ. of S. California; Curator of Oriental Art, Los Angeles Museum, Los Angeles, U.S.A._
1916 Hon. 1930 Konow, Prof. Dr. Sten, _Ethnographic Museum, Gimle Terasse_ 5, _Oslo, Norway._
380 1906 *Krenkow, Prof. Dr. Fritz, 57 _De Freville Avenue, Cambridge._
1934 *Krishnamachariar, M., _Addl. Sub-Judge, Devakottai, Madras, India._
1925 *Krishnaswamy, The Rev. P. A., M.A., _British and Foreign Bible Society (Ceylon Auxiliary), The Bible House, Union Place, Post Box_ 67, _Colombo, Ceylon._
1911 *Krom, N. J., Ph.D., _Prof. of Javanese Archæology at the University,_ 18 _Witte Singel, Leiden, Holland._
1931 *Kumar, Kumar Krishna, M.A., B.L., 30 _Burtolla St., Calcutta, India._
1935 *Kurdian, Haroutiun, 1308 _E. Douglas, Wichita, Kansas, U.S.A._

1912 *†Labberton, Dr. D. van Hinloopen, _De Heerlykheid, Meentweg, Naarden, North Holland. Local Representative._
1928 *La Farge, Mrs. Oliver, _Cerro Gordo, Santa Fe, New Mexico. Local Representative._
1932 *Lakshmi, Miss V. T., M.A., L.T., _Headmistress, Srimathi Kamalabai High School, Bangalore City, Mysore, India._

1926 *†Lal, Munshi Kanhaiya, M.A., LL.B., *Advocate, High Court, Krishna Kunj, 99 Muthiganj, Allahabad City, India.*

390 1933 *Lal, Pandit B. B., Shastri, B.A., *Dist. and Sessions Judge and Director of Education, Mandi State, P.O. Mandi, Kangra Hills, Punjab, India.*

1910 *Lal, Shyam, M.A., LL.B., *Dep. Collector, Nawabganj, Cawnpore, India.*

1915 *Lamb, Miss M. Antonia, 212 *South 46th St., Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.*

1935 ¶Lambton, Miss A. K. S., 10 *Hanover Flats, Thomas Street, W.* 1.

1917 *§Langdon, S. H., M.A., B.D., Ph.D., F.B.A., *Prof. of Assyriology,* 16 *Lathbury Road, Oxford.*

1880 Hon. 1902 Lanman, Chas. R., *Prof. of Sanskrit, Harvard University,* 9 *Farrar St., Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.*

1914 *Law, Bimala C., M.A., B.L., Ph.D., *Zemindar,* 43 *Kailas Bose Street, Calcutta, India.*

1931 *Lawson, David, 793 *Broadway, New York City, N.Y., U.S.A.*

1935 ¶Layard, J. W., F.R.A.I., 12 *Guessens Road, Welwyn Garden City, Herts.*

1934 *Leather, Wing-Cr. R. T., A.F.C., *Headquarters, R.A.F., Villa Victoria, Cairo, Egypt.*

400 1900 *Lechmere-Oertel, F. O., *Nara Hotel, Nara, Japan.*

1927 *Leeuwen, Rev. Dr. N. D. van, *Holysloot* 43, *Amsterdam-Noord, Holland.*

1924 *§le May, Reginald S., *Pembroke College, Cambridge ; St. Anne's, Coleridge Road, Cambridge.*

Hon. 1917 Lévi, Professor Sylvain, 9 *Rue Guy de la Brosse, Paris Ve.*

1912 *Levonian, Prof. Lootfy, c/o *The American Mission, Beirut, Lebanon, Syria.*

1927 *§Levy, Reuben, M.A., Litt.D., *Lecturer in Persian,* 250 *Hills Road, Cambridge.*

1924 *Liebich, Prof. Dr. B., *Parkstrasse* 40, *Breslau XVI, Germany.*

1933 ¶Lincoln, J. S., *School of Oriental Studies, Finsbury Circus, E.C.* 2.

1926 *Lindgren, Miss E. J., M.A., "*Sunbourn,*" *Harston, Cambs.*

410 1879 §Lockhart, Sir J. H. Stewart, K.C.M.G., LL.D., 6 *Cresswell Gardens, S.W.* 5.

1931 *Loewe, H., 85 *Milton Road, Cambridge.*

1914 *†Lorimer, Lieut.-Col. D. L. R., C.I.E., I.A. (ret.), c/o *Messrs. T. Cook and Son, Post Box* 46, *Bombay, India.*

1935 *Luce, Professor G. H., M.A., I.E.S., *Lecturer in Far Eastern History; University College, Rangoon, Burma.*

1909 Hon. 1932 *Lüders, Prof. Dr. H., 19 *Sybelstr., Charlottenburg, Berlin.*

1918 *Lusy, Marino M., *Case Postale No.* 104, *Montreux, Switzerland.*

1935 *Lyall, L. A., *Cours des Bastions* 10, *Geneva, Switzerland.*

1900 *Macdonald, Duncan B., 143 *Sigourney St., Hartford, Conn., U.S.A.*

1919 *MacIver, Capt. David R., M.A., c/o *British School, Valle Giulia, Rome, Italy.*

1926 *Mackay, Stephen Matheson, 5 *Burgess Hill, N.W.* 2.

1894 §Maclagan, Sir E. D., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., M.A., Vice-President, 39 *Egerton Terrace, S.W.* 3.

420 1924 *†**McMillen**, O. W., 24 *Lindell Avenue, Fayetteville, Arkansas, U.S.A.*

1917 ***Mahajan**, Suryya Prasad, *Rais, Banker & Zamindar, Murarpore, Gaya, Bihar, India.*

1931 †**Maitland**, H. Comyn, I.C.S. (ret.), *Barrister-at-Law*, 1 *Elm Court, Temple, E.C.* 4.

1933 **Mamour**, Prince P. H., 144 *Queen Alexandra Mansions, Judd Street, W.C.*

1924 *†**Manen**, J. van, *Officier de l'Instruction Publique; c/o Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1 *Park Street, Calcutta, India.*

1930 *†**Mannadiar**, V. I., *Gul-i-Hind, Ootacamund, S. India.*

1889 *§**Margoliouth**, D. S., M.A., D.Litt., F.B.A., **President**, *Prof. of Arabic, Romney, Boar's Hill, Oxford.*

1914 *†**Marielle**, Madame, 942 *Croft Avenue, Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.*

1901 *§**Marshall**, Sir John, Kt., C.I.E., M.A., Litt.D., F.S.A., *Late Director-General of Archæology; special duty Arch. Dept., Taxila, Punjab, India; c/o E.I.U.S. Club*, 16 *St. James's Square, S.W.* 1.

1927 ***Martinovitch**, Professor N., 528 *W.* 152*nd St., New York City, U.S.A.*

430 Hon. 1927 **Massignon**, Louis, D.Litt., *Professeur au Collège de France, Rue Monsieur* 21, *Paris*, VII^e.

1934 ***Mathur**, C. L., B.A., L.T., *Headmaster, Betham High School, Kekri, Dt. Ajmer, India.*

1934 ***Mathur**, Prof. R. K., M.A., *Anand College, Dhar State, C. India.*

1929 ***Mathur**, Radhika Narayan, B.A., *Inspector of Schools, Kalsia State, Chachrauli, Punjab, India.*

1904 *†**Mawjee**, Purshotam Vishram, *Malabar Hill, Bombay, India.*

1931 ***Maydell**, Madame la Baronne Gérard de, *c/o Messrs. Luzac & Co.*, 46 *Great Russell Street, W.C.* 1.

1935 ***Mayer**, Dr. L. A., *Sassoon David Professor of Near Eastern Art and Archæology, Hebrew University, Jerusalem; P.O. Box* 613, *Jerusalem, Palestine.*

1927 ‡**Maynard**, Sir H. J., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., 18 *Gilston Road, The Boltons, S.W.* 10.

1934 ***Mazoomder**, W. B., B.A., B.L., *Pleader, Alipore Judge's Court Bar Library*, 37 *Judge's Court Road, P.O. Alipore, Dt.* 24 *Parganas, Bengal, India.*

1905 ***Mazumdar**, Bijaya Chandra, *Advocate*, 33/3 *Lansdowne Road, Calcutta, India.*

440 1934 ***Mead**, E. W., M.A., *Lyndhurst, Beechfield Road, Cheadle Hulme, Cheshire.*

1907 ***Meaden**, Rev. Canon Anderson, Ph.D., F.R.S.L., *Stornoway Parsonage, Isle of Lewis.*

1932 ***Mecklai**, Ali Md., J.P., etc., 99 *Esplanade Road, P.O. Box* 585, *Bombay, India.*

Hon. 1928 **Meillet**, Professor Antoine, 24 *Rue de Verneuil, Paris VII, France.*

1933 ***Menon**, A. V. K., *Women's Christian College, Madras, India.*

1918 *†**Menzies**, Capt. The Rev. J. M., B.A.Sc., B.D., D.L.S., *Professor of Chinese Arch. and Research, Cheeloo University, Tsinan, Shantung, China.*

1919 ***Mercer**, Very Rev. Prof. S. A. B., Ph.D., D.D., *Trinity College, Toronto, Ontario, Canada. Local Representative.*

1923 *MICHALSKI-IWIENSKI, Dr. St. F., _Section of Oriental Studies, Society of Sciences, Szpitalna_ 5, _Warsaw, Poland._

1934 MIDDLEMORE, Miss M. E., 146A _Regent's Park Road, N.W._ 1.

1921 *MILLS, J. P., I.C.S., _c/o Lloyds Bank,_ 101–1 _Clive Street, Calcutta._

450 1909 *MILNE, Mrs. Leslie, _The Manor House, Wheatley, Oxon._

1922 *MINGANA, Alphonse, D.D., _Manuscripta,_ 168 _Middleton Hall Road, King's Norton, Birmingham._

1934 *MISHRA, Ganga Shankar, M.A., _Librarian, Benares Hindu University, P.O. Benares, India._

1932 *MISRA, Pandit Kanahiya L., _Sastri,_ "_Prabhakara,_" _Vidyalankara, Sadhana Sadana, Deoband, Dist. Saharanpur, U.P., India._

1923 *MISRA, Pramath Nath, _Pleader, Maldah, Bengal, India._

1928 *MISRA, Sardar Jwala Sahai, Rai Bahadur, B.A., _Retd. Dist. & Sessions Judge, Katra Jaimal Singh, Amritsar, Punjab, India._

1932 MITRA, Sir Bhupendra Nath, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., C.B.E., _High Commissioner for India, India House, Aldwych, W.C._ 2; 59 _Eyre Court, Finchley Rd., N.W._ 8.

1927 *†MITTAL, Navin Chandra, B.Sc., F.G.S., _Prince of Wales College, Jammu, Kashmir, India._

1928 *MIYAMOTO, Shosen, _Faculty of Letters, Imperial University, Tokyo, Japan._

1921 *MOHAMMAD, S. Taj., M.A., M.Sc., _Dinga Singh Building, Nisbet Road, Lahore, Punjab, India._

460 1929 *MOHEET, Munshi Fazl Abdul, _Osmania University College Library, Hyderabad, Deccan, India._

1919 MOND, R., _Coombe Bank, nr. Sevenoaks, Kent._

1923 *MOORHEAD, J. H. M., _Crawley Wood House, Crawley Hill, Camberley, Surrey._

1933 *MORAD, Mrs. Zohra, 3 _Marsden Street, P.O. Park Street, Calcutta, India._

1916 MORELAND, W. H., C.S.I., C.I.E., _Grey Roofs, Oak End Way, Gerrard's Cross, Bucks._

1919 *MORGENSTIERNE, Dr. Georg, _Prof. of Comparative Philology and Sanskrit at the University of Gothenburg; Viktoriagatan_ 20, _Gothenburg, Sweden._

1927 *MORRIS, Captain J. M., _Central Power House, The Basrah Electric Supply Authority, Basrah, Iraq._

1934 *MOUGY, J. H., M.A., 7 _Raglan Court, Wembley._

1926 *§MOULE, Rev. Prof. A. C., Litt.D., 34 _Chesterton Hall Crescent, Cambridge._

1935 *MRA, M. Shwe, I.C.S., _c/o the Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Burma, Secretariat Buildings, Rangoon, Burma._

470 1925 *MUDALIAR, Prof. M. K., B.A., 44 _Mulla Sahib St., George Town, Madras, India._

1933 *MUDALIAR, E. L. Cundasawmy, 245 _Sparks St., Rangoon, Burma. American Baptist Mission Press of Rangoon_ (_ret._).

1929 *MUKERJEE, Sardar Ashutosh, M.Sc., _Supt. of Education, Dewas Senior, C. India._

1925 *MÜLLER, Dr. Reinhold, *Einsiedel, Bez Chemnitz, Germany.*

1927 *MULLICK, Promatha Nath, Rai Bahadur, Bharatbanibhusan, 129 *Cornwallis Street, Shambazar, Calcutta, India.*

1922 *MUNN, Rev. W., *The Vicarage, Dunston, Lincs. Local Representative.*

1929 *MUNSHI, Rashid Ahmed A., B.Ag., *Ahmednagar, Bombay, India.*

1919 †MYRES, Prof. J. L., O.B.E., M.A., D.Sc., *New College, Oxford.*

1898 *MYSORE, Col. H. H., Maharaja Sir Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.B.E., of, *The Palace, Bangalore, India.*

1911 *†NABHA, H.H. Maharaja Gurucharan Singh of, *Kodaikanal, S. India.*

480 1933 *†NAHARSINHJI, Lieut. Maharaj S. S., *Saheb Bahadur of Chhota Udepur, Rewa Kantha Dist., Bombay Pres., India.*

1933 *NAIDU, B. S., M.C.P.S., *c/o Mr. V. Durgaya Naidu, Kandasamy Banda Residency, Hyderabad, Deccan, India.*

1929 *NAISH, John P., B.A., D.D. (Lond.), B.Litt., M.A. (Oxon), *Lecturer in Hebrew & O.T., Mansfield College, Oxford;* 14 *Museum Road, Oxford.*

HON. 1923 NALLINO, Prof. Carlo A., *Via Jacopo Ruffini* 2, *Rome* 49, *Italy.*

1928 NANDIMATH, S. C., M.A., Ph.D., *Karnatak Lingayat Education Society, Belgaum, India.*

1907 *NARASIMHACHAR, R., Rai Bahadur, M.A., *Retired Director of Archæology in Mysore; Mallesvaram, Bangalore, S. India.*

1933 *NARASIMHIA, Dr. A. N., M.A., L.T., Ph.D., *Mysore University Library, Mysore, India.*

1920 *NARAYAN, Brij, M.A., *Military Accts. Service, c/o Allahabad Bank, Ltd., Lahore, India.*

1900 *NARIMAN, G. K., *Mazgaon P.O., Bombay, India.*

1930 *NATH, S. C., M.B., 1 *Roy Bahadur's Rd., Behala, Calcutta, India.*

490 1920 *NAVAGIRE, B. N., M.E., *c/o Navagire & Co., Trimbak Parasram Street, 6th Kumbharwada, Post No.* 4, *Bombay, India.*

1930 *NELL, Dr. Andreas, *Queen's Hotel, Kandy, Ceylon.*

1923 NEWBERRY, Prof. Percy E., *Winkworth Hill, Hascombe, Nr. Godalming, Surrey.*

F.E.M. 1934 NEPALESE MINISTER, H.E. The, *Nepalese Legation,* 12*a Kensington Palace Gardens, W.* 8.

1895 *§NICHOLSON, R. A., Litt.D., *Sir Thomas Adam's Professor of Arabic,* 12 *Harvey Rd., Cambridge.*

1933 *NIGAM, K. S., B.A., *c/o N. P. Nigam, Bhopal, India.*

1933 *NIGAM, N. P., *Private Secretary to the Hon. Rai Bahadur Raja Oudh Narain Bisarya, Bhopal, India.*

1929 *NOBLE, Peter Scott, 172 *Otley Road, Far Headingley, Leeds. Local Representative.*

1927 *NOONE, Herbert Vander Vord, *c/o Royal Bank of Scotland,* 3 *Bishopsgate, E.C.* 2.

1922 *NORTH-HUNT, Capt. H., *Malay C.S., Asst. British Adviser, Kelantan, British Malaya.*

500 1934 NORTON, E. L., "*Mayfield,*" 6 *Somerset Road, Wimbledon, S.W.* 19.

1914 *NOYCE, Sir Frank, Kt., K.C.S.I., C.B.E., I.C.S., *Hon. Member i/c Dept. of Industries and Labour, Inverarm, Simla, India.*

1922 *O'Brien-Butler, P. E., *Bansha, Plat Douet Road, Jersey, C.I. Local Representative.*

1926 *O'Dwyer, J. C., *British Consulate General, Frankfurt a/M, Germany.*

1919 *†Oke, A. W., 32 *Denmark Villas, Hove, Sussex.*

1924 §Oldham, C. E. A. W., C.S.I., Hon. Secretary, 21 *Courtfield Road, S.W.* 7.

1925 *Oppenheim, Baron Max Freiherr von, Ph.D., *Savignyplatz* 6, *Berlin-Charlottenburg, Germany.*

1918 *†Ormerod, Rev. E. W., *East Woodhay Rectory, Newbury, Berks.*

1923 Page, Rev. Walter Sutton, B.A., B.D., *School of Oriental Studies, Finsbury Circus, E.C.* 2.

1909 *Paira-Mall, M.D.. *c/o Nat. Bank of India, Amritsar, Panjab, India.*

510 Hon. 1930 *Palacios, Prof. Miguel Asin, *Real Academia Española, Madrid.*

1933 *Pandit, B. P. S., B.A., Ph.D., *Bar.-at-Law, Tajnapeth, Akola, Berar, India.*

1926 *Paranavitana, S., *Archæological Survey, Colombo, Ceylon.*

1924 *Paranjpe, V. G., M.A., LL.B., D.Litt., *Prof. of Sanskrit, c/o Bai Jerbai Wadia Library, Fergusson College, Poona No.* 4, *India.*

1935 ‡Parker, Miss B. H., 4 *Danvers Street, Chelsea, S.W.* 3.

1900 *†Parla Kimedi, The Raja of, *Ganjam, Madras, India.*

1928 *†Parpia, Y. R., B.A., I.C.S., *Civil Lines, Broach, India.*

1934 *Pathak, Pandit S. S., M.D., M.C., *c/o Dr. Shri Nath Mathur, Sarafa Bazar, Gwalior, India.*

1928 *Pathak, Ayurveda Mahopadhaya and Acharaya Shastri Sohan Lal, Vidyabhusan, Bhishag-Ratna, *Pathak St., Muttra, U.P., India.*

1911 *†Patiala, H.H. Maharajdhiraja Sir Bhupindar Singh, Mahindar Bahadur, G.C.I.E., G.C.S.I., G.B.E., of, *Patiala State, Panjab, India.*

520 1929 Pavry, Jal Dastur C., M.A., Ph.D., *Sunama House, Malabar Hill, Bombay, India.*

1931 *Paxton, E. H., B.A., *Lecturer, Faculty of Arts, Egyptian University, Giza, Egypt.*

Hon. 1923 Pelliot, Prof. Paul, *Légion d'honneur, M.C., LL.D., Prof. au Collège de France,* 38 *Rue de Varenne, Paris,* 7ᵉ.

1919 Penzer, Norman M., M.A., 3 *Cumberland Place, Regent's Park, N.W.* 1.

1919 †§Perowne, E. S. M., F.S.A., Hon. Treasurer, 7 *Great James St., W.C.* 1.

1905 *Petersen, F. G., *Hotel Frydenlund, Copenhagen, Denmark.*

1909 *§Philby, H. St. J. B., C.I.E., I.C.S. (ret.), 18 *Acol Rd., N.W.* 6; *c/o Cox & King's Bank, Ltd., Waterloo Road.*

1935 *Philip, Rev. J. Gibson, M.A., F.R.G.S., F.R.S.E., F.R.S.A., *Caledonian Club, St. James's Square, S.W.* 1.

1929 *Philpot, H. C. V., *c/o Lloyds Bank,* 6 *Pall Mall, S.W.* 1.

1926 *†Pieris, Paulus Eduard, Litt.D., *The Priory, Union Place, Colombo, Ceylon.*

530 1929 *Pillai, T. S. Dandeesvaram, *Bodinayakanur, S. India.*

1919 *Pillay, G. Hurry K., 2 *Phayre St., Rangoon, Burma.*

1911 *Pim, Sir Alan Wm., K.B.E., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., I.C.S., *Ridgeway, Headington, Oxford.*

1920 *†**Pithawalla**, Maneck B., *Principal Parsi Virbaiji H. Sch.*, 20 *Victoria Rd.*, *Karachi*, *India.*
1916 ***Pope**, Miss A. Ethel M., M.A., D.Litt., L.R.A.M., A.R.C.M., *Prin. Zenana Coll.*, *Hyderabad*, *Deccan*, *India. Local Representative.*
1924 ***Popper**, Prof. Wm., Ph.D., *Univ. of California*, *Berkeley*, *Cal.*, *U.S.A.*
1893 Hon. 1920 ***Poussin**, Louis de la Vallée, *Prof. à l'Université de Gand*, 66 *Avenue Molière*, *Uècle*, *Brussels.*
1928 ***Prasad**, Pande Jadunandam, M.A., *Asst. Master*, *Secondary Training School*, *P.O. Mahendre*, *Patna*, *India.*
1927 ***Prashad**, Dr. Baini, *Indian Museum*, *Calcutta*, *India.*
1935 **Puckle**, R. D. A., 10 *Arundel Gardens*, *W.* 11.
540 1930 ***Puri**, Lieut. Dewan Rameshwar Nath, *c/o Rai Bahadur Dewan Gyan Chand Puri*, *Provincial Durbari*, *Sialkot*, *Punjab*, *India.*

Hon. 1935 **Qazvini**, Mirza Muhammad Khan, 23 *Rue Gazan*, *Paris*, *XIVe.*

1933 ***Rajput**, A. Ghani, *Army Contractor*, *Royal Signals*, *Abbassia*, *Cairo*, *Egypt.*
1899 ***Ram**, Lāl Sita, Rai Bahadur, *Dep. Collector* (*ret.*), 429 *Muthiganj*, *Allahabad*, *India.*
1929 ***Ram**, Parashu, *Rais*, *Harsdan*, *Meerut City*, *U.P.*, *India.*
1924 **Ramadas**, G., B.A., *Śri Ramachandra Vilas*, *Jeypore*, *Vizagapatam Dist.*, *Madras*, *India.*
1919 ***Ramana-Sastrin**, V. V., Ph.D., *Vedaraniam*, *Tanjore*, *S. India.*
1915 §**Randle**, Herbert Niel, M.A., Ph.D., 10 *Queen's Road*, *Richmond*, *Surrey.*
1928 ***Rankin**, W. S. de Guibe, *Superintendent of Education*, *Bimiu Kebbe*, *Sokoto Province*, *N.P.*, *Nigeria*, *W. Africa.*
1888 §**Rapson**, E. J., M.A., *Prof. of Sanskrit*, 8 *Mortimer Rd.*, *Cambridge.*
550 1932 ***Ratnasuriya**, M. D., *Guernsey*, *Galle Road*, *Bambalapitiya*, *Colombo*, *Ceylon.*
1928 ***Rawson**, Rev. J. N., *Serampore College*, *Serampore*, *Bengal*, *India.*
1929 ***Ray**, Hem Chandra, *c/o Department of History*, *Calcutta University*, *Calcutta*, *India.*
1917 ***Ray**, Babu Jitendra N., B.A., *Post Box* 6738, *Calcutta*, *India.*
1912 ***Ray**, Sarat Kumar, M.A., *Kumar of Dighapatiya*, *Dayarampur*, *Rajshahi*, *Bengal*, *India.*
1931 ***Razvi**, Sayyid Manzoor Ahsan, M.A., B.L., *Zemindar and Advocate*, *Gola Deryapore*, *P.O. Bankipore*, *Patna*, *B. and O.*, *India.*
1921 ***Reu**, Pandit Bisheshwar Nath, *Supt. Archæological Dept. and Sumer Public Library*, *Jodhpur*, *India.*
1897 ***Reuter**, J. N., Ph.D., 21 *Fabriksgatan*, *Helsingfors*, *Finland.*
Hon. 1923 **Rhodokanakis**, Nikolaus, *Auss. Prof. der Semitischen Sprachen*, *Graz Univ.*, *Universitätsplatz* 5, *Graz*, *Austria.*
1910 **Richards**, F. J., M.A., I.C.S. (ret.), 1a *Collingham Road*, *S.W.* 5.
560 1919 ***Rickett**, C. B., 27 *Kendrick Rd.*, *Reading.*
1896 ***Rickmers**, Mrs. W. R., *Unertlstr.* 5, *Munich*, *Germany.*
1934 **Rideout**, J. K., *Hodgsonites*, *Charterhouse*, *Godalming.*
1892 †**Ridding**, Miss C. Mary, 12*a Market Hill*, *Cambridge.*

1923 †**Ridding**, Miss E. C., *c/o Westminster Bank, 74 High St., W.* 11.
1893 *†**Ridding**, Rev. W. Caldecott, *Bradley Rectory, Ashbourne, Derbyshire.*
1933 ***Rizvi**, Syed H. H., *s/o S. J. Ali Rizvi, Excise Sub-Inspector, P.O. Hatta, Dist. Sangor, C.P., India.*
1910 ***Robertson**, Rev. Alexander, M.A., *Hislop College, Nagpur, C.P., India.*
1928 ***Robertson**, Edward, *Professor of Semitic Languages; Semitics Dept., University, Manchester.*
1933 ***Robson**, The Rev. J., M.A., 55 *Cecil Street, Glasgow,* W. 2. *Local Representative.*
570 1923 ***Robinson**, Theodore H., M.A., D.D., *University College, Cathay's Park, Cardiff.*
1921 ***Roerich**, Geo. N., M.A., *Naggar, Kulu, Punjab, India.*
1934 ***Rohu**, "Lieut.-Col." H. V. (Salvation Army), "*Essendine,*" 99 *Abbots Park Road, Leyton, Essex.*
1929 ***Rooke**, Major G. H., 24 *York Avenue, Hove, Sussex.*
1919 **Rooke**, Mortimer, 6 *Clement's Inn, W.C.* 2.
1929 ***Rosenthal**, F. B., *Villa Jeanine, Rua* 34 *Parque Estoril, Estoril, Portugal.*
1894 §**Ross**, Sir E. Denison, Kt., C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Lit., Director, *School of Oriental Studies, Finsbury Circus, E.C.* 2.
1932 ***Rotours**, R. des, 2 *rue Joseph-Bertrand, Viroflay, Seine-et-Oise, France.*
1891 *†**Rouse**, W. H. D., Litt.D., *Histon Manor, Cambridge.*
1935 ***Rowlatt**, Miss Mary, *Zohria, Ghezireh, Cairo, Egypt.*
580 1935 ***Rowley**, Rev. Prof. H. H., *Univ. College of N. Wales, Bangor, N. Wales.*
1921 ***Roy**, The Hon. Raja M. N., Chaudhury of Santosh, 1 *Alipore Park Road, E. Alipore, Calcutta, India.*
1928 ***Rozdon**, Rai Sahib Pandit Dharam Narain, *Leather Technologis, Civil Lines, Cawnpore, U.P., India.*
1921 **Rubenstein**, B., 55 *Tufton Street, S.W.* 1.
1872 *†**Rustomji**, C., *Smedley's Hydro Establishment, Matlock.*

1927 ***Said-Ruete**, Seyyid Rudolph, 27 *Kensington Court, W.* 8.
1935 ***Salerno**, Dr. Prof. Renato, *Via Ardiglione* 2, *Florence, Italy.*
1933 ***Sani**, Sheikh Golam Md., B.A., B.Com., 160/163 *Parja St., Amritsar, Punjab, India.*
1934 ***Sankalia**, H. D., M.A., LL.B., *Khakhar Building, C.P. Tank Road, Bombay* 4, *India.*
1930 *†**Saram**, Leslie de, *Brentham, Cambridge Place, Colombo, Ceylon.*
590 1891 *†**Sarda**, Har Bilas, M.L.A., *Civil Lines, Ajmer, India.*
1928 *†**Sardesai**, V. N., 539 *Narayan Peth, Poona, India.*
Hon. 1923 **Sarkar**, Sir Jadu Nath, Kt., C.I.E., M.A., 9 *Tonga Rd., Darjeeling, India.*
1934 ***Sarkar**, S. C., *Reforms Office, Govt. of India, Simla/New Delhi, India.*
1928 ***Saroj**, Dr. Swaroop Ch. Jain, M.H.B., *Jati Bhushan Kavi Shiromani. Saroj Sadan, Cawnpore, India.*
1928 *†**Sarton**, Dr. George, *Editor of Isis, Harvard Library* 185, *Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.*
1902 †**Sassoon**, David S., 32 *Bruton St., W.* 1.

1935 ***Sastri**, Pandit Sripatiprasad, Vidyaratna, *Principal, Pauk Pathsala, Merta City, Marwar, Rajputana, India.*

1926 ***Sathe**, Purushottam Bal Krishna, B.A., LL.M., *Mimansa Bushana, Subordinate Judge, Mehkar, Berar, India.*

1930 ***Sattar**, M. Abdus, M.A., 1343 *Zafar Bagh, Red Hills, Hyderabad, Deccan, India.*

600 F.E.M. 1932 **Saudi-Arabian Minister**, H.E. The, *Royal Legation of Saudi-Arabia*, 42 *Eaton Place, S.W.*1.

1934 ***Sawyer**, W. H., 16 *Cornwall Road, Bedford.*

1932 ***Saxena**, R. C., M.D., B.S., F.R.H.S., M.H.A., *Jaunpur, U.P., India.*

1926 ***Saxona**, G. L., L.C.P.S., *Medical Officer at Dispensary, Partabgarh (Oudh), India.*

1929 ***Saxsena**, Mata Prasad, B.A., *Pleader, Chairman, Sarswati Sadan Library, Sital Ashram, Hardoi, U.P., India.*

Hon. 1923 **Scheil**, Père Vincent, O.P., *Prof. d'Assyriologie à l'École des Hautes Études*, 4 *bis, rue du Cherche Midi, Paris.*

1905 ***Schrader**, F. Otto, Ph.D., *Holtenauerstr.* 69, *Kiel, Germany.*

1924 **Schwaiger**, I., 143 *New Bond St., W.*1.

1921 ***Scotland**, Patrick J., M.A., I.C.S., *Sub-Div. Magistrate, Bettiah Champaran, Bihar, India.*

1903 *§**Seddon**, Charles N., M.A., *Lecturer in Persian and Marathi*, 27 *North-moor Road, Oxford.*

610 1929 **Sedgwick**, Mrs. W., 11 *More's Garden, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, S.W.* 3.

1923 ***Seidenfaden**, Major Erik, 148 *Phya Thai Road, Bangkok, Siam.*

1923 **Seligman**, C. G., M.D., F.R.S., *Prof. of Ethnology, Univ. of London, Court Leys, Toot Baldon, Oxford.*

1929 ***Sen**, Amar, 4 *Jadu Sreman Lane, Entally P.O., Calcutta, India.*

Hon. 1913 **Sermoneta**, Leone Caetani, Duca di, 5 *N. Accademia dei Lincei, Rome* 129, *Italy.*

1926 ***Seth**, Raja Bisheshwar Dayal, Rai Bahadur, B.Sc., F.C.S., M.L.C., *Taluqdar of Muizuddinpur, Kotra, Biswan, Dist. Sitapur, U.P., Idian.*

1934 ***Seth**, P. C., *Rangalal Basak's Estate Gardens, Ghugadanga P.O.* (24 *Pergs.*), *Nr. Calcutta, India.*

1933 ***Sevian**, Vahé, *c/o Irrigation Dept., Hillah, Iraq.*

1930 ***Shah**, Chimanlal J., M.A., *c/o Messrs. C. J. Shah & Co., Churchgate House*, 30–32 *Churchgate St., Bombay, India.*

1932 ***Shah**, Madhavlal Hiralal, *Ghatkopar, near Bombay, India.*

620 1931 ***Shah**, Major Nazeer Ali, *A.D.C. to H.H. the Nawab of Bahawalpur, c/o Foreign Office, Bahawalpur, Punjab, India.*

1929 *†**Shah**, Tribhuvandas L., *Goya Gate, Station Road, Baroda, India.*

1935 ***Shaikh**, C. H., *c/o Midland Bank Ltd., Cornmarket Street, Oxford.*

1925 ***Shan**, Wee Tin, 67 *Maung Khine St., Rangoon, Burma.*

1920 ***Sharma**, Chaturvedi Dwarker Prasad, Sahityabhushana, *Ed. Vaiditi Sarvasva*, 538 *Daragauj, Allahabad, U.P., India.*

1926 ***Sharma**, M. H. Rama, 518 *Hundred Feet Road, Mallesvaram, Bangalore, Mysore, India.*

1925 ***Sharma**, Pandit P. L., A.R.I.B.A., *Thomason Civil Engineering College, Roorkee, U.P., India.*

1934 *SHARMA, Shiva Hari, B.A., L.T., *Hindu High School, Rae Bareli, U.P., India.*

1925 *SHARMA, S. R., M.A., *Prof. of History, D.A.V. College, Lahore, India.*

1934 *SHASTRI, H. O., *Pushti Piyush Office, Nadiad, B.B. & C.I. Rly., India.*

630 1929 *SHEHABUDDIN, S. M., B.Litt., *Manager "Islamic Culture," Civil Service House, Hyderabad, Deccan, India.*

1933 SHEPPARD, S. T., *c/o "The Times of India", Salisbury Square, E.C. 4.*

1921 *SHERMAN, M. L., B.A., LL.B., *Registrar, High Court, Indore, C. India.*

1935 *SHIRREFF, A. G., I.C.S., *Officiating Commissioner, Benares, U.P., India.*

1933 *†SHRIVASTAV, Uma Shankar, B.A., LL.B., *Sub-Judge, Chindwara, C.P., India.*

1931 *SHRIVASTAVA, C. S., M.A., B.Sc., *Pleader, Ballia, U.P., India.*

F.E.M. 1934 H.M. THE KING OF SIAM,

F.E.M. 1932 SIAMESE MINISTER, H.E. The, *The Siamese Legation*, 23 *Ashburn Place, S.W.* 7.

1926 *SIDDIQI, Muhammad Zabayr, Ph.D., *Sir Asutosh Professor of Islamic Culture, Calcutta University, India.*

1935 SILCOCK, A., 110 *Clifton Hill, St. John's Wood, N.W.* 8.

640 1928 *SIMPSON, Professor D. C., D.D., *Oriel College, Oxford.*

1929 *SINGH, Braj Bhusan, I.C.S., *Joint Magistrate, Lansdowne, U.P., India.*

1907 *SINGH, Kahan, *Sirdar of Nabha, Nabha, Punjab, India.*

1934 *SINGH, R. N., *Professor of Hindi, Ripon College, Calcutta, India.*

1924 *SINGH, S. M. P., *Taluqdar of Khapradih, P.O. Haidarganj, Fyzabad, Oudh, India.*

1929 *SINGH, Thakur Rama Palat, M.A., *Hindi Professor, Udai-Pratap Kshattriya College, Benares Cantt, India.*

1932 *SINGH, Thakur K.N., B.A., C.S.U.P., *Deputy Collector and Magistrate, Allahabad, U.P., India.*

1933 *SINH, Rajkumar Raghubir, M.A., LL.B., *Ram Niwas Palace, Sitamau, Central India.*

1895 *†SINHA, Kunwar K. Pal, *Raio Kotla, P.O. Narki, Agra, U.P., India.*

1913 *SINHA, Babu Rudra Datta, M.A., LL.B., *Vakil High Court, Lucknow, U.P., India.*

650 1920 *SIRCAR, Babu Ganapati, Vidyaratna, 69 *Beliaghatta Main Rd., Calcutta, India.*

1923 *†SIRÉN, Prof. Osvald, *Lidingö Villastad, Stockholm, Sweden.*

1900 *SKEAT, W. W., *Romelandfield, Ramsbury Road, St. Albans, Herts.*

1926 SMITH, Lt.-Col. G. McIver, C.M.G., *c/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd., Cox's & King's Branch*, 6 *Pall Mall, S.W.* 1.

1935 *SMITH, Miss Margaret, M.A., Ph.D., *Girton College, Cambridge.*

1925 *§SMITH, Sidney, M.A., *Dept. of Egyptian & Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum, W.C.* 1; 7 *Fellows Road, Hampstead, N.W.* 3.

1920 *SONPUR, H.H. Maharaja Sri Sir Bir Singh Deo, K.C.I.E., of, *Sonpur Feudatory State, via Sambalpur, India.*

1927 *SOOD, Rai Sahib Tara Chand, *Jullundhur City, Punjab, India.*

1930 *†SOOFEE, Khan Sahib Ahmad Ali, L.Ag., *Chawk Muftian, Jullundur City, Punjab, India.*

1923 *SOOFI, Khan Bahadur Agha Muhammad Ali (*Foreign and Political Dept.*), *Mahalla Muftian, Jullundur City, Punjab, India.*

660 1934 Spendlove, F. St. G., *Yarne, Hatchford, near Cobham, Surrey.*
1922 *Spink, Capt. Harold H. M., A.M I.C.E., *Hillside, Groombridge, Kent.*
1932 *Srivastava, Kalika Prasad, B.A., LL.B., *Civil Judge, Datia State, India.*
1910 *Staël-Holstein, Baron A. von, *c/o Peking Club, Peking, China.*
1907 *†Stapleton, H. E., M.A., B.Sc., I.E.S., *Sands, St. Brelade, Jersey, C.I.*
1923 Hon. 1932 *Stcherbatsky, Th., Ph.D., *Académie des Sciences, Leningrad, Russia.*
1887 *§Stein, Sir Aurel, K.C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Litt., D.Sc., F.B.A., *c/o Postmaster, Srinagar, Kashmir, India.*
1924 *†Stephen, Miss D. J., *St. Andrew's House, Kilpank, Madras, S. India.*
1905 *Stevens, George F. A., 101–113 *Ascan Avenue, Forest Hills, Long Island, N.Y., U.S.A.*
1921 *Stevenson, W. B., D.Litt., *Prof. of Hebrew & Semitic Languages,* 7 *College Court, The University, Glasgow.*
670 1912 *Stewart, J. A., C.I.E., M.C., M.A., LL.D., I.C.S. (ret.), *Longhill, Lossiemouth, Scotland.*
1935 ¶Stifler, Mrs. W. W., 25 *Brunswick Square, W.C.* 1.
1929 Stocks, Mrs. de Beauvoir, *c/o National Provincial Bank, Oxford.*
1915 §Storey, Prof. C. A., 33 *Barton Road, Cambridge.*
1934 *Storey, Miss J. D., 4 *rue Senebier, Geneva, Switzerland.*
1912 *Strauss, Dr. Otto, *Neue Gasse* 8–12, *Breslau, Germany.*
1928 Strong, Mrs. W. S., *Old Conduit House, Windsor Ter., Lyndhurst Road, N.W.* 3.
1931 *Subhan, M. Abdus, Dip. Econ., M.A., *Principal, Muslim Boarding School, Deolali, Nasik Dt., Bombay, India.*
1925 *†Suket, H.H. the Raja of, *Sundarnagar, Suket State, Punjab, India.*
1893 *†Svasti Sobhana, H.R.H. Prince, *Bangkok, Siam.*
680 1931 *Swenson, Rev. H., F.R.G.S., F.A.G.S., *Kuyuan, Kansu, China.*
1895*†§Sykes, Brig.-Gen. Sir Percy M., K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G., 18 *Eastbury Court, Kensington Rd., W.* 14.

1934 *Talaiver, G. M., *Insurance Expert,* 6 *Salai Street, Mylapore, Madras, India.*
1897 *Talbot, Walter Stanley, C.I.E., *Glenhurst, Esher, Surrey.*
1928 *Talib, Md. Siraj-ud-din, 4444 *Barber Street, Puranihaveli, Hyderabad, Deccan, India.*
Hon. 1910 Tallqvist, K. L., *Prof. of Oriental Literatures, Fabriksgasse* 21, *Helsingfors, Finland.*
1914 *†Tampi, Vatasseri Sri Velayudhan, son of H.H. Maharaja of Travancore, *Trivandrum, Travancore, India.*
1930 *Taraporevala, Vicaji D. B., B.A., *Tarapore Villa,* 79 *Koregaon Park, Poona, Bombay, India.*
1897 *†Tate, George P., *Clydebank, Ranikhet, U.P., India.*
1911 *†Teape, Rev. Wm. Marshall, M.A. (Edin. and Camb.), B.D. (Camb.), 27 *Firsglen Road, Winton, Bournemouth.*
690 1922 *Tennant, Hon. Mrs. Ruth, *St. Anne's Manor, Sutton, Loughborough.*
1898 *†Thatcher, Rev. G. W., M.A., *Camden College, Sydney, N.S.W.*
1928 *Thomas, Bertram S., O.B.E., Ph.D., *Trinity College, Cambridge.*

1917 *†THOMAS, E. J., M.A., D.Litt., *Under Librarian, University Library, Cambridge.*
1924 *THOMAS, Ed. Ll. Gordon, F.R.A.I., *Rabaul, New Guinea. Local Representative.*
1898 §THOMAS, F. W., C.I.E., M.A., Ph.D., F.B.A., VICE-PRESIDENT, *Boden Professor of Sanskrit,* 161 *Woodstock Road, Oxford.*
1918 *THOMPSON, Sir Herbert, Bart., 1 *Bathwick Hill, Bath.*
1907 §THOMPSON, Sir John P., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., M.A., 20 *Melbury Road, W.* 14.
1927 *THOMPSON, M. S. H., B.A., *Principal, Govt. Training College, Rajahmundry, Madras, India.*
1919 §THOMPSON, R. Campbell, M.A., D.Litt., F.S.A., F.B.A., *Trackways, Boar's Hill, Oxford.*
700 1922 *TICKELL, G. Templer, 1 *Jaffray Rd., Bromley, Kent.*
1935 *TIDY, Captain S. E., *Residency P.O. Indore, C. India.*
1935 *TIRTHA, S. V., Arya Samaja Mandira, *P.O. Dinga, Dist. Gujrat, Punjab, India.*
1934 *TIWARI, Sita Ram, *c/o Pt. J. Tiwari, Ghansor, B.N.Rly., via Jubbulpore, C.P., India.*
1931 *TIWARY, D., B.A., B.L., *P.O. Jamshedpur, via Tatanagar, India.*
1921 *TOLKOWSKY, S., M.B.E., 111 *Allenby Road, Tel-Aviv, Palestine.*
1929 *†TOMARA, R. S., Ex. S.A.S., Raj Vaidya, *Elgin Road, Delhi, India.*
1917 *TRIPATHI, Prof. Deva Datta, Sahityacharya, *Patna College, Patna, India.*
1918 *TRIPATHI, Pandit Ram P., *Reader in Modern Ind. Hist., The University, Allahabad, U.P., India.*
1926 *†§TRITTON, A. S., D.Litt., *School of Oriental Studies, Finsbury Circus, E.C.* 2 ; 85 *St. George's Square, S.W.* 1.
710 1921 *TROTT, A. C., *c/o Mrs. Richardson, Canford Magna Vicarage, Wimborne, Dorset.*
1928 *TUCCI, Professor Giuseppe, *Member of the Royal Academy of Italy,* 20 *Via Tevere, Rome.*
F.E.M. 1932 TURKISH AMBASSADOR, H.E. The, *The Turkish Embassy,* 69 *Portland Place, W.* 1.
1912 *§TURNER, Prof. R. L., M.C., M.A., Litt.D., *Professor of Sanskrit, University of London ; Haverbrack, Bishop's Stortford, Herts.*

1919 *UI, Prof. H., *Seminary of Indian Philosophy, Tokyo Imperial University, Toyko, Japan.*
1934 *URQUHART, Rev. W. S., *Principal, Scottish Church College, Cornwallis Square, Calcutta, India.*
1934 *UTTLEY, K. H., M.D., *Medical Dept., Hong-Kong.*

1923 *†VAIDYA, V. P., B.A., J.P., 18 *Cathedral St., Bombay, India.*
1919 *VAISHYA, Ramji D., F.R.S.A., *Sweet Cottage, Gwalior, India.*
1935 ‡VARLEY, Miss D., 22 *Wilton Place, S.W.* 1.
720 1923 *†VARMA, Prof. Siddheshwar, M.A., D.Litt., *Shastri, c/o Prince of Wales' College, Jammu, India.*
1933 *VENKATASUBBIAH, A., M.A., 108 *Varada Muthiappan Street, Madras, E., India.*

1933 *VERMA, J. N. L., M.A., LL.B., _Kothi Asaram Vakeel, Naibasti, Sitapur, U.P., India._
1934 *VIDYABAGISH, Pandit Ramrup, 12 _Marcus Lane, Calcutta, India._
1921 *VIRAN, S. S. Gnana, _c/o Nat. Bank of India, Rangoon, Burma._
1905 *VOGEL, Prof. Dr. J. Ph., Hon. C.I.E., Ph.D., _The University, Leiden, Holland._
1899 *VOST, Lt.-Col. W., I.M.S., _Leicester Lodge,_ 1 _Medina Villas, Hove, Sussex._
1923 *VRATI, H. Lal, B.A., L.T., _Headmaster Anglo Vedic High School, Anupshahr, U.P., India._

1908 *WACKERNAGEL, Prof. Dr. Jakob, _University of Basle, Gartenstr._ 93 _Basle, Switzerland._
1892 *†WADDELL, Lt.-Col. L. A., C.B., C.I.E., LL.D., _Ardsloy, Craigmore, Rothesay, Bute, Scotland._
730 1930 *WADIA, Madame B. P., _c/o "The Aryan Path,"_ 51 _Esplanade Rd., Bombay, India._
1923 *WAH, L. H., I.F.S., A.C.F., _Pyinmana, Burma._
1931 WAHBA, H.E. Sheikh Hafiz, _Minister of Saudi-Arabia,_ 42 _Eaton Place, S.W._ 1.
1932 WALES, H. G. Quaritch, M.A., Ph.D., _Royal Societies' Club, St. James's St., S.W._ 1.
1934 *WALEY, Arthur D., 110 _Heath Street, N.W._ 3.
1912 *†WALKER, Rev. C. T. Harley, M.A., _The Yews, East Hannay, nr. Wantage, Berks._
1928 *WALKER, John, M.A., _Dept. of Coins and Medals, British Museum, W.C._ 1.
1926 *†WALLESER, Professor Dr. Max, _Goethestrasse_ 12, _Heidelberg, Germany._
1919 *WARBURTON, Rev. B. A., _Homelea,_ 68 _Mitchell Street, Newtown, Wigan._
1916 *§WARDROP, Sir Oliver, K.B.E., C.M.G., M.A., 49 _Downshire Hill, N.W._ 3.
740 1934 *WARE, Dr. J. R., 18 _Bates Street, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A._
1907 *WATSON, H. D., C.I.E., C.B.E., I.C.S. (ret.), _Windrush, Inkpen, Hungerford._
1929 *†WEBSTER, Professor Hutton, _R.F.D._ 2 (_Box_ 326—_A_), _Menlo Park, Cal., U.S.A._
1928 *WEIR, Rev. Cecil J. Mullo, B.D., D.Phil., 13 _Abercromby Square, Liverpool,_ 7.
1921 *WESTLAKE, A. R. C., I.C.S., _c/o Chief Sec. to Govt. of Madras._
1934 *WHITE, Rt. Rev. Bishop W. C., _Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Canada._
1906 *WHITEHEAD, R. B., 30 _Millington Road, Cambridge._
1926 *WHITTLESEY, P. W., M.A., _Highmount Avenue, Nyack, N.Y., U.S.A._
1921 *WHYMANT, A. N. J., 31 _Upper Montagu Street, W._ 1.
1926 *†WILKINSON, H. P., _c/o Mrs. Dalzell,_ 103 _Dulwich Village, Dulwich, S.E._ 21.
750 1915 *WILLIAMS, L. F. Rushbrook, O.B.E., B.A., D.Litt., 32 _St. James' Court, S.W._ 1.
1922 *WILLIAMS, L. H., _Egra, Motspur Park Avenue, Old Malden, Surrey._
1923 *†WILSON, Lt.-Col. Sir A. T., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G., D.S.O., _Wynches, Much Hadham, Herts._

1933 *WILSON-WARD, The Rev. W., *The Rectory, Buckworth, Huntingdon. Local Representative.*
1912 *WINSTEDT, Sir Richard O., K.B.E., C.M.G., D.Litt., General Adviser, *Johore, via Singapore, Straits Settlements.*
HON. 1934. WINTERNITZ, Dr. M., *Professor of Indology at the German University ; XIX, Čechova* 15, *Prague, Czechoslovakia.*
1925 WISE, H. M., 206 *Burrage Rd., S.E.*18.
1928 *WOLFENDEN, Stuart N., *Drawer* 1021, *Beverly Hills, California, U.S.A.*
1909 *†WOODS, Prof. Jas. H., Ph.D., *Harvard University,* 29 *Follen Street, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A. Local Representative.*
1919 *WOOLLEY, Sir C. Leonard, Kt., M.A., D.Litt., 12 *Royal Avenue, Chelsea, S.W.* 3.
760 1906 *WOOLNER, A. C., C.I.E., M.A., 53 *Lawrence Road, Lahore, Punjab, India.*
1923 *WYER, Dr. J. L., *Director N. York State Library, N. York City, U.S.A. Local Representative.*
1920 *WYNCH, Lionel M., C.B.E., C.I.E., I.C.S. (ret.), *Pine Hill, Camberley, Surrey.*

1929 YAHUDA, Dr. A. S., 25 *Elsworthy Road, N.W.* 3.
1932 *YATES, G. A., M.A., *St. John's College, Cambridge ;* 43 *Lansdowne Crescent, W.* 11.
1911 *YAZDANI, Ghulam Mas'udi, *Director of Archæology, Hyderabad, Deccan, India.*
1935 YELLAPPA, A., 7 *Green Lane, Hendon.*
1910 §YETTS, W. Perceval, O.B.E., D.Lit., M.R.C.S., *Professor of Chinese Art and Archæology, University of London ;* 4 *Aubrey Rd., W.* 8.
1934 ‡YOUNG, Mrs. G. C. M. F., 13 *Acacia Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.* 8.
1935 *YOUNG, Professor H. B., *Alborz College, Teheran, Iran ; June,* 1935–*August,* 1936, 38 *Alexander Street, Princeton, N.J., U.S.A.*
770 1895 *YUSUF-ALI, A., C.B.E., I.C.S., M.A., LL.M., *c/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd., Bombay, India.*

1928 §ZETLAND, The Most Hon. the Marquess of, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., *Aske, Richmond, Yorks,* and 23 *Down Street, W.* 1.
1932 *ZWEMER, Dr. S. M., *The Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A.*

Foreign Extraordinary Members

1934	H.M. The King of Egypt.
1934	H.M. The King of Siam.
1932	H.R.H. Prince Damrong of Siam.
1932	H.E. The Chinese Ambassador.
1932	H.E. The Japanese Ambassador.
1932	H.E. The Turkish Ambassador.
1932	H.E. The Afghan Minister.
1932	H.E. The Egyptian Minister.
1932	H.E. The Iranian Minister.
1932	H.E. The Iraqi Minister.
1934	H.E. The Nepalese Minister.
1932	H.E. The Saudi-Arabian Minister.
1932	H.E. The Siamese Minister.

Honorary Members

1926	Professor Dines Andersen, *Copenhagen*.
1923	Professor J. H. Breasted, Ph.D., Hon. D.Litt. (Oxon.), *Chicago*.
1927	Dr. Adolf Erman, Geh. Reg. Rat, *Berlin*.
1930	Professor Dr. August Fischer, *Leipzig*.
1918	Monsieur A. Foucher, *Paris*.
1933	Professor Dr. Ernst Herzfeld, *Berlin: Persepolis, Nr. Shiraz, Persia*.
1902	Professor Houtsma, *Utrecht*.
1909	Professor C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Leiden*.
1923	Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, L.H.D., Ph.D., LL.D., *New York*.
1912	Professor Hermann Jacobi, *Bonn*.
1929	Professor Bernhard Karlgren, Ph.D., *The University, Göteborg, Sweden*.
1930	Professor Dr. Sten Konow, *Oslo*.
1902	Professor Lanman, *Cambridge, U.S.A*.
1916	Professor Sylvain Lévi, *Paris*.
1909	Professor Dr. H. Lüders, *Berlin*.
1927	Professor Louis Massignon, D.Litt., *Paris*.
1928	Professor Antoine Meillet, *Paris*.
1923	Professor Carlo A. Nallino, *Rome*.
1930	Professor Miguel Asín Palacios, *Madrid*.
1923	Professor Paul Pelliot, *Paris*.
1920	Professor L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Brussels*.
1935	Mirza Muhammad Khan Qazvini, *Paris*.
1923	Professor Nikolaus Rhodokanakis, *Graz, Austria*.
1923	Professor Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, C.I.E., M.A., *Darjeeling*.
1923	Père Vincent Scheil, O.P., *Paris*.
1913	Leone Caetani, Duca di Sermoneta, *Rome*.
1923	Professor Th. Stcherbatsky, *Leningrad*.
1910	Professor K. L. Tallqvist, *Helsingfors*.
1934	Professor Dr. Moritz Winternitz, *Prague*.

Gold Medallists

N.B.—The Gold Medal was founded in 1897

1897	Professor E. B. Cowell.
1900	E. W. West.
1903	Sir William Muir.
1906	G. U. Pope.
1909	G. A. Grierson.
1912	J. F. Fleet.
1915	Mrs. Agnes Smith Lewis. Mrs. Margaret Dunlop Gibson.
1918	V. A. Smith.
1922	Professor H. A. Giles.
1925	Rev. A. H. Sayce.
1928	Professor D. S. Margoliouth.
1932	Sir Aurel Stein.
1935	Sir E. Denison Ross.

Library Associates

1934	Miss F. Beck.
1935	Sir Charles Bell.
1934	Miss Bodé.
1935	Mr. R. Byron.
1934	Miss H. Carey.
1934	Miss R. Clay.
1935	Mr. M. S. Collis.
1935	Mr. A. G. Cook.
1935	Mr. S. H. Gokhale.
1935	Mr. C. N. Goodman.
1935	Mrs. W. P. Ker.
1927	Sir H. J. Maynard.
1935	Miss B. H. Parker.
1935	Miss D. Varley.
1934	Mrs. G. C. M. F. Young.

Student Associates

1935	Miss A. K. S. Lambton.
1935	Mr. J. W. Layard.
1934	Mr. J. S. Lincoln.
1935	Mrs. W. W. Stifler.

Borrowing Member

1935	Rev. E. J. Bolus.

Branch and Associate Societies

The Asiatic Society of Bengal.
The Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
The Bombay Branch of the R.A.S.
The Burma Research Society.
The Ceylon Branch of the R.A.S.
The Korea Branch of the R.A.S.
The Madras Literary Society and Auxiliary of the Royal Asiatic Society.
The Malayan Branch of the R.A.S.
The Mythic Society, Bangalore.
The North China Branch of the R.A.S.

LIST OF LIBRARIES AND NON-MEMBERS

SUBSCRIBING TO THE

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

Aberdeen : University Library.
Adelaide : Public Library.
Agra : St. John's College.
Algiers : Bibliothèque Nationale.
Algiers : Bibliothèque Universitaire.
Allahabad : North India Christian Tract Society.
Allahabad : University Library.
Amsterdam : Kirberger and Kesper.
Anantapur : Ceded Districts College.
10 Angelo Draghi : Padova.
Azamgarh : Shibli Academy.
Azerbaijan : State University.

Baku : Sownarkom Aserbaidjana.
Baltimore : Johns Hopkins University Library.
Baltimore : Peabody Institute.
Bankipur : Patna College.
Barcelona : Bosch, Libreria.
Barisal : Brojomohun College.
Beirut : American University.
20 Berkeley : California University Library.
Berlin : Asher and Co.
Berlin University.
Berlin : Weber and Co.
Bhagalpur : T. N. Jubilee College.
Bhavnagar : Samaldas College.
Birmingham : Public Library.
Bombay : Elphinstone College.
Bombay : Jamjetsee N. Petit Institute.
Bombay : University Library.
Bonn University. 30
Boston : Museum of Fine Arts.
Boston : Public Library.
Brighton : Public Library.
Bristol University.
Bryn Mawr : College Library, Penn., U.S.A.
Budapest : University Library.

Cairo : Institut Français.
Calcutta : Imperial Library.
Calcutta : Indian Museum, Archæological Section.
Calcutta : Presidency College. 40
Calcutta : Ripon College.
Calcutta : St. Paul's College.
Calcutta : Sanskrit College.
Calcutta : University Library.
Cambridge : Galloway and Porter.
Cambridge : Harvard College.
Canton : Sun Yat Sen University Library.
Carlisle, Pa. : Dickinson College Library.
Cawnpore : Gaya Prasad Library.
Chester, U.S.A. : Bucknell Library. 50
Chicago : The John Crerar Library.
Chicago : Newberry Library.

Chicago: University Library.
Chidambaram: Annamalai University.
Cleveland Public Library.
Constantinople: Robert College.
Copenhagen: Royal Library.
Cuttack: Ravenshaw College.

Dacca: The University.
60 Delhi: Central Asian Antiquities Museum.
Detroit: Public Library.
Draghi, Angelo: Padova.
Durham, U.S.A: Duke University.

Edinburgh: Public Library.
Edinburgh: Jas. Thin.
Evanston: Hibbert Old Testament Library.

Florence: Biblioteca Nazionale.
Frankfurt a.M.: Auffarth and Co.
Frankfurt a.M.: Baer and Co.
70 Frankfurt a.M.: Bibliothek für neuere Sprachen und Musik.
Frankfurt a.M.: Rothschildsche Off. Bibliothek.
Freiburg: Literarische Anstalt.
Freiburg University.
Fukuoka: Kyushu Imperial Univ.

Gauhati: Cotton College.
Giessen: University Library.
Giza: Central Library.
Giza: Egyptian University.
Glasgow: Jackson, Wylie and Co.
80 Glasgow: Mitchell Library.
Gothenburg: Wettergren and Kerbers.
Göttingen: Semitistisch-Islam Seminar.
Göttingen: Universitäts Bibliothek.
Greifswald: University Library.

Hague, The: Van Stockum and Son.
Haverford, U.S.A.: College Library.
Hiroshima: University of Literature and Science.
Hong Kong University.
Hyderabad: Nizam's College.
90 Hyderabad: Nizam's Govt. State Library.
Hyderabad: Osmania University College.

Illinois: University.
Indiana: University.
Ishihama, J., Esq., Osaka.
Ithaca: Cornell University Library.

Jerusalem: Director of Antiquities.
Johannesburg Public Library.

Kabul: Representation Plenipotentiaire.
Keijo, Chosen: Imperial University.
Keijo, Chosen: Miyasaki, Isoki. 100
Kiel University.
Kiew: Wseukrainsk Akad Nauk.
Königsberg State Library.
Kotagiri: Arch. Survey Dept.
Kreuzlingen: Schmid et Cie.
Krishnagar College.
Kumamoto: Fifth High School.
Kumbakonam: Govt. College.
Kurseong: Indian Academy, St. Mary's College.
Kyoto: Indian Philosophy. 110
Kyoto: Ryukoku University.
Kyoto: Suwa, G.
Kyoto: Tohobunka.

Lahore: Dyal Singh Library Trust.
Lahore: Forman Christian College.
Lahore: Government College.
Lahore: Panjab Public Library.
Lahore: Panjab University.
Lahore: Punjab Circulating Library
Lahore: Sanatana Dharma College. 120
Lahore: Standard Book Depot.
Lahore: Times Book Depot.
Leete, P. C. A.
Leipzig University.
Leningrad: Nautschn-Bib. Ka Univ.
Leningrad: Public Library.
Lincoln: University of Nebraska.
Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional.
London: Athenæum Club.
London: H.M. Stationery Office. 130
London: London Library.
London: Probsthain, A.
Longmans, Green & Co.

Lucknow: Provincial Museum.
Lucknow: University Library.
Lund: Kungl. Universitets Biblioteket.
Luxor: Oriental Institute of University of Chicago.
Lyons: University Library.

Madison: Drew University.
140 Madras: Archæological Survey.
Madras: Connemara Public Library.
Madras: Oriental Manuscripts Library.
Madras: Presidency College.
Manchester: John Rylands Library.
Manchester University.
Manila: Bureau of Science.
Melbourne: Victoria Public Library.
Michigan University.
Manchoukuo-Kokumuin-Tokeisho.
150 Manchoukuo: Statistic Bureau.
Manchuria: Telephone and Telegraph Co.
Minneapolis Athenæum.
Minnesota: University.
Miye-Ken: Jingu Kogakukan.
Montreal: McGill University.
Moscow: Bibliothèque Imeni Lenina.
Moscow: Bib. Narkom Wnsschtorga.
München University.
Muzaffarpur: Greer Bhumihar Brahman College.
160 Mysore: University Library.

Nagpur University.
Nanking: Institute of Chinese Cultural Studies.
Nanking: Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
Nanking: National Research Institute.
Nanking University.
Naraken: Tenri Library.
Neuchatel: Delachaux et Niestlé.
Newcastle-on-Tyne: Public Library.
New York: Columbia University.
170 New York: Dr. Gilmore.
New York: Genl. Theological Seminary.
New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
New York: Missionary Research Library.
New York: Public Library.
New York: Union Theological Seminary.
New York: Westerman and Co.
Nordiska Bokhandel: Stockholm.
Nova Goa: Com. Perm. de Arqueologia.

Oberlin: College.
Ootacamund: Govt. Epigraphist. 180
Osaka: Asahi Shimbunsha Library.
Osaka: Foreign Language School.
Oslo: Cammermeyer's Bokhandel.
Oxford: B. H. Blackwell and Co.
Oxford: Bodleian Library.

Paris: Inst. Nat. de France.
Paris: Klincksieck, Librairie.
Paris: University Library.
Pavia: Facolta di Lettere-e-Filosofia.
Peiping: College of Chinese Studies. 190
Peiping: Tsing Hua University Library.
Peiping: Yenching University.
Philadelphia: Free Library.
Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.
Pittsburg: Carnegie Library.
Ptitsburg: Western Theological Seminary.
Poona: Archæological Survey, Western Circle.
Prague: Public and University Library.
Princeton: Theological Seminary. 200
Princeton University Library.

Rajshahi College.
Rangoon: University Library.
Rome: Biblioteca del Pont. Ins. Biblico.
Rostock: Stillersche Hof und Universitäts Buchhandlung.

Saga-ken: Saga-Koto-Gakko.
San Francisco: Public Library.
St. Paul: James Jerome Reference Library.
Seattle: Rupp, O. B.

Seattle: Washington Union Library.
210 Sendai: Library of Coll. of Law and Literature.
Shanghai: Science Institute.
Sotheran, H.: London.
Stechert, G. E., & Co.: London.
Stockholm: Nordiska Bokhandel.
Sydney: Public Library, N.S. Wales.
Sydney: Royal Society of New South Wales.
Sylhet: Marari Chand College.

Taihoku: Imperial University Library.
Taschkent: Sr-As. Gos. Public Library.
220 Teheran: Legation de France.
Teheran: Ministère de l'Instruction Publique.
Teheran: Ministère des Affaires Etrangères.
Texas: University.
Tientsin, Girls' Normal School.
Tiflis: Gos. Univ. Bib.
Tokyo: Foreign Language School, Kanda.
Tokyo: Imperial University, College of Literature.
Tokyo: Indian Philosophy.
Tokyo: Komazawa-Daigaku.
230 Tokyo: Peers' School.
Tokyo: Sodoshu-Daigaku.
Tokyo: Toho-Bunka-Gakuin.
Tokyo: University of Literature and Science.
Tokyo: Waseda University Library.
Tokyo: Yamanaka Shoten.
Toronto University Library.
Treves, Fratelli: Rome.
Triplicane: Madras University Library.
Trivandrum: Public Library.
Tübingen University. 240
Turin: Casanova et Cie.
Twietmeyer, Herr A.: Leipzig.

Utrecht: University Library.

Vienna: Gerold and Co.

Waltair: Andhra University.
Wakayama-ken: Koyasan College.
Warsaw: Centrale des Journaux étrangers.
Warsaw: Gebethner and Wolff.
Washington: Dr. C. W. Bishop, Assoc. Dir., Library of Congress. 250
Washington: Catholic University.
Washington: Library of Congress.
Wisconsin: University.
Würzburg: University Library.

Zürich: Bibliothèque Centrale.

Note.—There are other libraries which subscribe through their booksellers. The Secretary would be much obliged if the Librarians of such libraries would kindly send their names to be added to the above list.

SUMMARY

	June 30, 1934.	June 30, 1935.
Resident Members (including S.B.A. 2) .	89	95
Resident Compounders (S.B.A. 2) . .	12	12
Non-resident Members (S.B.A. 13) . .	517	507
Non-resident Compounders (S.B.A. 2) .	92	94
Library Associates	6	17
Student Associates	1	4
Borrowing Members	1	1
Honorary and Extraordinary Members .	40	42
	758	772
Subscribing Libraries, etc. . . .	275	255
Total . . .	1033	1027

Printed by Stephen Austin and Sons, Ltd., Hertford.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS

ASIATIC SOCIETY MONOGRAPHS.

Vols. XX–XXI.

A Study in the Economic Condition of Ancient India. By Dr. Pran Nath. 1929. Price 12s. 6d.

The Kumzari Dialect of the Shihuh Tribe, Arabia, and a Vocabulary. By Bertram Thomas. 1930. Price 2s. 6d.

PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND.

Vols. XII–XIII.

Outlines of Tibeto-Burman Linguistic Morphology. By S. N. Wolfenden. 1930. 15s.

A Guide to Ismaili Literature. By W. Ivanow. 1933. 9s.

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND.

Vol. XXXI.

Vicitrakarṇikāvadānoddhṛta. Nevāri Text and Translation. Edited by Dr. Hans Jórgensen. 1931. 12*s*. 6*d*.

JAMES G. FORLONG FUND.

Vols. VII–XI, XV.

The Elements of Japanese Writing. By Commander N. E. Isemonger. 1929. £1 5s.

Falakī-i-Shīrwānī. His Dīwān. By Hādī Ḥasan. 1929. 10*s*.

Ta'rīkh-i-Jahān-Gushāy of Juwayni, Vol. III, Facsimile of MS. dated A.H. 690, belonging to Wahīd-ul-Mulk. With Introduction by Sir E. Denison Ross. 1931. 7*s*. 6*d*.

Dialogues in the Eastern Turki Dialect on Subjects of Interest to Travellers. By R. O. Wingate and E. Denison Ross. 1934. 4*s*. 6*d*.

Phonetic System of Ancient Japanese. By S. Yoshitake. 1934. 6*s*.

An Introduction to Colloquial Bengali. By W. Sutton Page. 1934. 10*s*. 6*d*.

Balti Grammar. By A. F. C. Read, Central Asian Mission. 1934. 8*s*. 6*d*.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

74 Grosvenor Street, W. 1.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

The JOURNAL of the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY is published quarterly. It is frequently illustrated and it contains Original Articles on the Languages, the Archæology, the History, the Beliefs and the Customs of the East.

Each quarter the principal books published on Oriental subjects are reviewed.

The Annual Subscription to the Society is THREE GUINEAS for Resident Members (except in the case of Ministers of Religion, Teachers of certain Oriental Subjects or Officials in certain Museums and Libraries, when the Council may reduce this subscription to Two Guineas), TWO GUINEAS for Non-resident Members residing in the British Isles, and THIRTY SHILLINGS for Non-resident Members residing abroad.

Each Member, whose Subscription for the current year has been paid, receives the Journal post free, has the use of the Library at the Society's rooms, and admission to the meetings of the Society. Three-guinea Subscribers may borrow books. Two-guinea Subscribers may be allowed to borrow books on payment of an additional fee to be determined by the Council.

Libraries and persons who are not Members may obtain the Journal post free by paying a Subscription of **Two Pounds Eight Shillings** a year in advance direct to the Secretary. The price of each part separately is **Fifteen Shillings.**

NOTICE TO MEMBERS AND STUDENTS.

Teas can be supplied by the Caretaker at a small charge.

STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS, LTD., PRINTERS, HERTFORD.

IBRARY

ION DEPARTMENT
Library

	3
	6

D AFTER 7 DAYS
ed by calling 642-3405
ged by bringing books to Circulation Desk
be made 4 days prior to due date

TAMPED BELOW

	DEC 0 8 2001
OCT 2 3 1995 OCT 6 1998	
	JUL 0 7 200
2 3 1995	
ECEIVED	JAN 1 3 2004
CT 1 6 1995	
CULATION	
1 8 1997	
RECEIVED	
MAR 2 0 199	
RCULATION DEPT	

NIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY
'80 BERKELEY, CA 94720